REPORT RESUMES

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SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL CLIMATES IN HIGH SCHOOLS, FINAL REPORT.
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THE MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY WERE TO--(1) INQUIRE INTO THE NATURE OF ADOLESCENT SOCIAL CLIMATES, (2) LEARN WHAT FACTORS IN THE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY TEND TO GENERATE ONE OR ANOTHER ADOLESCENT CLIMATE, AND (3) DETERMINE THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH SOCIAL CLIMATES UPON THE ADOLESCENTS LIVING WITHIN THEM. THE STUDY WAS CARRIED ON IN 10 HIGH SCHOOLS IN AND AROUND CHICAGO. THESE INCLUDED RURAL, URBAN, AND SUBURBAN LOCATIONS, AND THE SCHOOLS RANGED IN SIZE FROM 95 TO OVER 2,000 STUDENTS. DATA WERE COLLECTED THROUGH QUESTIONNAIRES ADMINISTERED TO ALL STUDENTS IN EACH SCHOOL AND INTERVIEWS WITH ALL TEACHERS. THIS INFORMATION WAS SUPPLEMENTED BY SCHOOL RECORDS, CENSUS DATA, AND INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS. FIELD TEAMS VISITED EACH SCHOOL TO COLLECT DATA, MAKING TWO VISITS TO EACH SCHOOL TO COLLECT EARLY AND LATER DATA ON THE CLIMATES OF THE SCHOOLS. IN ADDITION TO STATISTICAL TABULATIONS, THE DATA PROVIDED BASES FOR MORE COMPLEX ANALYSES OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE WITHIN THE STUDENT BODY OF EACH SCHOOL. THE FUNDAMENTAL THESIS OF THIS RESEARCH WAS COMPOSED OF THE FOLLOWING PREMISES--(1) ADOLESCENTS LOOK LARGELY TO THEIR PEERS FOR APPROVAL, ACCEPTANCE, RECOGNITION, AND STATUS, (2) VARIOUS ADOLESCENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS DIFFER IN THE VALUES CURRENT IN THEM, AND (3) THESE DIFFERENCES IN VALUES HELD BY DIFFERENT ADOLESCENT CULTURES ARE AT LEAST PARTLY A CONSEQUENCE OF FACTORS OVER WHICH THE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY HAVE SOME CONTROL. (AH)

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Structures and Social Climates in High Schools

Final Report of
Study of High School Social Climates
carried out under a contract with

United States Office of Education

September 1, 1959

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This research owes most of all to the ten schools who agreed to take part in the research. I have come to feel that the task of a high school principal is one of the most difficult and complex of any in society. The willingness of principals (and their school boards and teachers) to add to this difficulty and complexity by participating in research of this sort is an indication of their interest in finding ways to better carry out the task of educating adolescents.

I am grateful for advice, and encouragement, received from many persons during the research, including, among others, Everett Hughes, David Riesman, Jack Feldman, Martin Trow, Martin Lipset, Peter Rossi, Clyde Hart and William McPhee. To Roy Clark, Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and some of his colleagues, I am grateful for aid in selecting the schools to be studied.

The National Opinion Research Center has been of great assistance in intellectual support and the use of its facilities; the project is indebted especially to Harold Levy and Sanford Abramson of NORC.

The Operation Analysis Laboratory of the University of Chicago made its UNIVAC computer facilities available to the project at a fraction of machine and staff costs. Without this aid, important parts of the analysis, particularly Chapters 7 and 8 dealing with association patterns, and the parts of Chapter 9 dealing with achievement and ability tests, could not have been carried out.

Kurt Jonassohn, John Johnstone, and myself continued the core personnel of the project throughout its whole period, from questionnaire design to analysis. Though the report thus represents the results of a cooperative effort, in particular, that part of Chapter 9 dealing with use of leisure activities was analyzed and written by John Johnstone as part of his Ph.D. thesis which examines leisure use of these adolescents in general, as a function of their high school experience. Kurt Jonassohn's Ph.D. thesis, parts of which were intended to be included here, will be an examination of the social structure of the communities in the study.

Of the other project personnel, those whose special efforts were particularly important to its success were Eugene Selmanoff, Thomas Long, Wayne Dockery and a two-man team who recorded grades and test scores for every student: Robert Behrens and Peter Vea.

Marjorie Schiff typed numerous drafts of chapters.

The final note of gratitude is due to Ene-Malle Lauritis, who drew all the graphs in the report, typed many of its chapters, and organized its production. Without the moral support that her efforts provided at a crucial time, some of the analysis would not have been done, some parts of the report never written.

INTRODUCTION

This study was conceived in the spring of 1955, before the current spate of interest in educational matters was brought on by the competition with Russia in science. It had its origins in two other sources: first, a deep concern which I have had, since my own high school days, with high schools and with ways to make possible their better functioning, ways to make an adolescent's experiences with learning more profitable and his whole adolescence a more satisfying period. Secondly, though not unrelated to this, was an interest in different kinds of status systems. What are the consequences, upon the people within them, of status systems which are monolithic, that is, give rewards only for achievement in one particular activity, and how do they differ from the consequences of systems which equally reward many activities? Not only the consequences were of interest, but the sources as well: how does it happen that one or the other kind of system exists in a given society?

The combination of these two interests led to a decision to study high schools, schools which differed in the kinds and number of activities which brought to a boy or girl status among his fellows. The effects of such status systems one can imagine to be great, coming as they do at a time when boys and girls are in a kind of limbo, between childhood and adulthood, and thus highly responsive to the social constraints of their peers. The actual variations between adolescent status systems in high schools are of course far more complex than the single type of variation mentioned above. The research, as it has turned out, has been broadened to consider some of these other variations--such as, for example, the variation between systems where status is gained primarily by achievement and those where status is ascribed more nearly on the basis of some background characteristic, such as a family's position in the community.

A proposal for such a study was initially written while I was at the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University; in the fall of 1957, a modified proposal was submitted to the US Office of Education, under its Cooperative Research Program, and in January, 1957, funds were allocated for the research.

To indicate the general plan of the research and the questions it aimed to investigate, the proposal on the basis of which the funds were allocated is reproduced below. Footnotes of two kinds are appended: to indicate at what points in the report various hypotheses of the research are dealt with; and to indicate points at which the research design was modified.

After the proposal, a short description of each of the ten committies and schools included in the study is given.

An Application to the Commissioner of Education, US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for Funds to Support a Research Project under the Provisions of Public Law 531, 2d Session, 83d Congress, Submitted by University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill., on November 7, 1956.

1. Title: A Study of Social Climates in High Schools

2. The problem of the research, and its significance for education

Adolescent social climates have their own norms and values--ones which may differ radically from those governing adult society. As a consequence, adolescents immersed in these social climates of their own making--as most young people in our society are--find themselves in status systems which may affect their whole future in a quite capricious manner. In one school, only athletic prowess counts among boys, and "popularity" among girls. In another, a variety of activities may bring status. The stroke of chance which sends a boy to the one school or to the other may modify his whole future--for if my hypotheses are borne out, then these adolescent status systems affect the very motivations and perceptions of the persons immersed within them.

The problem of the research is twofold: first to understand the nature of these social climates and their specific consequences on students within them, and second to learn something about why one kind of climate exists in one school, while a totally different kind exists in another.

The significance of this research for education is evident. At a crucial choice point in life, the peer-group social climate can help mold the adolescent into a responsible adult and guide him toward a fruitful career, or it can in contrast direct him to a misfitting occupation and leave him ill-equipped and poorly-motivated for further education.

Yet little is known about these adolescent climates and status systems. Their consequences are only dimly seen, and their sources are the subject of speculation. This research is intended to help fill the void, making it possible to first learn which adolescent status systems are most conducive to attainment of particular educational goals, and then to learn how one might modify the existing systems in this direction. As it is now, the controls which govern many adolescents' lives are those of their peer group. This research is intended to find out some of the less obvious effects of these controls, and to learn how the controls may themselves be harnessed so that their effects on adolescents' lives may be beneficial ones.

3. The principal objectives of the project

The broad goals of the project are, as stated above, twofold: to inquire into the nature and consequences of adolescent social climates for the persons within them, and to learn what factors in the school and community tend to generate one or another adolescent climate. The research is better adapted to the study of consequences than the study of sources of these climates; hence the emphasis of the project will be on the former.

The specific hypotheses listed below refer to consequences of two kinds of variation in adolescent climates: First, there is the variation between those climates which are "monolithic", giving status and approval for a single activity alone (whether it be football, grades, social graces, or something else) in contrast to "pluralistic" climates, which offer equal prestige for a wide range of activities. Secondly, some adolescent climates emphasize values which strongly conflict with school values; others emphasize values largely consistent with those of the school. The effect of this conflict or consistency is the subject of several of the hypotheses below.

The major hypotheses concerning the effects of the monolithic-pluralistic dimension are these:*

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*As mentioned earlier, the status system were found to be far more complex than this, and in fact there was far less variation along this dimension than had been hoped. The major structural differences in the status systems found were differences between some schools in which status was given to a boy for accomplishment in several areas simultaneously, the "all-around boy," and others in which status was given for the same

Effects on:

a. self-evaluation
b. leisure activities
c. delinquent activities
d. authoritarianism

It is hypothesized that a monolithic structure creates low self-evaluations among all those persons except those few at the top, and that three responses to such a perceived social location are to turn to passive escapist leisure activities (movies, TV, reading fiction); to achieve notoriety and some sort of status by delinquent activities, and to behave in a typically authoritarian way, showing excessive deference to those above, scapegoating those below.

e. Career plans and aspirations: It is hypothesized that the range of adolescents' post-high school plans is far wider in a pluralistic status system than in a monolithic one, where in a sense the group has stamped as acceptable only a narrow range of pursuits. The group will motivate its members only toward those pursuits it holds in esteem. As a corrollary to this, in the monolithic system it will be only the social isolates who chose deviant careers, while in the pluralistic system it will as often be the leaders.

The major hypotheses about the effects of the value-conflict-value consistency dimension are:*

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activities, but separately, so that different boys tended to specialize in different areas, some in athletics, others in scholastic efforts. These structural differences are examined in Chapter 7, and their consequences are discussed in Chapters 9 and 10. Of the five dependent variables for which hypotheses are listed here (a to e), the effects of the status systems on two are explored in detail in Chapter 9--self-evaluation and leisure activities. Suggestive evidence concerning (c), delinquent activities, is presented in Chapter 7, though the incidence of delinquent activities in these schools was not high enough to allow full investigation. It was not possible to adequately treat (d), authoritarianism, and (e), career plans, because of the above-noted lack of variation among the schools in the monolithic-pluralistic dimension. The effect of a different aspect of the climate upon certain kinds of career plans is examined in Chapter 10 in connection with school 2.

*Of the hypotheses listed in this section, (a), career orientations, is examined, though not at length, in connection with school 2 in Chapter 10; (b) is examined at great length in Chapter 9; (c) has been examined, but results were inconclusive except in one case, in school 2, where effects were found on attitudes toward education; this is reported in Chapter 10.

a. career orientations: It is hypothesized that in the value-conflict situation, the choice of a career will be highly influenced by the student's reaction to an interpersonal cleavage (i.e., the cleavage between teachers and peers), while in the value-consistency situation, career choices can depend more upon the nature of the career itself.

b. ability and achievement: Where student values are in conflict with those of teachers, it is hypothesized that students with high intelligence will often be found among the leaders of the rebellion, excelling in activities valued by peers rather than those valued by teachers. This would leave only mediocre students to make good grades. Thus the correlation between intelligence and scholastic achievement should be lower in such a situation than in the situation in which peer and teacher values coincide.

c. residual attitudes toward community and toward education: It is hypothesized that as a result of the value-conflict between students and school, a student's selection of teachers' standards and rejection of his peer-group standards is often tantamount to rejection of the community as a whole. If the hypothesis is true, this may mean some communities unintentionally force out of the community those very young persons they would like most to keep. Conversely, it should follow that in the conflict situation, those who accept the peer-group standards and reject the school standards have little respect for the school or for education when they become adults.

Obviously, these hypotheses are far too simple, for such status systems among adolescents are exceedingly complex. To cite only one example, it is likely that an adolescent status system which conflicts with that of the school often arises in reaction to a set of monolithic rewards laid down by the teachers. In short, what will be studied is a complex system whose interdependent parts must be carefully ferreted out. Isolated hypotheses like those above oversimplify matters; a more appropriate scientific model is that of the physiologist studying the circulatory system of the body to learn how certain abnormalities in the system affect metabolism.

As stated earlier, this research will study not only the consequences of these status systems, but their sources as well. Teachers' values, the size and facilities of the school, and the school's relation to the community all contribute in some fashion to the adolescent climate; the question of concern is just how do they contribute.*

4. The plan of the research

a. Scope of the project, and related literature

The project is designed to examine the above problem in a small geographically clustered sample of schools, approximately ten in number. Thus its immediate descriptive results are limited to these schools and those like them; yet the level of generality of the analytical results is intended to be broad enough to apply to adolescent climates throughout this country. Obviously, to explore in full the variations in social climates would require a much larger study than this one, and in this sense the study is a pilot study for much more extensive coverage of the total range of social climates.

No research of which I am aware focuses explicitly on the problem outlined above. However, there is a wealth of tengential and contributory literature. Some of the most relevant items are:

i. Ferenc Merei, "Group Leadership and Institutionalization" (Human Relations, 1949). Merei examines what happens when children who have exhibited leadership and dominance traits are introduced into groups which have developed their own "culture," that is their own games and activities. The outstanding result is that although the new member often becomes the leader, he leads the group in those activities which the culture dictates, rather than imposing his own upon it. This research suggests that adolescent leaders, perhaps just as much as followers, may be molded by the dominant values of the adolescent culture: they excel, but the group values tell them what to excel in.*

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*These sources are examined at various points in the report, but particularly in the early part of Chapter 4, in the latter part of Chapter 7, and in Chapter 10.

ii. A.B. Hollingshead, Elmstown's Youth. Hollingshead examines in a community study the ways in which the status system within the school can parallel parental positions in the community's status structure, and the effects of such a parallelism upon the success of educational aims.**

iii. Hallworth, H. J., "Sociometric Relationships Among Grammar School Boys and Girls Between the Ages of Eleven and Sixteen Years," Sociometry, 1953. This British study shows the formation and disintegration over time, and relates these to the values of the groups and the values of the school as a whole.

iv. Theodore Newcomb's study of Bennington girls reported in his Social Psychology and elsewhere. This study examines the responses of girls at Bennington College to a situation in which the value system current in the school was at wide variance with parental values.

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*Chapter 10 discusses, though not in great detail, the way in which this same process seems to have occurred in school 9, where Jewish adolescents, with a cultural background which strongly emphasizes education, have come to excel, but in those activities which the culture of this well-to-do suburb held; primarily social activities.

**"Elmtown," the school which Hollingshead studied, is one of the schools in the present research, labelled 2. Chapter 10 will examine cursorily some of the changes which have occurred in this adolescent value system.

b. Kinds and amount of data to be used, including sampling plans

i. Selection of schools: Approximately ten schools will be selected. Systematic variation in size and in urban-suburban-rural location will be attempted, but with enough preliminary observation of the schools to insure that they encompass the desired variations in adolescent status systems. Present intentions are to carry out the research either in Kansas City and surrounding area, or in Chicago and surrounding area. These tentative plans are made on the basis of convenience to the investigation, and the likelihood of cooperation of the school systems involved. Preliminary inquiries both at Chicago and at Kansas City indicate that there will be full cooperation of the Kansas City school system, and probably full cooperation at Chicago.*

ii. Data to be collected: Questionnaires administered to all students in the selected schools at two (or possibly three) time periods and interviews with all teachers will constitute the primary data for the analysis.** This will be supplemented by school records for each student, census data on the neighborhood or area served by the school, and interviews with a small sample of parents.*** The questionnaire data will include sociometric questions and semi-projective items, as well as the usual kinds of attitude and background items of various sorts. The teachers' interview will use more nearly standard interview items, with the primary aim of assessing the standards set for the students by the teachers and the school as a whole.

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*Te research was carried out on schools in the Chicago area, though no public schools in Chicago were included. In the end, the Chicago school system, which is not known for its sympathy to research, was not cooperative. The schools included in the research, and the means by which they were selected, are discussed later in the Introduction.

**Data from teachers was obtained by means of questionnaires rather than interviews.

***Instead of interviews with a sample of parents, mail questionnaires, approximately 70% of which were returned, were sent to all parents.

c. Data collection: In the spring of this school year, field teams of two to four persons each (depending upon the size of the school) will spend two or more weeks at each school administering questionnaires in classrooms, interviewing teachers, and copying school records. In the fall of 1957, the field team will again administer questionnaires to the same students. Between these periods, interviews will be obtained with a sample of parents from each school. Preliminary to all this, observations and pretesting of the questionnaire and interview schedules will be carried out.*

d. Research techniques:

As mentioned above, survey interview and questionnaire methods will be used, incorporating sociometric and semi-projective method. The second set of questionnaires will allow the use of panel techniques, in which changes of the same students over a period of time can be examined.

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*The administration dates were set back a half-year, to allow for pretesting in each of the ten schools. Pretests of the questionnaire and interviews with students were carried out in spring of 1957. In September, 1958, field teams spent one day at each school, administering questionnaires. This was repeated with a new questionnaire in May 1958.

e. Methods of data analysis:

The data will be processed by IBM methods, and a statistical analysis will be carried out. However, the analysis will be somewhat more complex than the usual statistical analysis in which individuals alone are the units of analysis; here the analysis must proceed at the level of the school and the level of subgroups within the school, as well as at the level of the individual. The analysis can perhaps best be characterized as a statistical analysis of social structure, using field data.

f. Time schedule

Design and pretesting: December 1956 - March 1957

First data collection: April, May, 1957

Coding, further data collection: June - August, 1957

Second data collection: September, October, 1957

Second coding: November - December, 1957

Analysis and writing: January, 1958 - December, 1958

Final report completed: December 31, 1958*

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*This time schedule, compared with the date at which the report is being completed (September 1, 1959), suggests the usual over-optimism of the researchers. However, the analysis has been extended over that which was originally intended, and an extended interruption due to illness has also contributed to the change in completion date.

In fall of 1958, an extension of the original plan of the research seemed desirable on the basis of some puzzling initial results, and the following request for extension of the research was made to the Office of Education.

Request for Extension of Contract; Study of High School Social Climates
(O. E. Contract No. SAE 6451)

1. Project progress to date.

Ten high schools were selected on the basis of preliminary information gathered from a sample of 70 high schools in northern Illinois. The schools were selected to exemplify various different "social climates." In some of the schools, athletics is dominant; in others, dating and social activities; in others, academic success, and in still others, a wide range of activities are equally important. The purpose of the study is first to characterize precisely what the social climates in these schools are, and then to learn what are their effects on students' achievement in school and their plans for the future.

In September, 1957, a first questionnaire was administered to all students (about 9000); in May, 1958, a second questionnaire was administered, containing partly new material and partly repeated items to allow examination of changes over the school year. In addition, information on every student's grades throughout his high school career, I.Q. scores, and scores on standardized achievement tests were coded from school records.

2. Remaining work to be done.

All this material is ready for analysis, which has begun with the data from the fall questionnaire. The analysis is proceeding according to schedule, and the report, covering the topics outlined in the original proposal (appendix A to the contract) will be ready on January 31, as specified. However, in the analysis, a particularly surprising result has been found which merits further investigation. This result, and the possibility of analysis which will help explicate it, is the basis for the present request.

3. Initial results, and some of their implications.

The most surprising, and in some ways the most disturbing, finding in the preliminary analysis is the lack of relation between, on the one hand, the amount of learning transmitted by a school, and on the other hand, the orientation to learning. This result is most striking in comparing one upper-middle class suburban school with the other nine schools. The school has extremely fine facilities, and a large selection of advanced courses for college-bound students. A large majority of the seniors attend college. The staff is, by any criterion of training or background one might choose, superior to that in any of the other schools. The school is one of those few mentioned in Time Magazine some months ago as having the highest number of National Merit Scholarship finalists to its credit. It is very probable that the students in this school learn more than in any of the other schools in my sample.

Yet in terms of every criterion which this study can use, the orientations of these students toward academic achievement and toward intellectual endeavor is very low--anywhere from seventh to tenth among the ten schools, depending upon the criterion. Furthermore, it seems to go down over the four years in school. In the eyes of the students, it is much better to be successful with the opposite sex or in athletics than to be a good student. This is true not only in absolute terms, but also relative to the other schools. And it is evident not only in the questionnaires, but also in interviews we carried out with the seniors. To "get ahead" in this school, there are many better means than academic achievement.

These initial results throw serious doubt upon a general assumption held by educators and, to be sure, by laymen as well: by making a school "better," with a better-trained staff, a better physical plant, and a wider range of course offerings and extra-curricular activities, students will be better motivated toward scholastic success and will leave school with heightened intellectual curiosity.

The initial evidence from this study indicates that this may not be the case at all--that adolescents motivate one another, in directions which are likely to be athletic and social, unless definite preventive mechanisms are introduced into the system. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that such academically irrelevant motivations are particularly likely gathered from this school, such as school newspapers, interviews, and other qualitative materials which could not be analyzed for all ten schools, can be utilised to learn in detail what processes seem most responsible for the lack of concern of these students with scholastic achievement.*

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*The additional analyses described here are presented throughout the report; the analysis of qualitative materials, however, proved unrewarding except to give further background knowledge of these adolescents and the school. Chapter 10 discusses the possible sources of the particular phenomenon found in school 10.

The Ten Schools

Ten schools in Illinois were selected for the research, in accordance with the design outline above. The following materials were used in selection:

1. Material from yearbooks of a sample of 70 schools in selected counties in Northern Illinois. The number and kinds of various activities in each school were recorded, and the amount of space devoted to each. The activities of the class officers were recorded, to indicate what kinds of students were chosen to be class presidents.

2. Public records from the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois.

3. Impressions concerning various schools from persons who have occasion to know them: college representatives, visitation committees for state accreditation, and officers of the Illinois High School Athletic Association.

The general aim in selecting the schools was not to pick a "representative sample," but to include schools in which the adolescent social climates were as diverse as possible within the general area selected for the study. It was decided to include two size groups: five schools about 500 students or smaller, and five schools from 1000-2000 students.

Two dimensions of diversity in the social climates were attempted for the five small schools: the content of activities which were rewarded, and the number of kinds of achievement equally rewarded. Also, social class variation and suburban areas as independent towns were attempted.

For the small schools, those which were selected were felt to fall into the following categories:

Single activity	Several activities
0 (music)	3
1 (scholastic achievement)	
4 (athletics)	

School 2, the other small school, was selected because it had been the subject of a study fifteen years earlier, mentioned above in this Introduction, and could therefore afford some valuable information about changes over the 15-year period.

It should be kept in mind that the above classification was used only in selecting the schools, in order to assure a wide range of adolescent social climates. The actual classification of the climates was done on the basis of questionnaire data from all students, reported in Chapter 3, and differs from that above.

The large schools were selected on the basis of the following classification:

	Middle class	Working class
suburban	9	6
independent town	8	7

School 5, a Catholic boys' school serving a working-class neighborhood in the heart of Chicago, was the tenth school.

General characteristics of the schools are listed below:

	School									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Per-pupil expenditure, 1955/56	---	---	467	521	357	---	---	404	409	698
# students, 57-58	169	364	513	421	538	733	1053	1383	1935	1862
# teachers, 57-58	16	19	28	25	30	27	56	68	90	94
% with bachelor's degree in education	33%	59%	42%	63%	63%	28%	52%	36%	44%	36%
% with M.A.	29%	44%	44%	83%	40%	35%	34%	84%	79%	72% (1 PhD)

This information gives very little picture of the schools or communities. In order to give a more graphic picture, other information will be used, information obtained in the following way: all parents' questionnaires were coded by one person, who was otherwise unfamiliar with the communities, the schools, or the aims of the research. After finishing the parents' questionnaires for a given school, he made a page or two of notes on the community and school as seen through the parents' eyes, and reported by them in their comments. These pictures are of course not accurate, but they give a flavor of the community and school as seen by parents.

For two schools, 1 and 2, almost no notes were made; in place of that, a paragraph from the earlier study of school 2 will be quoted, again to give a flavor of the community; for school 1, the few notes which were made are reproduced.*

School 0: 0, pop. 1,000

O impresses me as being one of these country communities where the teen-agers are expected to work hard for their parents during certain hours of the day, and are left free to roam as they please afterward. It is reported that there is much running around in cars at late hours, and wishes were expressed that the authorities should clamp down. The two or three taverns in the town evidently do a good deal of business and are open every day of the week. Whether teen-agers can get liquor through these taverns is not at all certain; the taverns were mentioned on two questionnaires only, and a statement about the late hours of teen-agers accompanied both of these instances.

One comment stated that there is not enough industry in O to keep graduates at home after high school. Most of the parents were farmers with rather nice sized farms.

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*The project is indebted to Thomas Long for these notes.

Ma and Pa ------ claim that there is much division in town among the parents and that they can't work together. There do seem to be a number of women's clubs in town but they can't work together as far as education is concerned. Although it isn't evident from the way the people seem to live, there are one or two reports of there being very much money "about."

One would expect a small town such as O to be a warm-hearted, friendly place. Judging from some comments, it is rather a cold place and one finds it very hard to make friends there. There is evidence that the families are quite closely knit and perhaps this is the reason it does not appear to be a friendly place.

----- High School is small and perhaps overcrowded at present, but a new addition is soon to be completed which should handle the situation.

The High School Band is ------'s pride and joy. Evidently, it is the top High School band in the area. A Band Parents Association has been formed and seems to be a popular thing among the parents. There are some, however, who think that too much attention is given to activities such as a band, and they stress the need for returning to the three R's.

The two Baptist churches which dominate the religious scene also wield influence in the school. It is reported that because of the church, no dances are allowed to be held in the school or sponsored by the school.

Some parents hold that there aren't enough recreational facilities for their children; others are glad that they are living in ----- for there is plenty of room for them to play. All in all, the importance of education seems to be little realized, and I would judge that the type of teen-ager found here values the souped-up jalopy, Elvis Presley-haircuts, the black motorcycle jacket and boots, and wants to be the dare-devil.

School 1: ------, Illinois
population 4,000

-----'s parents are very conscious of the fact that the town is divided into three parts. Just what these divisions are I cannot remember, but there are evidently ill feelings existing between them. One informant states that one part of town looks down on another part, and that this part looks down on the third part. A few other instances which I can't quite recall give the feeling that the community is divided.

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School 2: -----, Ill.
population 7,000
(The following passage is taken from Elmtown's Youth*)

Elmtown's institutions are typical of a Middle Western county-seat town which politically, religiously, educationally, professionally, economically, and socially dominates its tributary area. All types of basic businesses and services common to a town of 6,000 people in the Corn Belt are found here. In addition, it is proud of its locally owned and published daily newspaper and its hospital. Two banks serve the financial needs of the farms, industries, and stores, and a small-loan business caters to the "little people." Several national insurance companies have local agents here. Chain stores compete with those owned by merchants whose families have been in business for two or three generations. A dozen doctors, 5 dentists, 20 lawyers, 15 nurses, and several other independent professionals live and practice in Elmtown. Organized churches in Elmtown itself consist of one Catholic as well as nine Protestant, including one Norwegian Lutheran; there is another Norwegian Lutheran church in the country. There are no state institutions either in the community or in Home County; neither are there any colleges, health resorts, or other establishments which might give it a distinctive character.

In the twelve states comprising the Middle West, there were 215 towns in 1940 that ranged between 5,000 and 10,000 in population. One hundred and eight of the 215 were the largest towns in their counties; they were also county-seat towns. Moreover, they were classed as agricultural-industrial; that is, between 25 and 50 per cent of their male workers were employed in agriculture, and more than 20 per cent were engaged in industry. Elmtown was one of these towns. In terms of its location, size, economic base, population, and institutions, Elmtown may be characterized as a typical Middle Western town. If the communal area is included, the "typical town" can be called a "typical community." In this study, town and country were treated as a unit. Therefore, Elmtown and its dependent institutional area may be said to be a "typical Middle Western community" functionally, structurally, culturally, and historically. Moreover, it may be assumed with some confidence that the knowledge gained about its social structure could be duplicated in any similar community in the Middle West with only minor changes in detail.**

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*A. B. Hollingshead; (New York: Wiley, 1949)

**Ed. Note: The results of the present study suggest that this assumption is hardly valid.

School 3: -----, Ill.
population 6,000

One respondent describes ----- as a town of older retired people with relatively no factories or businesses until recent years. The majority of people now living in the vicinity at present include well-to-do old families, farmers, and some factory workers employed in the few industries in or near the town.

Most of the parents present positive aspects of the community. They say that they enjoy living in a town of this size, and believe it has a favorable effect on their children. It is almost unanimous that a small and friendly town such as ----- is an ideal place to rear children. To back this statement up, some state that all one has to do is to look at their children, their attitudes, and the close friendships they can develop, to get an idea of the town.

There are a few, however, who aren't entirely satisfied with things as they stand. A presbyterian minister says that a social caste feeling exists in the community, and is supported by another parent whose words are: "If your family tree dates far back in the town's history and there is culture associated with it, you're in; otherwise your're not." Many questionnaires agree that the town desperately needs some sort of recreation center, but as yet there is no youth center in -----. Whether the lack of such a thing so unanimously agreed as necessary is due to class conflict is difficult to say.

Most parents hold a favorable view of the academic program of the high school. A few mention that the teachers do not give the students the urge to continue their educations. Most agree that athletics is carried too far in the school program. Those who disparage teachers usually have something derogatory to add about athletics. One parent, however, favors and speaks highly of sports and their effects on his high school boy.

The last point that seems characteristic of ----- is that several of the families have lived there only a short time. A few state specifically, and I sense from the others that they have left larger communities to come to ----- and work in her recently-acquired industries.

School 4: ---------, Ill.
population 5,000

"------- is a good town to be from; it is also a good town to be in."

If one were asked to describe what he thought to be the ideal American town, the picture he would paint would be very similar to that given by parents on these questionnaires.

The town is small enough so that everyone knows each other. The residents seem to be able to work together very well. There is an effort present to provide more recreational activities for the teenagers--the current project being a swimming pool for the town.

Perhaps this is one of those towns which a period of neglect, due to war-time or whatever, allowed to go to the dogs recreation-wise. Parents often say that in their youth ---- had a swimming pool and a lot of other things for them to do in their spare time. The merchants get along well together as do the various organizations.

It is reported that there is one Negro family living in the community. This family is well-liked and respected by the other townsmen.

------ High School appears to be one of those consolidated schools having a number of students from outlying areas. The other towns definitely listed are ----, 12 miles distant, and ------. At present, the school is overcrowded, but an expansion program is in progress which promises to remedy the situation. Religious education is given in the school on so called "released time." It is complained at present that there are not enough courses to choose from, though one parent stated that ----- graduates "do well in college."

There is no public transportation system in the area, from what I gather and this makes it rather unhandy for the children in the outlying districts, and on some occasions those in town. In one area a car pool has been organized by the parents to help their children get about. It doesn't quite solve the problem, and, on the part of the parents, creates more difficulties.

Many of the people living in the ---- area earn their livelihoods by farming. The others perform some type of skilled-unskilled labor in small businesses or in some of the nearby factories. The average number of children seems to be high. Everyone seems to be happy in ----- except a minority of "----" people, who felt that to get ahead in the town one must have money and cannot be a "-----" employee. What the name stands for, I'm not quite sure. It appears to refer to a large outfit which owns a lot of land around the town and rents it out to tenant farmers.

School 5: Chicago, Illinois
population 3,600,000

——— High School is a Catholic school whose faculty is composed primarily of "Brothers" from the Holy Cross order. As teachers these brothers are looked up to by parents as the best there are. As Brothers they are completely free to teach, not having to perform any of the functions of the priest, and not being involved in outside activities as some public school teachers are. The attention they show to the students is greatly appreciated by parents. If a student is not doing well in school, they offer extra classes on Saturdays and after school on weekdays. There appears to be close cooperation between teachers and parents in this respect. The teachers report to parents of the child's progress, especially if he is having difficulties.

Because the school is overcrowded, those students who get into trouble frequently or who don't appear to be trying to keep their grades up are asked to leave. Such cases must be rare, because most of the students like the school and the teachers.

The main reason given by parents for their sending their sons to ——— is the fine moral teaching, discipline, and Catholic instruction which they feel that the school has to offer. The majority of parents are Polish, and I would judge that they are foreign born or had parents themselves who were. They are primarily of the middle lower class and place more importance on religion than on any other phase of life.

There is no neighborhood common to all of the parents reporting. Students are sent to ——— from a number of different areas. Some say that their communities need a larger police force and a curfew system to keep their children out of mischief. In some areas there are many unlighted streets. A couple of parents condemned politics as being crooked and that the politicians exert an evil influence on teen-agers.

In one area there are a number of clubs which teen-agers can belong to and enjoy. The Tween club offers social activities, sports, camping trips, and good companionship. The Neighborhood Association Home serves a similar function. And the Teen Club is primarily a social organization.

All in all, the parents seem to recognize and fear the bad influences of a large city upon their children. They turn to neighborhood youth clubs to keep them out of mischief, and sent them to parochial schools hoping that there they will receive the religious and moral instruction necessary to make them good Catholics and desirable citizens.

School 6, --------, Illinois
population 9,000

"What this town needs is a patrolling police force. If there is trouble or our children get into trouble, we have to go to the Sheriff."

The above quotation makes ---- sound like Dodge City, Kansas. Perhaps there is more to that analogy than the humor it contains. Like Dodge was, ----- is a rapidly growing community. Unlike Dodge City, it is a suburb in the shadows of a metropolis. As yet its streets aren't paved, nor are there any sidewalks. In winter the situation is especially bad, for the teen-agers are all wet and mud-spattered by the time they arrive at school. The sewage system is also bad and there is no public transportation.

Outside of the school, which does an excellent job of providing activities for teen-agers, there is relatively little for them to do. Due to this and perhaps because of the lack of social control and street lights a lot of vandalism occurs in the town. "Teen-agers throw rocks at mailboxes and break streetlights." (How this is possible with no streetlights I don't know.")

Some parents feel that the town is run by a group of money hungry politicians who are a bad influence on teen-agers. One informant said that they built some sort of center near the fire hall and that they serve drinks there. There were hints that a number of teen-agers drink, but no one came right out and said it.

The fact that there is no program for youth has been attributed by some to the lack of interest on the part of ---- parents. In many instances both parents are working in the factories in or near the community and don't take time with their children. Many of the youngsters are permitted to drive before they are sixteen and this is frowned upon by a number of people.

In spite of these negative aspects of the community, there is definitely a spirit of satisfaction which runs through the majority of questionnaires. The town is new and one can sense the hope its inhabitants have for it in the future by such comments as: "I would like to see a college established in ----." People are glad that there is plenty of room around the town for their children to move about and play in. Very little class consciousness makes itself known in the questionnaires. There are no Negroes living in ----, but there are people belonging to various nationalities and races.

The chief positive aspect of the community is its school. Except for one or two parents, the majority of informants praised the school, in one case to an almost ridiculous degree. The building is new and the facilities are all very modern. Parent-teacher relations are good and the teachers are looked up to by both parents and students. School activities, especially band and sports receive a great deal of credit for helping students to develop wholesome attitudes in their relations with other people. During the summers the teachers sponsor what is called a "summer canteen." This provides the teen-agers with swimming, other activities and refreshments. Through it they also get to know some of their teachers well.

Although most parents are extremely proud of the education their children receive at ----- High School, little evidence was available in the questionnaires to show that many graduates attend college or that there is much inspiration to go. The teen-age boys seem to spend much of their time working on cars, and the school has a place and facilities for them to do this ype of work conveniently.

School 7: -------, Ill.
population 25,000

I. The School

----- High School seems to be the pride of the three main Communities which send their children there. Although these three towns are divided along almost every other line, they combined to make the high school, in their estimation, the best in the state.

The enrollment of the school is over 13 hundred students. Opinion is divided as to whether the school's facilities are adequate for such a large number. Some parents praise the adequacy of the facilities, while others claim that conditions are becoming more crowded all the time.

Grade schools from small outlying areas also contribute to the enrollment at ---. The parents of these children generally disapprove of having to send their children by bus to the large high school. They base their disapproval on several things. First, their children are so rushed getting to school and returning home that they have no time for any of the activities. They believe that their children are missing something by being left out of these things. Second, some say that their children don't make friends with the pupils from the three towns served by near the school. They just remain the friends of students on their own areas. On the other hand, some parents say that sending their students to the large high school is good for them.

Football is the most popular sport at -----. The same two men have coached the team for the past 40 years. Facilities for this and other sports were donated primarily by some of the older, wealthy families in the area. Although some think that football is carried too far, the parents seem to enjoy going to the games themselves.

The real gripe of athletics lies in the physical education program, in which every youngster must take part. It seems that if a boy doesn't play a varsity sport, he gets nothing higher than a C for a PE grade. Though it is probably exaggerated in their minds, they think that their boys undergo awful physical treatment in the gym classes. The teachers make them play out of doors in cold weather wearing only shorts and T-shirts; force them to run until they drop for goofing off in class (if they aren't out for sports); and of all things make the boys swim without suits.

Some parents feel that the school policy is to favor the bright student and not care about the intelligent ones. The policy is also continued with the more social-minded students in the activities.

While social activities are praised by some, others feel that cliques have control of things. It should be noted, however, that one parent mentioned that the schools accept minority groups in its activities. A few stated that the backward students haven't got a chance in the social activities.

Comments about teachers range from "the best in the state" to "only one or two worthwhile teachers---Miss --- , Latin is good." I would say that more than half of the comments made spole very highly of the instructors, excepting the gym teacher.

A few parents mentioned the need for more manual training in the school. They didn't believe that their children were being prepared to go out and get jobs after graduation--that is, those who weren't going on to school. One such comment condemned the teaching of the writings of Shakespeare, Byron, and others because they "are dead and gone."

Those comments which mentioned the principal or the counseling done were on the whole very favorable. A few said that their children were not being guided well into choosing their life's occupations.

General comments about the school were very favorable. As they become more specific, they lean more and more toward the unfavorable side.

II. The Community

In interpreting the comments given in regard to the towns it is difficult to distinguish which town is being talked about, unless the informant's address is given. Therefore, the specific incidences I mention may actually be describing a certain town and not the area as a whole.

One comment mentioned that the high school is the only thing that the people of ----, -----, and ----- have been able to agree on in the past fifty years. A new problem, however, is now forcing them to at least present a united front to outsiders. This problem is the shortage of industry in the area. The idea now is to make the area look good in an effort to attract new industries.*

Most of the parents are employed at the several factories located here. In the past these factories have offered much to the communities. Miss ---- of the ----- Cement Mill donated a recreational center and supplied it with excellent facilities. At present, however, the factories are no longer able to provide employment for the students as they are graduated from school. The factories also cater to female employment and some mentioned that such women are neglecting their children by going to work.

One person stated that one major employer controls things in the towns. A few others said that the controls are in the hands of a few businessmen. Another parent said that some of these leaders do not pay their bills.

A "family tree" going back into the early history of the community is necessary to advance in the community or school, say a number of people. The old timers, that is, people past middle age, are said to be reactionary, and it is very difficult to get their cooperation on any type of unified effort.

It may be interesting to note that while minority groups are said to be well accepted in the school, a Negro hasn't spent the night in the community for fifty years. One parent felt that this was bad if her children are ever going to grow up without being prejudiced.

The community is 85% Catholic** and includes many second generation Eastern Europeans. Several comments frown on the Catholic Church and hold it responsible for all the "drinking, gambling, and other vice" that goes on. One person, himself a Catholic, said that he thought it bad for one church to predominate so greatly in a community. Evidently the gambling has now been prohibited. A woman said "the community has excellent recreation facilities and is sportsminded, but everybody and his dog drink. They take babies and children to taverns which are open even on Sundays."

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*Ed. note: These towns underwent a slight population decline in each of two decades from 1930-1950.

**The school is 67% Catholic, 32% Protestant, less than 1% Jewish.

A skeptical parent said, "The town is lazy and can't get anything done. The sewer system is an example. Also the city council, and not the town, voted for floridation, something any fool knows we are better off without." Comments such as "always quarreling" and "can't get along" dominated the general comments about the communities.

From what I can piece together from the comments, ---- and ----- have excellent recreation centers for teenagers. Some list ---- as an excellent place for dancing and socializing. Others say that there are not enough winter activities.

Many people say that the area is a good place to rear children. They say that there is relatively no "hoodlum" problem, as in other places in which they have lived previously. The police force seems understanding when something goes wrong, says one. To present another side, someone mentioned that minors are able to buy liquor somewhere in the community.

Although the people on the whole agree that the communities are divided, they nevertheless advocate it as a good place in which to rear children.

P.S. One parent disapproved strongly of the teaching of evolution in the schools.

School 8: ------, Ill.
population 100,000

Many of the parents are discontent with the high school and educational system in general, but for few common reasons. The common reasons are uninterested teachers and a poor guidance system. Some think that courses which do not prepare students for manual occupations should be done away with. Others ask for more emphasis on college preparation. It was mentioned several times that the teachers cater to the wealthier students. Parents whose children were having difficulties in school said that teachers were very unwilling to help. When students would ask for further explanation the teachers would tell them to go and sit down. Investigating parents were often received coldly by teachers and were given only curt replies to the questions they asked about their children.

Some parents think that the school is too well equipped. These people think that the money should have been used to obtain better teachers and recreation for the students. Several mentioned this, but only one of these said she was talking about the home economics department, which is known to be quite elaborate.

On a tour of some sort last year, three boys were found drinking in their hotel room. They were expelled from all club activities.

One informant said that stealing was terrible in -----. There appears to be some evidence to lead one to think that certain cliques, which are very difficult for outsiders to penetrate, run most of the activities. Those who can't get in the cliques apparently take out their revenge by forming undesirable groups of their own. Hot rod gangs and a so-called sex gang, (located, however, mostly on the other side of town), have resulted from this sort of thing.

The majority of parents agree that, for a city of its size, ----- possesses very little in the way of supervised recreation and that it has a high juvenile delinquency rate. Reports of there being too many taverns and too many teen-agers using liquor were given. Several parents were quite wary about the ----- Inn, saying that places which had such bad reputations should not be allowed to operate.

Apparently hot rods zoom up and down city streets 24 hours a day. This situation is greatly disliked by many parents. They feel that the city should do something toward building a drag strip for the young drivers to keep them off the streets.

There are some parents who claim that there is plenty of recreation in ----- but that the children don't take advantage of it. Other parents quite frequently request recreation that their children can afford. They say there is recreation, but their children can't afford it.

Lately many families have moved into ----- from some of the southern states. Most of these are low classes of people who are lowering the standards in the city. One parent said that they live in old run down houses which they bought ~~cheaply~~, are lazy, sleep as many as a dozen in one room, etc.

The far West side of town has many Negroes and Italians. Although there is plenty of industry in or near the city, Negroes find it difficult to get jobs.

------ appears very cold to newcomers. Although there appear to be many organizations in the city, they are apathetic in regard to the education and recreational needs of teen-agers. Some other things indicate the presence of internal conflicts, besides the Negro and Southern "hillbilly" problems: the fact that the North end of the city is inhabited by the upper class of people, and the mention that the town is dominated by a "narrow-minded religion."

On the whole, ----- appears to be a city of many industries which are manned by lower classes of people and run by the middle class. It is large enough to contain several areas, some of which are scenes of discontent, and others of which are well satisfying to residents. While it is in nedd of many improvements, civic interest is commencing to develop and plans are being laid.

School 9: ------, Ill.
population 17,000

"You can't build muscles by slamming Cadillac Doors."
--former athletic director

------ High School prides itself on high scholastic achievement. The townspeople seem to recognize the importance of an education, mainly because they are almost all well educated themselves. As a result of the vast accumulation of wealth in the town, the people have given their support to build one of the finest high school systems in the country.

The majority of informants point out the advantages to be obtained in the school. Along with this, however, are comments to the effect that the school places entirely too much stress on the brilliant and socially adept child, and strives for national recognition. There is too much pressure toward getting ----- graduates into outstanding colleges. It is complained that the only thing that counts is "grades," and that this has an adverse effect on the students, making them feel tempted to cheat at times (which is easy to do because of the quasi-honor system) and not really interested in knowledge as its own end.

Students attend from the outlying district of ----- and -----, besides from the ------ area. It seems that the children from the outlying districts are left out of the school activities. Several questionnaires report of cliques in the school and others say that no such things exist. There does appear to be a majority of questionnaires that report of a few controlling things socially in the school.

The majority of students are Jewish.* Some hard-feeling results from the holding of Jewish religious services during school hours. The Jewish students seem to get out of classes to attend. Resentment is also felt around holiday seasons because the Jewish children not only get off for the normal holidays, but are also excused for their own holidays.

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* Ed. Note: Only 31% of students are in fact Jewish; 22% are Catholic (almost all from a neighboring community); 47% are Protestant.

There is some mention that teachers favor the wealthy students; "It isn't what you are but who you are that matters."

The school has an advisory system whereby students receive an advisor who coaches them through their entire high school career. Comments on advisors run both positively and negatively. What does seem to be resented most along this line by parents is the elaborate testing system used to determine what a student is best suited for. If students receive low grades on certain aptitude tests they are usually discouraged from taking certain subjects. There are a number of comments to the effect that the advisors talk the students out of what they really want to do in favor of what they want them to do, or in favor of what their tests show them most capable of doing.

------ is said to rank among the first ten high schools in the country. At the same time, it has attempted to keep up with schools outstanding in athletics, but inferior scholastically. The result is that -----'s athletic teams are often defeated miserably. They seem to be far outclassed in whatever conference they are in. Parents feel that this has a deleterious effect on the students, and think the ---- should be scheduled to meet smaller schools on the gridiron or basketball courts.

Most of the comments listed below are negative ones. This should not spoil anyone's conception of how the majority of parents feel about ---- High School. On the majority of questionnaires the comments about the school are definitely positive. Parents praise the school for the most part. The comments listed are those from the minorities in outlying districts or the remainder of a comment which reads, "This is a wonderful school, its teachers and facilities are tops, but...."

The Wealthy: Nothing could be finer than living in ------. The wealthy parents picture the community as being almost a Utopia. Everyone supports the common efforts, especially the school system. Many are drawn to -----, especially to send their children to the high school.

The community has changed very much in the last few years. Many of the informatns have recently moved to the community from the East or from Chicago or other large cities.

The Necessary Service Workers: A much more descriptive picture of the community is given by the older residents and the people needed to carry on community life (i.e., the firemen, police, butchers, etc.)

While the rich seem to think that everyone supports education, the poorer class greatly resents having to pay high taxes to support the school. They say that their children are hurt because they can't afford cars, Hi Fi's, and other such things. There does not seem to be any place outside of school where children can gather to have a social time among themselves. Everything they do is planned and overseen by parents. Some seem to think that this deprives their children of opportunities to use their own initiative.

No public transportation system exists in the community, and parents have to drive the children wherever they want to go. This increases the desire on the part of the students to want cars, and also brings the social pressures involved with having a car down on those who have them.

Amid the praise of the majority of parents for the peace and tranquility of the community appear comments such as: "...the police chief and his force are entirely too rough on our children and will force them into delinquency." or, "...we have a fine police force who show a great deal of understanding to our children when they get into trouble." or, "...there is too much hoodlumism and vandalism around the school."

Most parents who commented have qualms about the effect of the materialistic values of the community on their children.

On the whole, the nouveau riche say that everything is "just hunky dorey" in ------ and the older residents, both rich and poor point out faults.

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Chapter 1

The Emergence of an Adolescent Subculture in Industrial Society

A society's task in educating its young is probably its second most fundamental task. It is second only to the task every society faces of organizing itself so as to control its members and carry out actions as a society. For, once organized, if it is to maintain its organization, its young must be so shaped as to fit into the roles of which the society itself consists.

Every society, one might say, is subject to a continual invasion, invasion by young savages which must somehow be tamed or "socialized."

It would seem, at first glance, that the problem of taming the young savages would perhaps be carried out in a similar way in every society, for the young savages as they enter this world are much the same in every society. Yet the problem is in fact faced in very different ways in different societies. A good example of this is provided by a recent and continuing conflict between the Amish in Ohio and the Ohio State Board of Education. The Amish, attempting to maintain their small society as an enclave within the larger society, have very different views as to what constitutes a reasonable education for their young than do the Ohio laws. To quote at length a news account,

> Last week, by a vote of 19-2, the Ohio Board of Education ruled that two Amish* high Schools--in Holmes and Tuscarawas counties--would have to measure up to state standards or close. The Amish schools, the board said, have no graded courses in geography, American and Ohio history, natural

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*An offshoot of the Mennonites, the Amish came into being in 1693 when a Swiss Mennonite bishop, Jacop Amman, disapproved of the growing

> sciences, government, and other required subjects. Some teachers, the board added, have no more than an eighth-grade education.
>
> With few textbooks, the children spend much of their school day copying phrases from their diaries into composition books. Examples: "I plowed and cleaned raspberry patch." "Ironed all day." "In the forenoon I went to church. In the afternoon I fed the turkey broilers."
>
> Bearded Henry Hershberger, chairman of the Amish School Committee, admitted the schools didn't meet state standards, but he hoped for a compromise. "It seems that our way is quite different from what the public demands," he said. "Worldly wisdom taught in public schools conflicts with our way of life. Our religion is built around simplicity."

One's first reaction to such an education--or lack of one--as this received by the Amish children, might be one of sympathy for the children deprived of their birthright in a free society. Yet upon further consideration, the example illustrates not the depravity of the Amish parents, but rather the sharp difference in the educational task of a stable farming society and a rapidly-changing, highly industrialized society. In the former, of which the Amish represent one of the few remaining examples within the United States, the problem of the society is simply to reproduce itself; to give its young members the same values, habits, and skills that the parents themselves have. The task of education in such a stable, localized, and personalized society--which is not long past in our country as a whole--is a simple one, and is carried out as part of the same "natural process" by which a parent teaches his child to walk or to talk.

This is not to say that in such a society the education a child

---

liberalism of his church. There are some 27,000 Amish adults in the United States today.

receives is the "best of all educations in that best of all possible worlds." It is often, in fact, far from it, for each child is at the mercy of his parents, and whether his parents are good citizens or ne'r-do-wells, the "natural processes" by which they indoctrinate or socialize him makes him a good replica of them. Nevertheless, for good or ill, the problem is handled as naturally within the family as is the problem of teaching a child to walk or talk.

In contrast, in an industrial society committed to equality of opportunity, of which our own is the most advanced example, there are two facts which make the task a fundamentally different and more complex one. The first is the fact of change itself. Our society is changing at an ever-increasing rate, so that the adults cannot afford to simply shape their children in their own images. The parents are, in fact, often obsolescent in their skills, trained for jobs which are passing out of existence, and thus unable to transmit directly their accumulated knowledge. Too, they come to be "out of touch with the times," unable to understand, much less to inculcate the standards of a social order which has changed since they were young.

Added to this is the fact of specialization. In an industrial society, each father's skills are highly specialized, while his son, if he is to start on an equal footing with his fellows, must be trained through public school, as a generalist, able to choose the role in society which he wants to fill. The child can no longer help the family economically; and in turn the family has nothing to offer the child in training for his place in the community. Thus jobs, and skills for jobs, must be taught by some institution outside the family, the school. But this is only one consequence of specialization: another is that the period of training is longer. With every decade, more of the jobs available in our society require a high level of training. As our industrial economy comes of age, it has less and less room for laborers and skilled workers, more and more room for engineers and managers. Thus not only do we relegate education to an institution outside the family; we are having to keep a child there longer before he is "processed" and fit to take his place as an adult in society.

This setting-apart of our children in schools (which take on ever more functions, ever more "extra-curricular activities"), and the fact that we keep them there longer, have a singular impact on the child of high school age. He's "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. He comes, with his fellows, to constitute a small society all its own, a society which has most of its important interactions within, and maintains only a few threads of connection to the outside adult society. In our modern world of mass communication and rapid diffusion of ideas and knowledge, it is hard to realize that separate subcultures can exist right under our very noses--subcultures with languages all their own, with special symbols, and most importantly with value systems which may differ largely from our own. Any parent who has tried to talk to his adolescent son or daughter recently knows this--as does anyone who has recently visited a high school for the first time since his own adolescence. These young people speak a different language, to put it simply. And what is most relevant to the present point, the language they speak is getting more and more different.

As if it were not enough that such an institution exists sharply segregated from the rest of society, there are other things which strongly reinforce this separateness. Adolescents are an important market nowadays, and one which buys special kinds of entertainment which cater almost exclusively to it: Popular music is the most important case; and movies, since television took away their adult audience, have moved more and more toward becoming a special medium for adolescents.

To summarize the situation very simply, in a rapidly changing, highly rationalized society, the "natural processes" of education in the family are no longer adequate; they have been replaced by a more formalized institution, which is set apart from the rest of society, one which covers a longer span of time. As a consequence, society is confronted no longer with a set of individuals to be trained toward adulthood, but with distinct cultures, small social systems which offer a united front to the overtures made by adult society.

Thus, the very changes the society is undergoing have spawned something more than was bargained for. They have taken not only the training-for-job out of a parent's hands, but have quite effectively taken the whole adolescent himself away, and have dumped him into a society of his peers, a society whose habitats are the halls and classrooms of the school, the teenage canteens, the corner drugstore, the automobile, and numerous other natural habitats of the teen-ager. Consequently, the non-occupational training which parents once gave to adolescents via "natural processes" have been taken out of their hands as well—not by the schools (many of which are dismayed at the thought of having to take over parental functions), but by those very social changes which have removed adolescents off into a society of their own.

A good index of those changes is given by the number of highschool age youth in school. We think of high school in our society as having been in existence for a long time. But in a sense it has not, for in 1900, only 11% of this country's high school age youth were _in_ high school; and as late as 1930, the proportion was only 51%.[*] Sometimes this is viewed as "progress" in making of our society a democracy, and of course it is, but there is considerable evidence to suggest that these changes are simply the necessary ones consequent upon the industrialization of society.

Fifty years ago, in an earlier stage of industrialization, only a small segment of society needed the lengthened training which high school represents. The rest were learning, on the farms or in the stores or in the trades of their parents and neighbors, the things required of non-industrial or semi-skilled workers.

Perhaps it is self-evident that such institutional changes, which have set apart the youth of our society in high schools, should produce an "adolescent culture," with values of its own. These changes have certainly been discussed by numerous authors in a speculative vein like that above.[**] While such a matter is partly one of definition as to what constitutes a separate subculture, there are several items from the present study which help to give a sense of the degree to which these adolescents are oriented to parents and to peers. In one question (q.29-32 fall) they were asked to rank the relative importance of four items, including "pleasing my parents" and "being accepted and liked by other students. The question is reproduced below and the relative rank of these items for boys and for girls is shown in Table 1 (1 is the highest rank, 4 is the lowest.)*

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[*] Charles R. Keller, "Origins and History of the Secondary School," in _College Admissions 6: The American Secondary School_ (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1959) p. 5, 6.

[**] An early statement of the general problem is that of Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in American Society," reprinted in his _Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied_ (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949).

> I.29-32. Different people strive for different things. Here are some things that you have probably thought about. Among the things you strive for during your high school days, just how important is each of these?
> (Rank from 1 to 4)

	Average Rank	
	Boys	Girls
pleasing my parents	2.03	2.11
learning as much as possible in school	2.42	2.62
living up to my religious ideals	2.91	2.73
being accepted and liked by other students	2.63	2.53
(number of students)	(4021)	(4135)

For both boys and girls, parents rank quite high while acceptance by other students ranks lower. It is interesting to note that for girls, acceptance by others ranks slightly higher, and pleasing parents slightly lower, than it does for boys. This was a general finding in the study, which occurred with most of the questions which forced a choice between parents and peers. Evidence throughout this report will indicate that girls are much more aware of and sensitive to the judgments of their peers than are boys.

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*This question is taken from the fall questionnaire, which is included in the Appendix. Roman I or II preceding the question number will indicate the fall or spring questionnaire respectively. The average ranks are based on the students in the nine public schools.

Comparing the average rank accorded to parents and to peers suggests that these adolescents are somewhat more oriented to their parents than to those their own age. (It is interesting to note, however, that they rank both of these items, which represent other people, higher than religion and learning, which represent more abstract aims.) Such comparisons should be made with caution, however, because a differently worded question might have given quite different responses. This is evidenced well by another set of questions, which placed each student in the hypothetical situation of being invited to join a club of which his parents disapproved.*

I.134, II.116. Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and then finally you were asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think you would...

	Fall		Spring	
	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %
definitely join anyway	5.9	2.2	8.2	3.2
probably join	27.6	22.0	30.6	23.7
probably not join	50.3	56.6	44.4	52.5
definitely not join	16.3	19.3	16.8	20.6
	(3730)	(3964)	(3708)	(3893)

As the responses indicate, there are considerably more boys and girls who say they would not join if parents disapproved than there are who say they would join. And in contrast to the responses on the earlier question, this time the girls are more oriented to their parents' wishes—somewhat as if the girls are less oriented to pleasing their parents, but more willing to accept parental dictate. The spring responses, incidentally, show a slight shift away from parental control.

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*In the presentation of these results and most that follow, the students who did not answer the question are subtracted from the total. Almost all failures to answer were a result of failure to finish the questionnaire during the school period.

A question following upon this one (asked only in the fall) shows further the complexity of the matter. After being asked whether they would join the club if their favorite teacher objected, or if it would mean breaking with their closest friend, they were asked,

I.137. Which one of these things would be hardest for you to take—your parents' disapproval, your teacher's disapproval, or breaking with your friend?

	Boys %	Girls %
parents' disapproval	53.8	52.9
teacher's disapproval	3.5	2.7
breaking with friend	42.7	43.4
	(3621)	(3894)

The response to this question is shown beside the question, again for boys and girls separately. By comparison with the earlier question, the responses show the strong conflict this engenders in the girls—for although they would less likely join the club than would the boys if their parents objected, the prospect of breaking with their closest friend exerts a strong pressure—so that their concern about breaking with a friend is even slightly higher, relative to their concern about parental disapproval, than it is for the boys.

These two questions illustrate the effect of the particular form of the question on the responses, which should inhibit any inference about whether or not these adolescents are more oriented to parents or to peers. It is evident from all the questions that they are strongly oriented to both--and their responses to the last question in Table 3 shows how insignificant the teacher's opinions are--even their favorite teacher--compared to either their parents or their friends.

But it might be suggested that those adolescents who are more oriented to their parents tend to "set the standard" in school, while those more oriented to their peers tend to be delinquents or at least less looked up to than those who are parent-oriented. If this were so, then one could say that these adolescent cultures which exist in the schools were oriented toward parents to a greater degree than the individual responses indicate, because the central persons in the schools are more oriented to parents. But this is not at all so; more nearly the reverse is true.

Suppose we look at those students who are named most often (ten times or more) by their response to the following question:

> I.51. If a fellow came here to school and wanted to get in with the leading crowd, what fellows should he get to be friends with?

Quite reasonably, we can think of the students named in response to this question as the "leaders" or the "elite" of the adolescent culture existing in the schools. For this group and for the students as a whole is shown in Table 1.1 below the proportion who say parents' disapproval would be hardest for them to take in response to the question examined above.

As Table 1.1 indicates, the leaders in the school are not more oriented to their parents. They are even slightly less so, slightly further from parents as a source of approval and disapproval than are the students as a whole. Perhaps this fact is not surprising--it would

Table 1.1

Proportion of all students and members of leading crowds in the schools who say that "parents' disapproval would be hardest to take"

(I, q. 137)

Boys		Girls	
All boys	Leading crowd	All Girls	Leading crowd
53.8%	50.2%	52.9%	48.9%
(5621)	(167)	(3894)	(264)

hardly be reasonable that those students most at the center of the adolescent culture would themselves be oriented to the adult society. Yet the consequences of this fact are important, for it means that those students whom others are looking up to are themselves committed to the adolescent group, and thus intensify whatever inward forces the group already has.

Turning back to the notion that this existence of an adolescent culture is more pronounced than it once was, there is little the present research can do to document this notion. However it is possible from the data of the study, to gain a little insight into the changes which have taken place in society. The tactic which can be used is this: since the present study includes five small-town or rural schools, and five large-town, city, or suburban ones, it is possible to use the stable small-town schools to "reach back into the past" a short way. In other words, these schools represent a segment of American society which was once far more important than it is now: They are small-town mid-America market centers for the surrounding farmland, with a few industries, but not highly industrialized. At the other extreme, in keeping with the times, are two homogeneous suburbs of Chicago: one a new working-class suburb with a school only seven years old; the other an older, but similarly homogeneous, upper-middle-class suburb with a mushrooming population.

Before examining the quantitative evidence as to these changes, it is helpful to look at a passage taken from a letter from a particularly perceptive parent, a lawyer living in the upper-middle class suburb:

> Mrs. ... and I do not believe we could give you much useful information about the teen-age culture as it exists in ....

> We see this culture in a very limited aspect, through our sophomore daughter, and our limited familiarity with her contemporaries. It is truly surprising how little one person knows about the inner thinking of another, particularly when the other is an adolescent. I suspect that the interests and values current in the high school group are more independent of those of the adult community than we generally believe.
>
> Most children of this age, at least in ... I believe do not have serious responsibilities, such as helping to support a family or to prepare to pay their way through college, and therefore are not acquainted with people engaged in making a living, and do not understand the problems and responsibilities which parents have. As a result, they do not obtain the experience which goes with such responsibility,... and, in effect, live in a world separate from the adult community.

This letter indicates what may be a general feeling among many parents today: that their teen-age children are in "a world apart." One of the indications of such an "apartness" might be the degree to which boys want to follow in their father's footsteps--the degree to which they want to follow in his occupation. They were asked,

> I.101. What kind of work do you plan to go into when you finish your schooling?

The answers were coded (except in some cases where it was not possible) as to whether the occupation named was the same as their father's or different. The results are tabulated below, for the five small-town or rural schools and for the four public high schools in larger towns, cities and suburbs.

Table 1.2

Proportion of boys who want to go into the same occupation as their fathers'

	Five small-town schools		Four city and suburban schools	
Same	23.0%		9.8%	
Different	77.0%		90.2%	
Total classifiable	100.0%	(710)	100.0%	(2177)
(unable to classify)		(66)		(173)
(no answer to own occupation)		(252)		(643)
Total		(1028)		(2993)

As Table 1.2 indicates, 23% of the boys in the small towns want to follow their father's occupation; only 9.8% of the boys in the city and suburban schools want to do so.* This difference is even more impressive when one realizes that it is the small-town occupations which will be less numerous in the next generation, as an industrial society more nearly replaces a rural one.

It is possible by examining the other extreme, the upper middle class suburban school 9, to see more directly the greater orientation to peers on the part of boys and girls fully a part of modern society. Looking again at the question which was asked for a ranking of "being accepted and liked by other students," (I, q.29-32) and considering separately school 9, the ranking of "being accepted and liked by other students" is considerably higher than among all the small-town schools together.

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*Though the schools are not shown separately, each of the small-town schools is higher than any of the others in this percentage, with one exception: School 2, which is the most industrialized of the five small towns, is lower than the upper-middle class suburb. It is interesting to note in passing that in the working-class schools (6 and 7) the son's choice shifts away from his father's occupation over the four years from freshman to senior; in the upper middle class suburb, the son's choice shifts toward the father's occupation.

Table 1.3

Average rank for all schools and school 9 of "being accepted and liked by other students" (I, q.29-32)

	Boys		Girls	
	All Schools	School 9	All Schools	School 9
Average rank	2.63	2.34	2.53	2.17
Number of cases	(4021)	(932)	(4135)	(898)

At the same time, these differences as indicated in Table 1.3 are not remarkably great, nor do any of the other questions which show the relative orientation to parents and peers indicate a great difference between the small-town schools and the urban or suburban ones. It is likely that the attempt to "reach back into history" by examining these small towns or to "reach forward" by examining an upper middle class suburb, is impeded by the very shifts which have occurred in small towns themselves. The general prosperity, rapid transportation, and the mass media of communication have radically altered the style of life in small towns, bringing them into the general culture. In particular, the small-town adolescents have far greater access to one implement of our modern culture than do teen-agers in a large city, or even a suburb: the automobile. This is strikingly evident in these schools. In the five small schools, an average of 57% of senior boys have a car of their own. In the two suburban schools, only 40% of senior boys have a car and in the city schools, an average of 33% have a car, with a low of 17% in school 5, the only school in a city larger than 150,000.*

It seems that only where there have been conscious efforts to maintain an older way of life, as with the Amish, or where there are physical or economic barriers, as in the hill country in the South, has the general culture of the society failed to penetrate deeply.

In sum, then, the general point is this: our adolescents today are cut off probably more than ever before, from the adult society. They are still oriented toward fulfilling their parents' desires, but look very much to their peers for approval as well. As a consequence, our society has within its midst a set of small teen-age subcultures, whose interests and attitudes are focussed on things far removed from adult responsibilities, and who may develop standards which lead a child away from those goals toward which our schools are intended to lead.

Given this general condition, there are several directions in which educational efforts could turn. One is toward a channeling of the adolescent subculture so that the influence they exert on a child is in the directions we adults desire. That is, rather than to attempt to motivate children one by one, each parent exhorting his own child while the adolescent culture as a whole pulls in other directions, we can attempt to redirect the whole culture itself, so that it comes to motivate the child in directions we seek. This is not a new device; perceptive principals and teachers have long attempted to do this in various ways, "playing by ear," so to speak. Yet it has never been the focus of any general philosophy of education, nor have any general means for doing this been set forth in schools of education. As yet, we know too little about the ways in which cultures, such as those exhibited by our teen-agers, can be guided and directed.

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*The range in the five small towns is from 40% in school 2 to 77% in school 3. In the suburbs it is 39% in the working class suburban school 6 and 40% in school 9. In the cities the range is from 17% in school 5 in Chicago, to 46% in school 8, in a city of about 100,000 population.

Before any such attempts are made in this direction, it is important to examine carefully the ways in which these subcultures operate, the kinds of effects they have on teen-agers embedded within them, and the elements which shape existing subcultures in one direction or another. This will be the intent of the succeeding chapters of this report. First the values, activities, and interests which characterize the "teen-age culture" as a whole will be examined.

But of most interest will be the ways in which these adolescent subcultures vary from school to school, from community to community, so that some insight can be gained into the factors which shape the cultures in one or another direction. Looking first at the separate schools, and then at the various "crowds" or groups within the schools, it will be possible to gain some insight into the ways in which the climate of education which pervades a school may be brought more nearly into line with the hopes and ideals of our society.

Chapter 2

The Adolescent Culture

The preceding pages have indicated the increasing importance of the "adolescent culture" in our society: increasing because we live in an industrial society, with its ever-greater job specialization; and increasing because of the very rapidity of change itself, which makes the parents unfit for training their own young. This increasing division between the adolescent and the rest of society is in part a manifestation of a general cleavage between different age groups in society, as the family becomes less of an economic unit in society and the husband-wife unit sheds its appendages: the grandparents, who have come to maintain a home of their own, often far away; and the children as well, who are ensconced more and more in institutions provided for that purpose, from nursery school through college.

The increasing importance of the adolescent culture has a number of implications important for educational theory and practice. These implications stem from the simple fact that adolescents are looking, not to the adult community for their social rewards, but to each other. To be sure, parents and parental desires are of great importance to children, in a long range sense, but for their everyday activities, in school and out, it is their peers whose approval, admiration, and respect they attempt to win. As a consequence, the old "levers" by which children are motivated are less efficient. The old levers, of course, are approval or disapproval of parents and teachers; our educational practice has never ceased to use these levers, for it has recognized (as sometimes educational theory has failed to do) that if a child is to learn, and to work at learning, he needs both a challenge and meaningful social rewards for meeting the challenge.

So long as those social rewards could be directly provided by adults, there was little need to be explicit about them in educational theory, for they were naturally provided by the very process of interaction between parent and child or student and teacher. To be sure, these rewards were often distributed in ways which reinforced the stratification system, and took away the lower class child's meagre chance for equality;* and, as Allison Davis has shown very well, the middle-class backgrounds of teachers often made them unable to hold out reasonable rewards for reasonable achievement to lower-class children.** Yet the situation was fundamentally simpler than it is today, because teachers and parents had direct control over the levers they could apply to activate children. Now the levers are other children themselves, and adults must come to know either how to control these levers, or else how to break down the adolescent culture, so that the control by the old levers is reestablished.

I suspect that the latter solution is exceedingly difficult, for it flies in the face of large-scale social changes, and would seem to require a reorganization of work and community which is hardly in the offing. The major thesis of this research and this report is that it

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*This is most graphically illustrated by A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949), a study which shows the various mechanisms by which the school reinforced the class structure. Because the present study includes "Elmtown" as one of its ten schools, it will be possible (in Chapter 11 of this report) to show the greater cross-cutting of social class lines which occurs in Elmtown today, compared to 1941.

**Allison Davis, *Father of the Man: How Your Child Gets His Personality*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947).

is possible to take the other tack, to learn how to control the adolescent community as a community, and to use this community itself to further the ends of education.

The first step in doing this is to examine a number of adolescent communities themselves, to discover just what the value systems are: What are the bases on which adolescents give approval to one another or withhold it; what are the grounds for becoming a member of the "inner core" or "leading crowd"; what are the things which make a boy or girl popular, admired, and imitated by his fellows? To be sure, there are differences from community to community and from school to school, some of which will be examined in detail later; but there are also similarities, which make it worthwhile investigating the values of the general adolescent culture, and the possible effects of these values on the children affected by them. The fact that there are differences indicate that there are not fixed and invariant qualities about adolescents which make hopeless any attempt by adults to modify the value system; but the similarities among different schools show that there are some general elements, perhaps in the kind of environment our society provides for its adolescents.

The general interests and activities of teen-agers:

Because adolescents live to some degree off in a world of their own, we adults remain rather uninformed about the way teen-agers spend their time, the things that are important to them, and the things that friends have in common. Several questions were asked in the study which give a picture of these patterns of activities and interests. Every boy and girl was asked, I.108. What is your favorite way of spending your leisure time?

The responses went as indicated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Leisure Activities of Boys and Girls in the Nine Public High Schools

		Boys (%)	Girls (%)
1.	Organized outdoor sports (including football, basketball, tennis, etc.)	22.0	6.9
2.	Unorganized outdoor activities (including hunting, fishing, swimming, boating, horseback riding)	14.7	11.3
3.	"Being with the group," riding around, going up town, etc.	17.2	32.5
4.	Attending movies and spectator events (athletic games, etc.)	8.5	10.4
5.	Dating or being out with opposite sex	13.6	11.6
6.	Going dancing (girls only)		12.0
7.	Hobby (working on cars, bicycles, radio, musical instruments, etc.)	22.5	20.1
8.	Indoor group activities (bowling, playing cards, roller skating, etc.)	8.0	8.1
9.	Watching television	19.4	23.6
10.	Listening to records or radio	11.2	31.7
11.	Reading	13.7	35.5
12.	Other	7.1	9.3
13.	No answer	8.1	3.7
	Number of cases	(4020)	(4134)

The boys' responses indicate that boys like to spend a great deal of their time in fairly active outdoor pursuits, such as sports, boating, and just going around with the fellows. They spend it on hobbies, too (the most frequent of which is working on their car) and on such passive pursuits as movies, television, records, and the like. Being with girls does not, as adults sometimes think, constitute a large part of their leisure activities (though, to be sure, it comes to occupy more time as they go from the freshman year to the senior year).

The comparison with girls' leisure-time activities shows a sharp contrast in some categories. Girls' favorite leisure activities include far less often the active outdoor ways that boys enjoy themselves, are more often "just being with their friends," and far more often vicarious pleasures: watching television, movies, attending games, reading, listening to records. Their more active pursuits include one which never exists for boys: dancing among themselves. Perhaps this is an activity which substitutes for the sports at which boys spend their time; perhaps it partakes of some of the vicarious qualities of their pursuits such as watching movies and reading. In any case, it suggests the oft-heard quip that boys are interested in sports and girls are interested in boys.

The general pattern of these leisure pursuits, showing considerably more activity among the boys, is indicative of something which seems to be quite general in the adolescent community: boys have far more to do than girls have. Whether it is athletics or cars or hunting or model-building, our society seems to provide a much fuller set of activities to engage the interests of boys than of girls. Thus when girls are together, they are much more often just "with the gang" than are boys (one of their frequent afternoon activities being simply "going up town" to window-shop and walk around).

There is a particular point of interest in these responses, thinking about their relation to the school. Note that only one of the categories, organized sports, has any direct relation to things which go on in school. Some of the hobbies and other activities may of course have their genesis in school, and some sports are centered around the school, but except for these, school-related activities are missing. No one responds that doing homework is his favorite way of spending his leisure time. To be sure, this is at least in part because homework is not viewed as leisure, but as work. Yet athletics manages to run over into leisure time, breaking the barrier that separates work from leisure. Perhaps it is not too much to expect that other in-school activities directly tied to learning could also--if the right way were found--take them out of the category of pure work and allow them to spill over into leisure.

In a sense, we have spread out before us in Table 1 the activities which capture the energies and interests of teen-agers, and the question we are asking is how schools can come to capture those energies and interests in a way that they presently fail to do.

Another glimpse of the interests which hold the attention of teen-agers, and the way these differ from boys to girls, can be obtained from answers to the following question asked in the questionnaire.

> I.38a. What do you and the fellows (girls) you go around with here at school have most in common--what are the things you do together?

Table 2.2

Activities and Interests that Friends Have in Common, for Boys and Girls in the Nine Public Schools*

	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
1. Organized outdoor sports (including football, basketball, tennis, etc.)	34.5	8.2
2. Unorganized outdoor activities (including hunting, fishing, swimming, boating, horseback riding)	11.7	6.6
3. In-school activities, interests, clubs	8.9	19.2
4. Attending spectator events		
a) School-related games and events	5.4	22.1
b) Out-of-school (movies, etc.)	17.8	33.0
5. Eating together at lunch or taking classes together	9.1	13.7
6. Dating together or goint to dances together	19.7	39.6
7. Have parties together (girls only)		10.6
8. "Hang around together," "go uptown"	13.4	26.8
Number of cases	(4020)	(4134)

These activities and interests that friends have together show similar patterns to the leisure interests expressed earlier. Missing, of course, are the activities carried on alone such as watching television and reading. Again there is the striking difference in outdoor activities, the girls seldom engaging in them, while they are the focus of common interests for a large proportion of the boys. This time, however, activities carried on in school show up in several ways: friends attend games and other events together; they engage in school clubs and activities together, and some of them do little more than eat together at lunch or see each other in the halls. All of these activities are more nearly a basis of friendship among girls than they are among boys; for boys, the one activity within the school which overwhelms all others as a common interest of friends is athletics. This can be seen as well if we examine the activities of boys who name each other as friends. The one interest or activity of those measured in the questionnaire which boys most often had in common was whether they went out for football or not. The measure of similarity in this respect was about 0.5 in every school (using an index where chance association is zero, and the maximum possible is 1.0), higher than any other interest or activity among either boys or girls--except being in the same grade.

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*Listed in the table are all the categories of activities or interests which were mentioned by at least 10% of the boys or girls.

Table 2.2 does show somewhat more focus on activities within school among friends than do the leisure pursuits examined earlier. The fact that this is most true among girls (except for athletics for boys) indicates a rather general characteristic of activities in these schools. In all the schools (though more so in some than in others), the clubs and activities were more nearly the province of the girls than of the boys. For example, in almost every school of those whose yearbooks were examined when these schools were selected, a girl was editor of the yearbook and a girl was editor of the school newspaper. Some activities, of course, are either solely for boys (such as the Hi-Y clubs) or are largely populated by boys (such as a chemistry club or photography club). However, in general, it seems that there is a kind of tacit division of labor in most schools: activities and clubs are for the girls, athletics for the boys. And although this is far from completely true, Table 2.2 above shows that school activities and clubs are much more often a focus of common interest for friends among girls than they are for boys.

A note should be added for those who may have expected to find a whole range of delinquent activities in the responses to these two questions. Such an expectation is quite out of accord with the facts. Adolescents as a whole are not delinquent, and their activities, though quite different from adults and sometimes irresponsible, are not in general anti-social or delinquent. This is a matter about which some teen-agers feel strongly, as they see adults judge adolescents as a whole by the delinquent activities of a few. The lack of information of many adults about what teen-agers do together is again evidence of the distance and communication gulf which separates the adult culture from that of the adolescent community. The stereotypy and suspicion to which adults succumb in such circumstances is similar to that which generates prejudice and antagonism against other minority groups, which are judged by the actions of their most visible members.

This is not to say that delinquent and anti-social activities were not mentioned as common interests, but rather that they constituted a tiny minority of the total responses. For boys, the following categories of response to question 38a in Table 2.2 are the only ones which suggest anti-social and delinquent behavior. The proportion of boys is very small in each category:

Stirring up trouble	0.7%
Drinking or smoking together	1.5%
Picking up girls	0.5%
Number of cases	(4021)

It is true, of course, that many boys would hesitate to mention the trouble they get in together or the delinquent activities they carry out. Even though they were assured that no teacher or other student would ever see their responses, we were adults administering the questionnaires, and this must have had an inhibiting effect. Yet throughout the study, in interviews, in the questionnaires, and elsewhere, it became quickly evident that really delinquent behavior was confined to a small minority in all these schools.

In another set of questions in the questionnaire, students were asked directly about activities disallowed in school: smoking, which is not illegal for high-school age children, and drinking, which is. The questions are listed below, and the answers tabulated separately for boys and girls.*

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*Students who failed to answer are excluded from the tabulation, since the question was near the end of the questionnaire, and most no-answers were non-finishers.

	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
I.167. Do you smoke?		
yes, regularly	15.2	7.6
yes, occasionally	17.0	15.5
no	67.7	76.9
number of cases	(3497)	(3825)
I.168. Do you drink beer?		
yes, regularly	3.4	0.5
yes, occasionally	26.8	12.6
no	69.6	86.9
number of cases	(3493)	(3820)
I.169. Do you drink liquor?		
yes, regularly	1.9	0.4
yes, occasionally	17.0	11.8
no	81.0	87.8
number of cases	(3492)	(3821)

These responses indicate a minority indulgence in these habits--habits which can hardly be labelled delinquent, for adults engage in them with high and increasing frequency.

Another perspective upon the activities of these teen-agers can be seen by examining the amount of time they spend watching television and the amount they spend doing homework. The questions were:

I.17. How much time, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school?
none, or almost none
less than 1/2 hour a day
about 1/2 hour a day
about 1 hour a day
about 1 1/2 hours a day
about 2 hours a day
3 or more hours a day

I.28. About how much time, on the average, do you spend watching TV on a weekday?
none, or almost none
about 1/2 hour a day
about 1 hour a day
about 1 1/2 hours a day
about 2 hours a day
about 3 hours a day
4 or more hours a day

This graph is intended merely to give a kind of quick view of the general level of studying and television viewing among these boys and girls. Any immediate comparisons between television habits and studying habits must be held in abeyance for two reasons: as discussed earlier, the set of ten schools under study here is not in any respect a fully representative sample of American teen-agers or even of midwestern teen-agers. Even more important is the fact that study habits (and to a lesser extent, television habits) vary radically among the ten schools in the study. These variations will be discussed later; from the present tabulation, it is sufficient to observe that girls study more and watch television slightly less than boys do. This greater time reported by the boys watching television is not consistent with their reported leisure interests in Table 2.1, for they report less often than the girls that television is their favorite leisure activity. This discrepancy is puzzling; apparently boys spend a little more time watching television, but it occupies less of their interest. There are several evidences that this may be true. Boys tend to watch more sports on TV, and less drama, and tend not to think of this activity so much as "watching television" as "watching a ball game." In a recent study of TV viewing, it was found that men, questioned as to why they watched TV, when watching with their wives, less often answered in terms of the program's content than did the women, asked a similar question, and more often answered in terms of sociability.*

---

*See Charles W. Day, "The Television Adult Western: A Pilot Study," University of Chicago M.A. Thesis, 1958, Table 30.

A quick tabulation of the frequency of other activities shows something of the way teen-agers spend their time, interest, and money.

I.21. How many records have you bougth in the last month?
(Circle the number of records bought)

I.26. How often do you go to the movies?
never, or almost never
about once a month or less
about once every two or three weeks
about once a week
about twice a week
more than twice a week

(See Fig. 2.2 for tabulation)

I.19. About how many eveings a week do you spend out with other fellows? (Circle the number of evenings)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I.20. About how many evenings a week do you spend at home?
(Circle the number of evenings)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(See Fig. 2.3 for tabulation)

Again the reader must be cautioned against extrapolating these results to teen-agers as a whole. The differences, however, between boys and girls, and between other subgroups to be examined in later chapters, are undoubtedly more general. It is true also that in response to these items, the schools varied much less than they do in the amount of time spent on homework, so that there is some stability in these figures from school to school.

Comparing the boys and girls in their activities shown in Fig. 2.2 and 2.3 shows in general differences which one might expect: Fig. 2.2 shows that girls go to movies slightly more than do boys, though a majority of both go less often than once a month; and girls buy a considerably larger number of records than do boys. Fig. 2.3 shows that

Figure 2.1

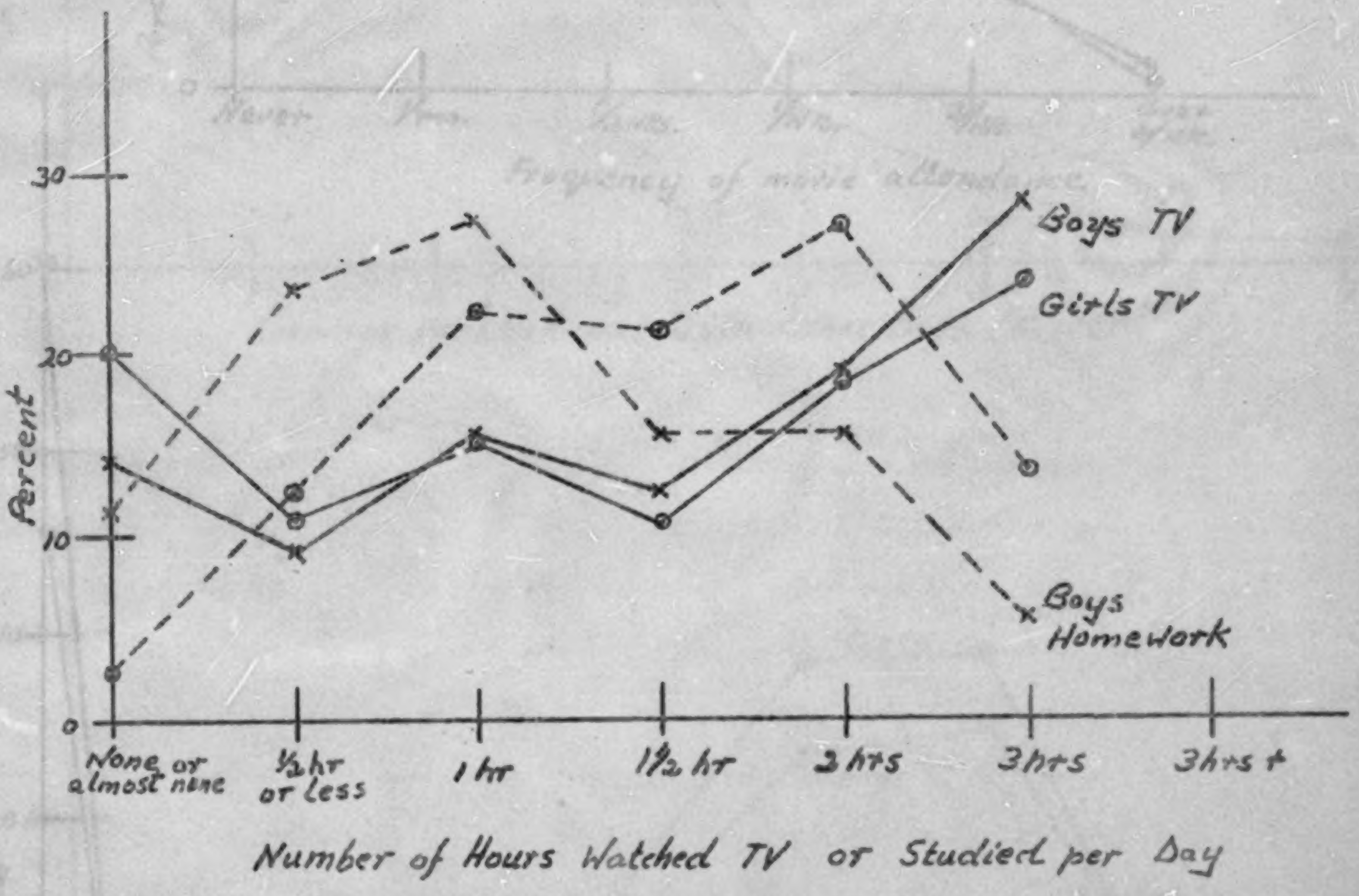

30
20
10
0
Percent
None or almost none
½ hr or less
1 hr
1½ hr
2 hrs
3 hrs
3 hrs +
Boys TV
Girls TV
Boys Homework
Number of Hours Watched TV or Studied per Day

Figura 2.2

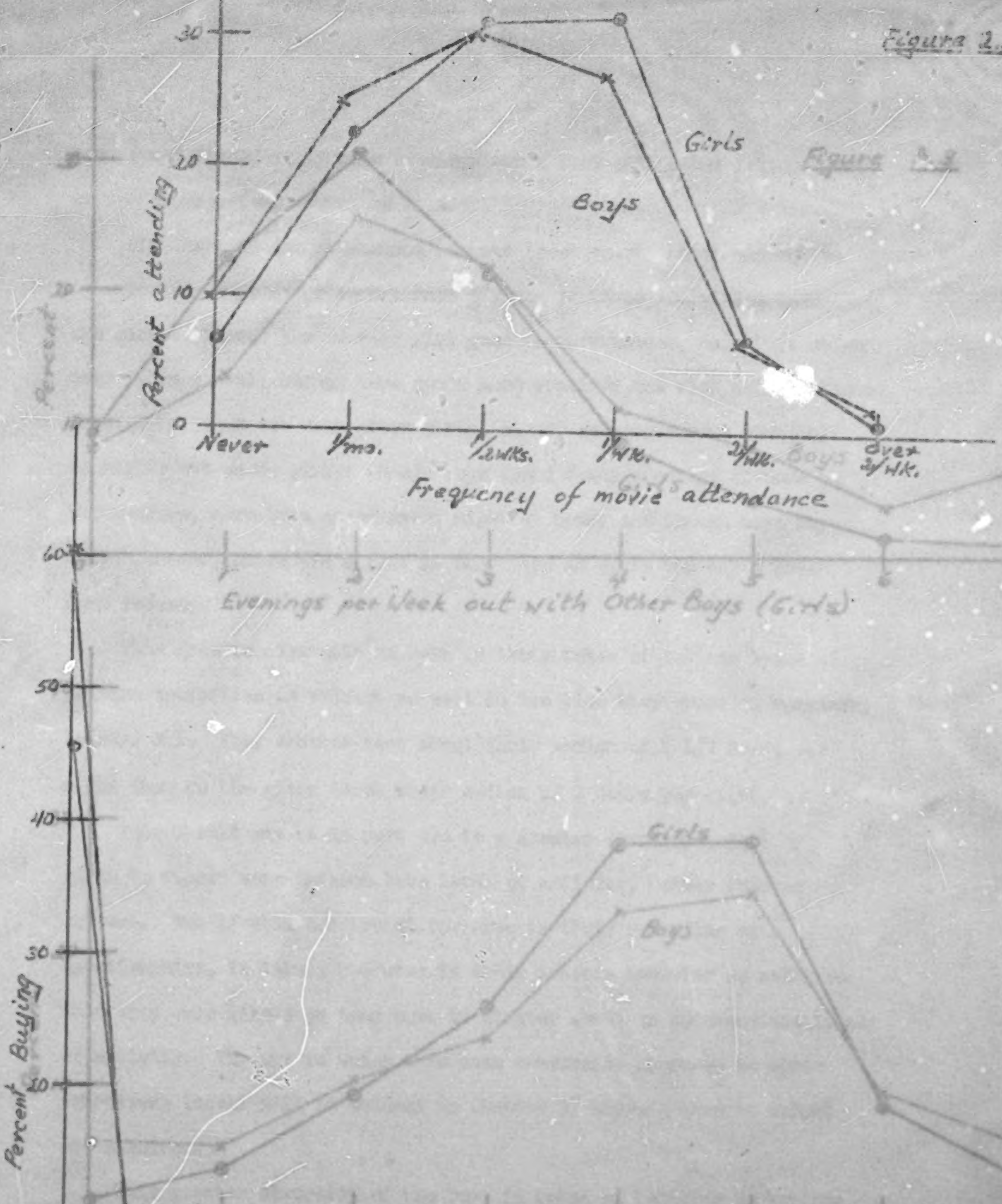
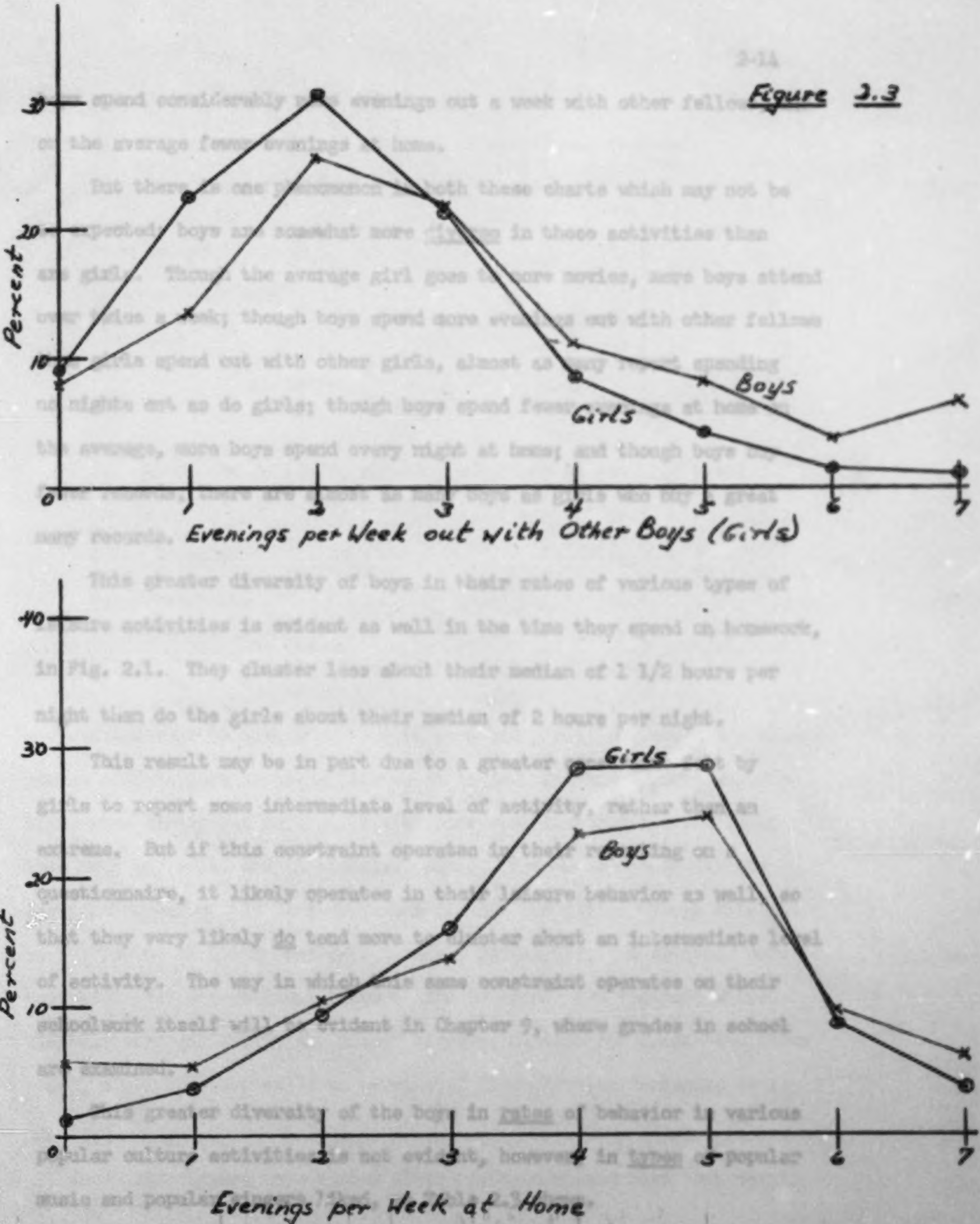

30
20
10
0
Percent attending
Girls
Boys
Never
1/mo.
1/2wks.
1/wk.
2/wk.
Over 2/wk.
Frequency of movie attendance
60%
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percent Buying
Girls
Boys
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9+
Number of Records

Figure 3.3


30
20
10
0
Percent
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Boys
Girls
Evenings per Week out with Other Boys (Girls)
40
30
20
10
0
Percent
Girls
Boys
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Evenings per Week at Home

boys spend considerably more evenings out a week with other fellows, and on the average fewer evenings at home.

But there is one phenomenon in both these charts which may not be so expected; boys are somewhat more diverse in these activities than are girls. Though the average girl goes to more movies, more boys attend over twice a week; though boys spend more evenings out with other fellows than girls spend out with other girls, almost as many report spending no nights out as do girls; though boys spend fewer evenings at home on the average, more boys spend every night at home; and though boys buy fewer records, there are almost as many boys as girls who buy a great many records.

This greater diversity of boys in their rates of various types of leisure activities is evident as well in the time they spend on homework, in Fig. 2.1. They cluster less about their median of 1 1/2 hours per night than do the girls about their median of 2 hours per night.

This result may be in part due to a greater constraint felt by girls to report some intermediate level of activity, rather than an extreme. But if this constraint operates in their reporting on a questionnaire, it likely operates in their leisure behavior as well, so that they very likely do tend more to cluster about an intermediate level of activity. The way in which this same constraint operates on their schoolwork itself will be evident in Chapter 9, where grades in school are examined.

This greater diversity of the boys in rates of behavior in various popular culture activities is not evident, however, in types of popular music and popular singers liked, as Table 2.3 shows.

Table 2.3

Favorite Types of Music and Favorite Singers among Teen-agers

I.25. What kind of music do you enjoy most?

	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
rock and roll	51.6	48.1
calypso	7.1	5.5
other popular music	17.5	27.5
jazz	10.1	5.2
classical	6.5	9.4
country and western	6.3	3.8
no answer	0.8	0.5
number of cases	(4020)	(4135)

I.24. Among the following singers, which one do you like best?

	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
Pat Boone	43.5	45.2
Perry Como	10.5	10.1
Elvis Presley	21.5	17.5
Tommy Sands	7.8	10.7
Harry Belafonte	10.3	9.0
Frank Sinatra	5.1	7.1
no answer	1.5	0.5
number of cases	(4020)	(4134)

Rock and roll is most popular with boys and girls; but the other categories differ: more boys are interested in jazz and country and western music than girls; but more girls are interested in popular music other than rock and roll, and in classical music. Pat Boone was by far the favorite singer of the largest number of boys and girls, though this was at the period of Elvis Presley's greatest popularity; but slightly more boys pick less conventional singers like Belafonte and Presley, while slightly more girls pick the milder singers, Sinatra and Boone--and Tommy Sands, a slightly watered-down version of Elvis Presley.* Again, these choices reflect a somewhat greater tendency of girls to conform to adult values. Though their choices are no more diverse than those of boys, they are somewhat more conventional. Yet the variation between boys and girls in a given school is less pronounced in these and other activities than the variation between the teen-agers in one school and those in another, variations which will be examined in later chapters.

---

*These six singers were listed after pretests showed that they were the six most popular at the time.

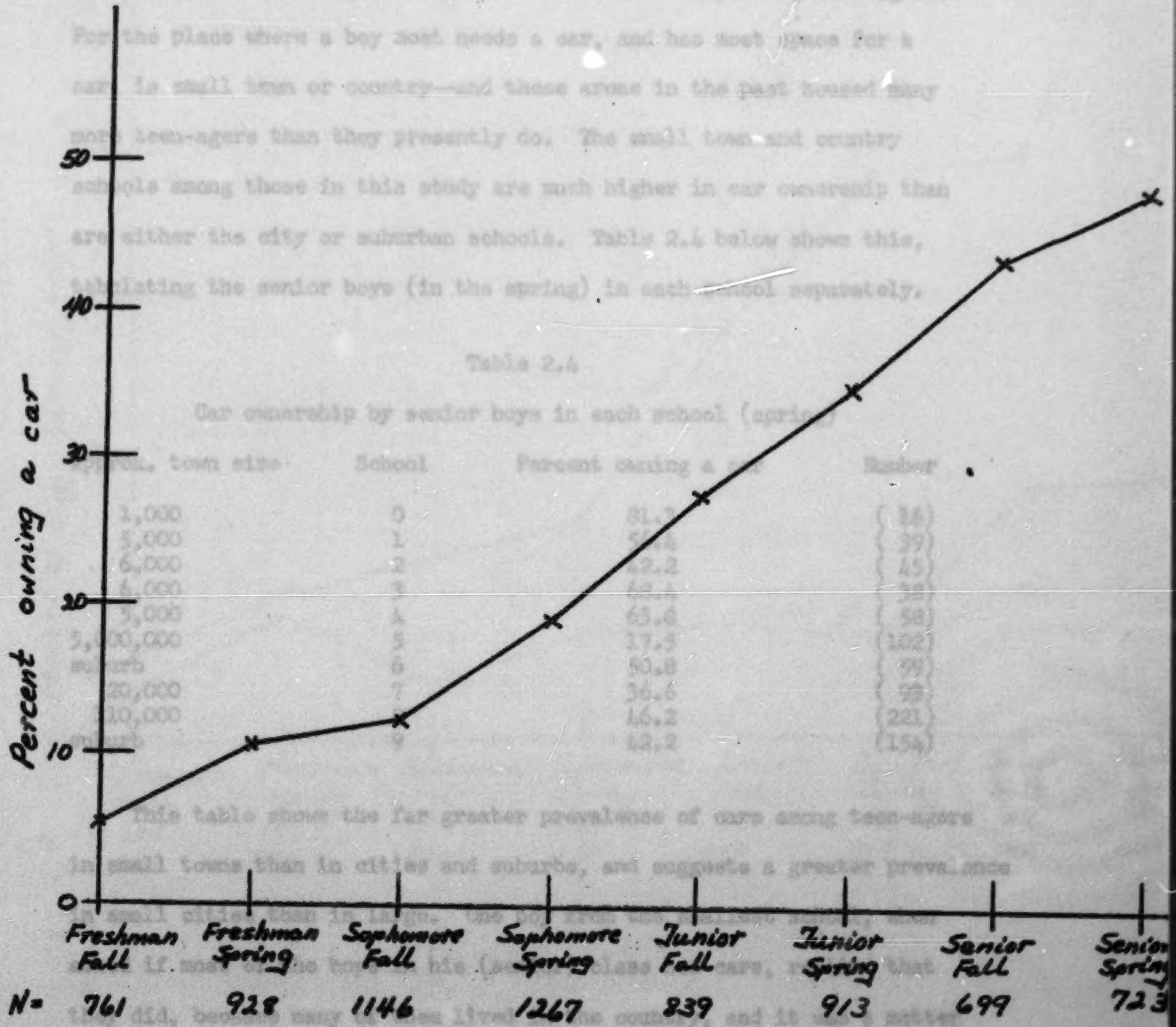
Cars in the adolescent culture:

Cars are an important matter to a teen-ager. Without a car, a boy must be ferried to movies, sports events, and most embarrassing of all, to dates. As cars have become more important for adults, they have become more important for their adolescent children too--as parents of adolescent children will quickly attest. Consequently, as he reaches the age when he can possess a driver's license (16 in most states, including Illinois, in which all these schools are located), the pressure upon parents for permission to have a car of his own becomes extremely great. Parents find it hard not to give in, at least by letting him buy a car, if he can get together the money. The great jump that car owning takes in the sophomore and junior years is attested by Fig. 2.4, which shows in the Fall (just after school had started) and in the Spring, at the close of the school year, how car-owning changes from the freshman to the senior years.

The increasing importance of cars is in part due to changes in the ecology of our lives: the blossoming of the suburbs. Boys who would have lived in the midst of the city, where a car is not important for transportation, now live in the suburbs where it is. A comparison of increase in car ownership from freshmen to seniors in school 5, in the center of

Figure 2.4*

(*Because this was almost the last question in the questionnaire in the fall, some boys did not answer; these were subtracted in the fall. No-answers were negligible in the spring.)



the city, and school 6, boys with almost identical family backgrounds and only slightly higher family incomes, but in a suburb, shows this well. (Fig. 2.5).

Although ecology is important, ecological changes in society cannot fully account for the great increase in car ownership among teen-agers. For the place where a boy most needs a car, and has most space for a car, is small town or country--and these areas in the past housed many more teen-agers than they presently do. The small town and country schools among those in this study are much higher in car ownership than are either the city or suburban schools. Table 2.4 below shows this, tabulating the senior boys (in the spring) in each school separately.

Table 2.4

Car ownership by senior boys in each school (spring)

Approx. town size	School	Percent owning a car	Number
1,000	0	81.3	(16)
5,000	1	56.4	(39)
6,000	2	42.2	(45)
6,000	3	68.4	(38)
5,000	4	63.8	(58)
5,000,000	5	17.5	(102)
suburb	6	50.8	(59)
20,000	7	36.6	(93)
110,000	8	46.2	(221)
suburb	9	42.2	(154)

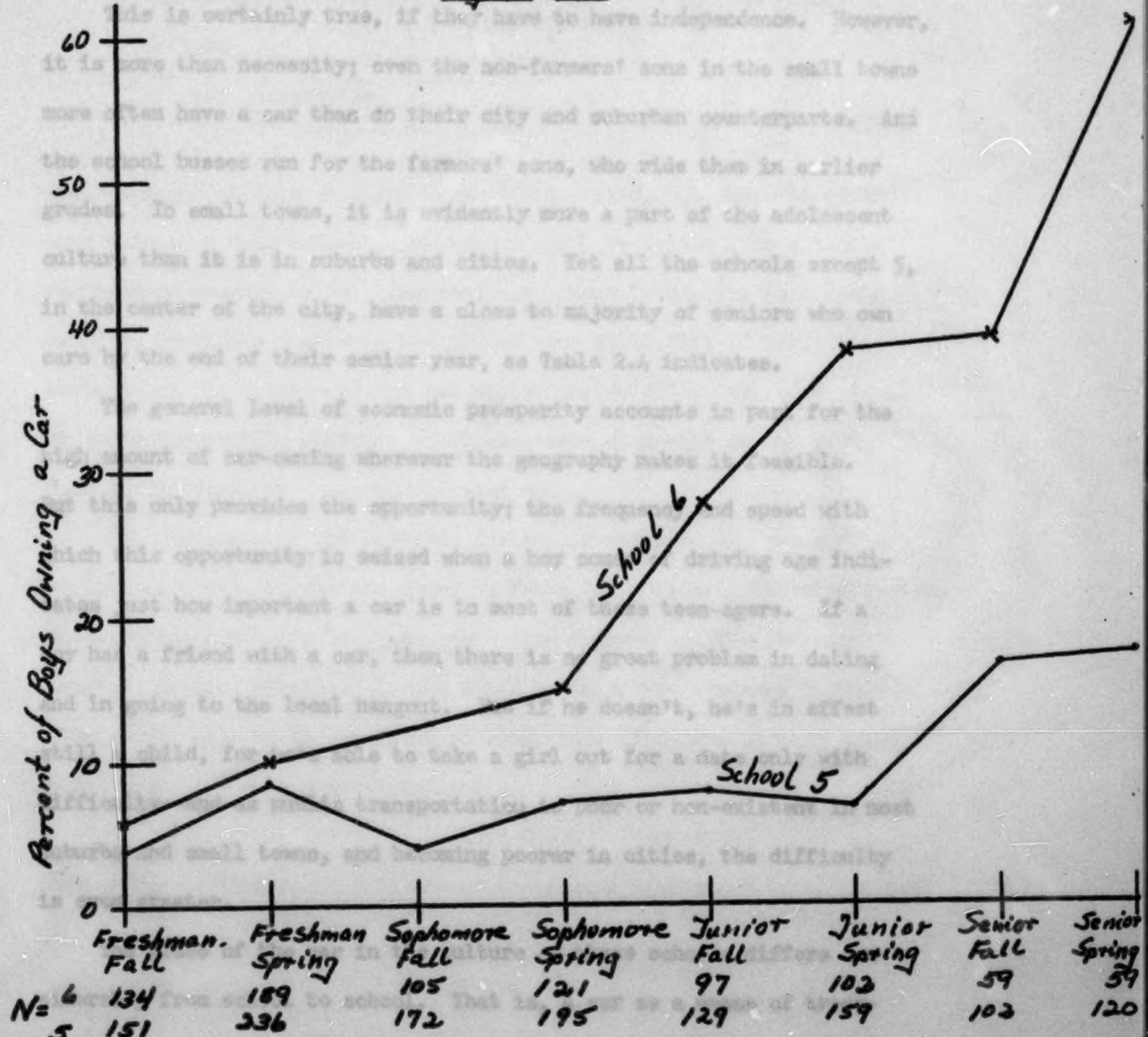
This table shows the far greater prevalence of cars among teen-agers in small towns than in cities and suburbs, and suggests a greater prevalence in small cities than in large. One boy from the smallest school, when asked if most of the boys in his (senior) class had cars, replied that they did, because many of them lived in the country, and it was a matter of necessity.

This is certainly true, if they have to have independence. However, it is more than necessity; even the non-farmers' sons in the small towns more often have a car than do their city and suburban counterparts. And the school busses run for the farmers' sons, who ride them in earlier grades. In small towns, it is evidently more a part of the adolescent culture than it is in suburbs and cities. Yet all the schools except 5, in the center of the city, have a close to majority of seniors who own cars by the end of their senior year, as Table 2.4 indicates.

The general level of economic prosperity accounts in part for the high amount of car-owning wherever the geography makes it feasible. But this only provides the opportunity; the frequency and speed with which this opportunity is seized when a boy comes of driving age indicates just how important a car is to most of these teen-agers. If a boy has a friend with a car, then there is no great problem in dating and in going to the local hangout. But if he doesn't, he's in effect still a child, for he's able to take a girl out for a date only with difficulty. And as public transportation is poor or non-existent in most suburbs and small towns, and becoming poorer in cities, the difficulty is even greater.

The place of the car in the culture of these schools differs markedly from school to school. That is, the car as a means of transportation is one thing, and it is prevalent in all these schools among the upperclassmen; but a car as something which occupies boys' attention does differ radically from school to school. We asked each boy in the fall questionnaire:

Figure 2.5



of necessity.

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The place of the car in the culture of these schools differs considerably from school to school. That is, a car as a means of transportation is one thing, and it is prevalent in all these schools among the upperclassmen; but a car as something which occupies boys' attention does differ radically from school to school. We asked each boy in the fall questionnaire:

I.40a. Among the crowd you go around with, what are the styles or things that are popular right now--that is, in your group?

Description of style

Clothing________________________
Haircuts________________________
Cars and accessories____________
Anything else?__________________

The responses to this question were widely varied, but centered around such things as dual exhausts, Hollywood mufflers (which give a loud, racing-type exhaust noise), lowering the blocks (resulting in a lower outline, sometimes almost to the ground when piled full of friends), customizing the outside of the car with a custom grill, or added chrome--or, more frequently, stripped of chrome--more elaborate custom work, dual carburetors, or some other engine work.

All responses of the hot-rod, custom, or modified exhaust sort by seniors in these schools are shown in Table 2.5. As this table indicates, the importance of cars in these schools as objects of attention and interest differs sharply. In the small schools, the tendency is far greater for boys to do something to their cars--for cars to mean something much more than transportation.

Table 2.5

Proportion of Seniors in Each School Mentioning Customized Cars, Hot Rods Modified Exhausts, or Similar responses as the Style of his Group

School	Proportion	Number
0	.56	(16)
1	.29	(41)
2	.46	(50)
3	.39	(39)
4	.39	(59)
5	.24	(121)
6	.28	(64)
7	.22	(107)
8	.25	(222)
9	.19	(164)

Yet the extent to which this is true differs greatly from school to school, even among the small schools. It is greatest in the smallest school, 0, where academic values count for little among the boys. And it is least in school 1, where, as has been suggested earlier, the boys stay children longer and are kept more under parental constraint.

It is second highest in school 2, though as the preceding table showed, fewer of these boys own cars than in the other small schools. This is consistent with other evidence, to be presented in the next chapter, that cars are a great focus of interest in school 2, though many boys cannot afford one.

Attention to cars in the other two small schools, 3 and 4, is of roughly equal importance, though 3 is highly white collar compared to 4.

Among the large schools, it is the upper middle class suburb, 9, which shows least focus of attention on fixing up cars, with the others somewhere between the small schools and school 9.

The question of what car-owning does to a boy in relation to his schoolwork is one which has been speculated on by parents and schoolmen alike, usually with a less-than-optimistic conclusion. It is not possible in this report to examine car-owning in its effect on grades, on studying outside school, and on dating patterns. Its different role in the different leading crowds, however, will be examined in Chapter 4. The aim is here merely to show the incidence of car ownership by boys in school, the way it varies among schools in different ecological areas, and the different importance attached to cars in different communities of adolescents.

Values and attitudes in the adolescent community:

The next step toward examining the nature of the adolescent community will be to look at the kinds of attitudes and values they express. The boys were asked, for example,*

68. If you could be any of these things you wanted, which would you most want to be?

	Fall (%)	Spring (%)
jet pilot	31.6	31.3
nationally famous athlete	37.3	36.9
missionary	5.7	5.9
atomic scientist	25.56	25.9
number of cases	(3892)	(3746)

and the responses were as indicated at the right. These results show strikingly the way in which the adolescent culture departs from the educational norm: the nationally famous athlete leads by a long distance, the atomic scientist is a poor third after the jet pilot, and the missionary is almost neglected. *The shifts over the period of the school year are little if any.* This result of course differs from school to school, but it is striking that in every school the nationally famous athlete and the jet pilot were first and second in popularity. These adolescent attitudes seem to be reflecting more nearly the dominant themes and heroes in the mass media than the heroes their teachers and parents would have them follow. And it may be that the most impressive contacts adolescents have with the adult culture are through the distorted lens of the mass media and its "newsworthy" events, just as the most impressive contacts many adults have with adolescents are through the mass media, with their focus upon newsworthy delinquency.

---

*No-answers are excluded.

In response to the same question, with the following alternatives, the girls gave responses slightly more in line with traditional values of service:

	Fall (%)	Spring (%)
actress or artist	18.4	19.8
nurse	29.2	26.0
model	32.0	33.5
school teacher	20.6	20.6
number of cases	(4057)	(3922)

Yet the glamorous model was first in popularity and schoolteachers third, with the nurse between. And over the period of the year, there was a slight increase for the glamorous model and "actress or artist", while the nurse decreased and the teacher remained constant. In Chapter 9, the variations in these changes (in connection with special examinations of schools 1 and 2) will give some insight into the processes by which these images, somewhat counter to educational ideals, develop.

Another attitude question indicates more closely to the values current in the schools themselves. It asks a boy or girl how he or she would like most to be remembered in school, a matter which presumably in part reflects his own interests and in part the things that are important to his fellows. The question is:*

I.131.II.43. If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would you want it to be?

Boys: brilliant student
athletic star
most popular

Girls: brilliant student
leader in activities
most popular

The responses for fall and the next spring are shown on Fig. 2.6, for both boys and girls. The three corners of the graph indicate 100% of brilliant student (at the top), athletic star or activities leader (at the left) and most popular (at the right).*

Graphs like this will be used at several points in succeeding chapters to "locate" different schools, and to trace their course over the period of the year. In order to give some sense of the relation of these graphs to the more usual presentation of percentages, the comparable percentages will be given in Table 2.6 for this first use of these triangular graphs.

Table 2.6**

The way Boys and Girls Want to be Remembered in School--
Fall and Spring

	Boys		Girls	
	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring
brilliant student	31.3%	31.5%	28.8%	27.9%
athletic star leader in activities	43.6	45.1	36.1	37.8
most popular	25.0	23.4	35.2	34.2
number of cases	(3696)	(3690)	(3955)	(3876)

The changes from fall to spring are shown by an arrow. For boys not only is the athletic star's image more attractive at the beginning of the school year, the boys move even slightly more in that direction, at the expense of the popularity image, over the period of the school year.

The girls are somewhat similar: at the beginning of the school year, the activities leader and most popular are about equally attractive images, both more popular than the brilliant student. By spring, the activities leader image has gained slightly in attractiveness, at the expense of both the brilliant student and the most popular. These shifts, of course, are quite small, and there are differences from school to school, as later chapters will indicate. Nevertheless, the point is clear: the image of athletic star is most attractive for boys (and it is most attractive in each school separately), and the image of activities leader and most popular are more attractive to girls than brilliant student.

---

*I am indebted to James Davis and Jacob Feldman of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago for suggesting the use of these triangular graphs for trichotomono items.

**No-answers are excluded.

Among boys, the athlete again wins (and he wins in each of the ten schools), with the brilliant student ahead of the most popular. Over the period of the year, the athletic image even gains in popularity.

Again, as before, the importance of athletics in these cultures is striking, particularly when we realize that the school as an institution is designed to focus attention on studies, presumably making the brilliant student an attractive image. Interestingly, the schools differed quite considerably in the girls' responses, though they differed little for the boys. In some schools, the leader in activities was a far more attractive image than the most popular, while in other schools, the reverse was true. This greater diversity of the schools in the proportion of girls choosing each activity seems to have definite sources in the structure of activities in and among the schools, sources which will be examined in Chapter 10.

Such forced-choice questions cannot be taken quite at face value, since they may exclude the most important alternative to a boy or girl. Yet they provide some hint of the relative values of athletics, studies, extra-curricular activities, and popularity in the schools. A further view, which gives some suggestion as to why the brilliant student image is not more popular, is given by a parallel question--not how would they like to be remembered, but whom would they like to date:

I.129. Suppose you had a chance to go out with either a cheerleader, or a girl who is the best student in class, or the best looking girl in class. Which one would you rather go out with?
cheerleader
best student
best looking

Suppose you had a chance to go out with either a star athlete, or a boy who is the best student in class, or the best looking boy in class. Which one would you rather go out with?
star athlete
best student
best looking

The responses of the boys and those of the girls were as indicated in Fig. 2.7. The categories are unfortunately not completely comparable to the earlier ones, so that a direct comparison is not possible. Perhaps the most striking result is the fact that the best student fares so poorly as a date for boys; and that in comparison with the other question, the image of a good student seems to fare much worse as a potential date than as a way to be remembered, for boys, but even more for girls. This seems understandable, for insofar as the professed values of the school permeate the adolescent culture at all, they would seem to do so least in dating activities. The movement over the period of the school year is considerably more than for being remembered.

Figure 2.6

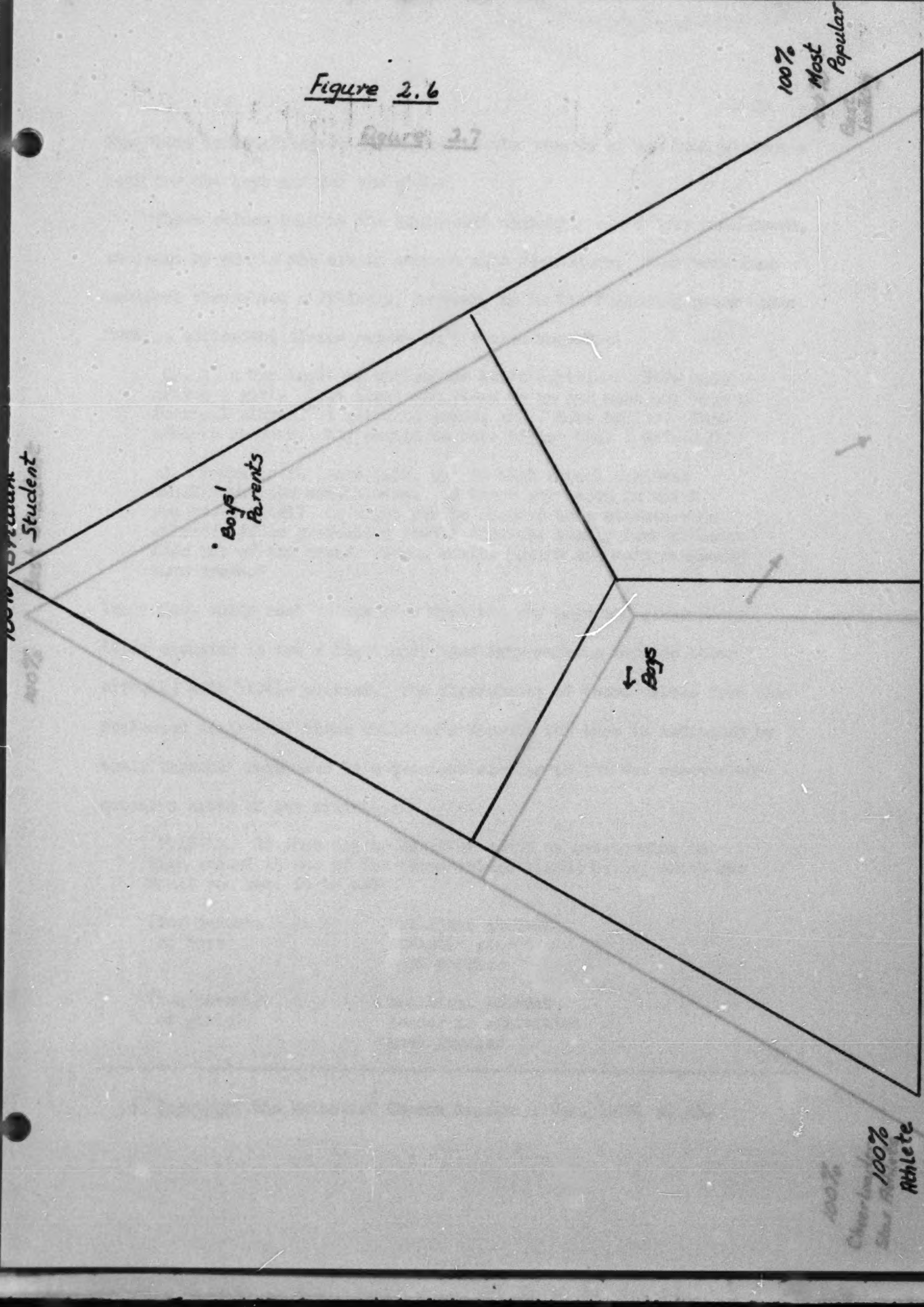
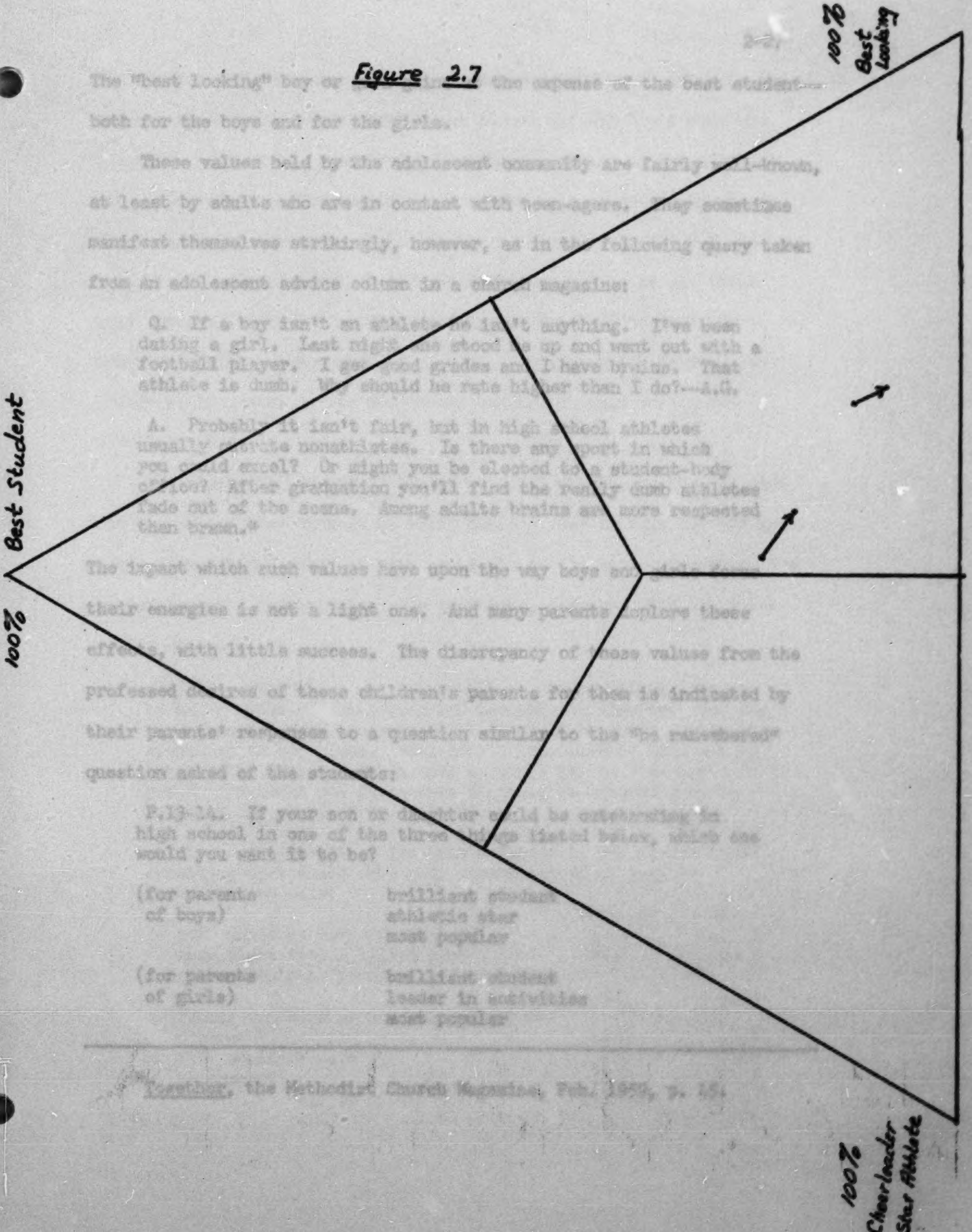

100% Brilliant Student
100% Most Popular
100% Athlete
Boys' Parents
Boys

Figure 2.7



The "best looking" boy or [illegible] the expense of the best student—both for the boys and for the girls.

These values held by the adolescent community are fairly well-known, at least by adults who are in contact with teen-agers. They sometimes manifest themselves strikingly, however, as in the following query taken from an adolescent advice column in a church magazine:

> Q. If a boy isn't an athlete he isn't anything. I've been dating a girl. Last night she stood me up and went out with a football player. I get good grades and I have brains. That athlete is dumb. Why should he rate higher than I do?—A.G.
>
> A. Probably it isn't fair, but in high school athletes usually outrate nonathletes. Is there any sport in which you could excel? Or might you be elected to a student-body office? After graduation you'll find the really dumb athletes fade out of the scene. Among adults brains are more respected than brawn.*

The impact which such values have upon the way boys and girls focus their energies is not a light one. And many parents deplore these effects, with little success. The discrepancy of these values from the professed desires of these children's parents for them is indicated by their parents' responses to a question similar to the "be remembered" question asked of the students:

> P.13-14. If your son or daughter could be outstanding in high school in one of the three things listed below, which one would you want it to be?
>
> (for parents of boys)
> brilliant student
> athletic star
> most popular
>
> (for parents of girls)
> brilliant student
> leader in activities
> most popular

---

*Together, the Methodist Church Magazine, Feb. 1958, p. 15.

The "best looking" boy or girl gains at the expense of the best student--both for the boys and for the girls.

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- brilliant student
- athletic star
- most popular

(for parents of girls)
- brilliant student
- leader in activities
- most popular

---

*Together, the Methodist Church Magazine, Feb. 1959, p. 45.

The results are shown for parents of boys and parents of girls in Fig. 2.8, imposed upon the previous graph which showed the way their sons and daughters want to be remembered. The sharp contrast of these values with those expressed by the students throws into relief again the divergence of the parental values and the adolescent subculture. To be sure, these values piously held by parents may not be at all those they express day-by-day to their children. Yet they do indicate expressed feelings on the part of parents, feelings which they appear unable to implement as the adolescent community takes on its own peculiar values.

The disparity between professed parental values, on the one hand, and the values they express in their actions, may in fact be very great. A set of questions asked of boys and girls in the spring questionnaire suggests such a discrepancy. The questions, together with the relevant responses, are:

> II.110. Bill (Ann) was doing well in biology class, because he had a hobby of collecting and identifying insects. One day his biology instructor asked Bill (Ann) if he would act as the assistant in the class. Bill didn't know whether this was an honor to be proud of or whether he would be the "teacher's pet." How would you feel--that it would be something to be proud of, or wouldn't it matter?
>
> II.112. If something like this happened to you, would it be something that would make your parents proud of you, or wouldn't they care?

	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
both would be very proud of me	60.2	63.5
they might feel a little proud	26.0	25.2
mother would be proud, father wouldn't care	5.0	4.9
father would be proud, mother wouldn't care	0.6	0.8
they wouldn't care	5.3	4.6
no answer	2.9	1.1
number of cases	(3831)	(3956)

II.113. What if a different situation occurred—you made the basketball team (cheerleader), much to your surprise. Would that make your parents [illegible] you, or wouldn't they care?

	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
both would be very proud of me	68.2	77.0
they might feel a little proud	17.2	14.1
mother would be proud, father wouldn't care	3.3	4.4
father would be proud, mother wouldn't care	3.3	0.4
they wouldn't care	5.6	3.4
no answer	2.5	0.8
number of cases	(3831)	(3946)

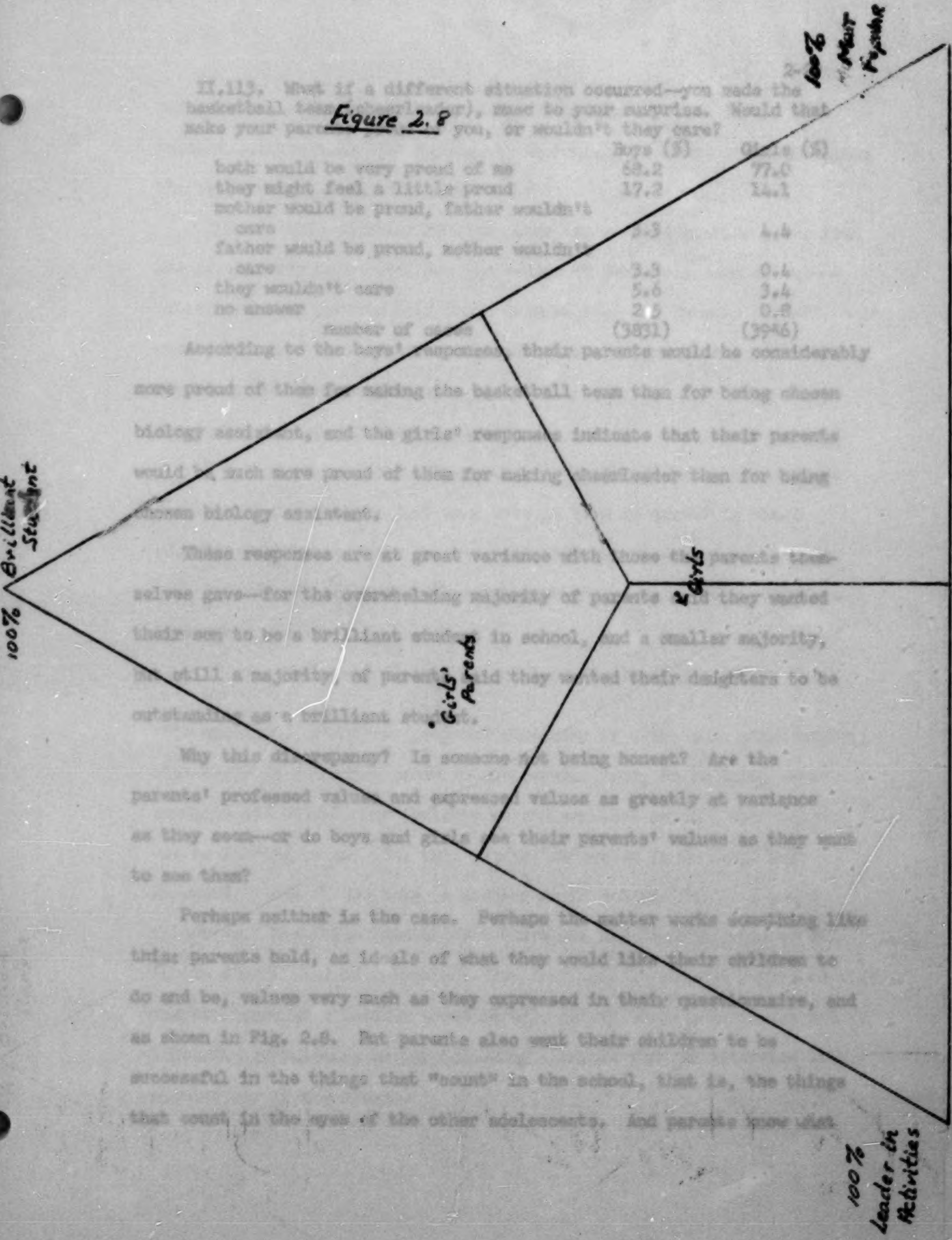
Figure 2.8

According to the boys' responses, their parents would be considerably more proud of them for making the basketball team than for being chosen biology assistant, and the girls' responses indicate that their parents would be much more proud of them for making cheerleader than for being chosen biology assistant.

These responses are at great variance with those the parents themselves gave—for the overwhelming majority of parents said they wanted their son to be a brilliant student in school, and a smaller majority, but still a majority, of parents said they wanted their daughters to be outstanding as a brilliant student.

Why this discrepancy? Is someone not being honest? Are the parents' professed values and expressed values as greatly at variance as they seem—or do boys and girls see their parents' values as they want to see them?

Perhaps neither is the case. Perhaps the matter works something like this: parents hold, as ideals of what they would like their children to do and be, values very much as they expressed in their questionnaire, and as shown in Fig. 2.8. But parents also want their children to be successful in the things that "count" in the school, that is, the things that count in the eyes of the other adolescents. And parents know what

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Thus in this peculiar fashion, even the rewards a child gains from his parents may help reinforce the values of the adolescent culture--not because his parents hold those same values, but because parents, most naturally, want to see their children successful and looked up to by the other children at school.

The leading crowds in the schools:

Thinking again about the boy who didn't "rate" because he wasn't an athlete, let us ask: just what does it take to "rate" in these schools, both among one's own sex, and with the other sex.

In order to get some idea of what it does take to rate, teen-agers were asked simply:

> I.48. What does it take to get into the leading crowd in this school?

This question, of course, presumed something to which some might object: that there is a leading crowd in the school. And, to be sure, some students did object, particularly in the smallest school, that there was no leading crowd. Yet this kind of objection is in large part answered by one of the boys in another small school (#3) in a group interview. His friend denied that there was any leading crowd at all in the school, and he responded: "You don't see it because you're in it." The existence of a leading crowd in this school where one boy saw one is indicated graphically by the following excerpts from an interview with another boy in the school.

(What are some of the groups in school?)

You mean like cliques? Well, there's about two cliques. There's one that's these girls and boys--let's see, there's ____ ___ ___ ___. I'm in it, but as far as I'm concerned, I'm not crazy about being in it. I tell you, it wasn't any of my doing, because I'm always for the underdog myself. But I'd rather be with a bunch like that, you know, than have them against me. So I just go along with them.

(This is kind of the top clique?)

(Well, what's the other clique?)

Well, I don't know too much about it, it's just another clique.

(Kind of an underdog clique?)

Sort of.

(Who are some of the kids in it?)

Oh--I couldn't tell you. I know, but I just can't think of their names.

(How do you get in the top clique?)

Well, I'll tell you, like when I came over here, I had played football over at ____. I was pretty well known by all the kids before I came over. And when I came there was _____ always picking on kids. He hit this little kid one day, and I told him that if I ever saw him do anything to another little kid that I'd bust him. So one day down in the locker he slammed this kid against the locker, so I went over and hit him a couple times, knocked him down. And a lot of the kids liked me for doing that, and I got on the good side of two or three teachers.

(What are the differences between these two cliques?)

Well, I'll tell you, I don't like this top clique, myself. Just to be honest with you, they're all scared of me, because I won't take anything off of them, and they know it. I've had a run-in with this one girl, she really thinks she's big stuff. And I don't like her at all, we don't get along, and she knows it and I know it, and they don't say nothing. But a lot of them in the big clique, they're my friends. I get along with them real good, and then I try to be real nice to the underdogs, the kids that haven't got--not quite as lucky--they haven't got as much money, they have a hard time, maybe they don't look as sharp as some of the others.

(What are the main interests of the top clique?)

Just to run everything, to be the big deal.

(Are most of the boys in athletics?)

Yeah--you couldn't really say that in this town, though. The really good athletes, a couple of them may be in the clique--the clique's a funny thing, it's just who they want to be in it. They don't want to have anybody in there they think might give them trouble. They want to rule the roost.

(Are most of them--have fathers that have good jobs, are well-to-do?)

Most of them. They come from families that have money.

(Would this be the main thing that divides the top clique--)

Could be, very easily, it sure could.

(What does this underdog clique have in common?)

Well, you might say they just stick together, for self-protection. And they do things together.

(And there are both boys and girls in the clique?)

Yeah.

(And they all go around together?)

Um-hm.

(In a party, would--)

Now, there you go. The big deal clique, that's all that's there. None of the underdogs are there at all. They won't invite--I've got some graduation pictures now here, and we can get some names from that. Now she's not in the clique.

(What's her name?)

Now this girl here, she's Joyce. She's real sweet, not very sharp-looking or nothing, and I sat by her in home room. And I talked with her and stuff like that, and she really--I mean, I think she thinks a lot of me. And this is a girl who sort of sticks to herself, more or less. She's a very nice girl, but I don't think she's in the clique. And she's not in the clique and neither is ____.

(And they aren't in the other clique either?)

> No. Well, yeah, they're probably--I'll tell you, some of them--see, the big clique rules the roost, and this underdog clique, you might say, is just there to give the other one a little competition, just to know there is another one. And a lot of them are not in it. I was just automatically put in it, you might say. I didn't ask to be in it or nothing.
>
> (Who would be the one person who'd be kind of the ruler of the big clique?)
>
> I've (junked) the whole outfit once or twice about jumping on somebody--
>
> (How do they go about jumping on somebody?)
>
> Oh, just rub it in, you know, ignore them, not liking them--in class they ignore them when they walk by, laugh--there's a lot of ways you can agitate someone.
>
> They'd want to break off with this certain-- But this is a real nice town and that. There's just too much jealousy. Everybody's out--they can't stand to see prosperity, if you know what I mean. They can't stand to see anybody get away with anything. This girl moved in here from Michigan. This ____ --she's a real nice-looking girl, see--oh, I'd say she's above intelligence--she's average, anyway. And she's real nice, and--but these girls got it in their heads that they didn't want to have her around. So now she's completely left out. She's a nice kid.
>
> ____ wanted to ask her out, and his sister didn't want him to go with her, because he'd been going with ____--he still goes around with her, but he just wanted to ask her out, no harm in it. But his sister couldn't see that, so his sister started making it hard for her. And then a couple other girls got it in for her about something, I don't know what it was. And then she was just dropped. That's the way it works.

This account of how the leading crowd functions in one school (school 3 in a prosperous small town) gives a vivid picture of how such crowds function. This is not to say, of course, that the leading crowd in every school functions in just the same way. Most interviews in other schools suggested a far less closed circle than in this school--yet this account indicates something about the ways such crowds function--not only in this school, but in others as well.

In every school, most students saw a leading crowd, and were willing to say what it took to get in it. This should not be surprising, for every adult community has its leading crowd, though adults are less often in such close and compelling communities. Yet laymen and educators as well are often blind to the fact that the teen-agers in a high school do constitute a community, one which does have a leading crowd. Consequently adult concern tends to be with questions of better ways to teach "the child" viewed as an isolated entity--whether it is the "gifted child" or the "backward child."

The major categories of response that these teen-agers gave to this question about the leading crowd are shown in Fig. 2.9.

Consider first the girls' responses. Most striking in these responses is the great importance of "having a good personality" or "being friendly." Not only is this mentioned most often overall, but it is mentioned most often in seven of the nine schools. The importance of having a good personality, or, what is a little different, "being friendly" or "being nice to the other kids," in these adolescent cultures is something which adults often fail to realize. Adults often forget how "person-oriented" children are: they have not yet moved into the world of cold impersonality in which many adults live. This is probably due to the limits on their range of contacts--for in the limited world of a grade school, a boy or girl can respond to his classmates as persons, with a sincerity which becomes impossible as one's range of contacts grows. One of the transitions for some children comes, in fact, as they enter high school and find that they move from classroom to classroom and have different classmates in each class.

After "a good personality" come a wide range of attributes and activities. A flavor of them is indicated by the collection of responses listed below--some hostile to the leading crowd (and in their hostility, often seeing it as immoral), others friendly to it (and in their friendliness, attributing positive virtues to it).

(What does it take to get into the leading crowd in this school?)

> "Wear just the right things, nice hair, good grooming and have a wholesome personality."
>
> "Money, clothes, flashy appearance, date older boys, fairly good grades."
>
> "Be a sex fiend--dress real sharp--have own car and money--smoke and drink--go steady with a popular boy."
>
> "Have pleasant personality, good manners, dress nicely, be clean, don't swear, be loads of fun."
>
> "A nice personality, dress nice without over-doing it."
>
> "Hang out at ______'s. Don't be too smart. Flirt with boys. Be cooperative on dates."

Among these various attributes, the graph shows some mention of "good looks" to be second to "personality" in frequency. Having nice clothes, or being well-dressed, is also important in most of the schools, as the responses above suggest and as the graph indicates. What it means to be well-dressed differs sharply in a well-to-do suburb and in a working-class school, of course. Nevertheless, whether it is the number of cashmere sweaters a girl owns, or simply having neat, clean, pastel frocks, the matter of "having good clothes" is an important one in the value systems to which these girls pay heed. In part, the importance of having good clothes appears to derive from its use as a symbol of family status and general opulence. But in some part, it appears to derive from the same source that gives importance to "good looks"; these items are crucial in making a girl attractive to boys.

Thus in this respect the values of the girls' culture are molded by the presence of boys--and by the fact that success with boys is itself of overriding importance in these cultures.

Another element in the constellation of attributes required if one is to be in the leading crowd is indicated by the class of responses labelled "having a good reputation." In all these schools, this item was often mentioned, though in each school, some saw the leading crowd as composed of girls with bad reputations and immoral habits--and in some schools, the leading crowd was less interested in a good reputation than in others, as Chapter 4 will indicate. A girl's "reputation" is a crucial matter among adolescents. A girl is caught in a dilemma, a dilemma suggested by the importance of good looks on the one hand, and a good reputation on the other. A girl must be successful with the boys, says the culture, but in doing so she must maintain her reputation. In some schools, the limits defining a good reputation are stricter than others--but in all the schools, the limits are there, and they define what is "good" and what is "bad." The definitions are partly based on behavior with boys, but they also include drinking, smoking, and other less tangible matters--something about the way a girl handles herself, quite apart from what she actually does.

It is not such an easy matter for a girl to get and keep a good reputation, particularly if her mother is permissive in letting her date whom she likes as a freshman or sophomore. Junior and senior boys often date freshman and sophomore girls, sometimes with good intentions and sometimes with less good ones. One senior boy in school 4, in commenting upon the "wildness" of the leading girls in his class, explained it by saying that when their class was in the eighth grade, they were forced to go to school in the high school building because of a classroom shortage. A number of the girls in the class, he explained, had begun dating boys in the upper classes of high school. This, to him, was where the problem began.

Another criterion by which a girl gets into the leading crowd or fails to get in is expressed by a girl who said simply,

"Money, fancy clothes, good house, new cars, etc. (the best)."

These qualities are all of a piece: they express the fact that being born into the right family is a great help to a girl in getting into the leading crowd. It is expressed differently in different schools and by different girls, sometimes as "parents having money," sometimes as "coming from the right neighborhood," sometimes as "expensive clothes." These qualities differ sharply from some of those discussed above, for they are not something a girl can change.* Her position in the system is ascribed according to her parents' social position, and there is nothing she can do about it. If criteria like these dominate, then we would expect the system to have a very different effect on the people than if other criteria, which a girl or boy could hope to achieve, were the basis of social comparison--just as in the larger society, a caste system has quite different effects on individuals than does a system with a great deal of mobility between social classes.

---

*To be sure, she sometimes has a hard time changing her looks or her personality; yet these are her own personal attributes, which she can do something about, except in extreme situations.

It is evident that these family-background criteria play some part in these schools, but--at least, according to these girls--not the major part. (It is true that the girls who are not in the leading crowd more often see such criteria, which are glossed over or simply not seen by girls who are in the crowd.) Furthermore, these criteria differ sharply in their importance in different schools. In the working-class suburban school, for example, they are almost never mentioned.

Another criterion for being in the leading crowd is scholastic success. According to these girls, good grades, or "being smart" or "intelligent" has something to do with membership in the leading crowd. Not much, to be sure--it is mentioned less than 12% of the time, and far less often than the attributes of personality, good looks, clothes, and the like. Doing well in school apparently counts for something, though. It is surprising that it does not count for more, because in some situations, the "stars," heroes," and objects of adulation are those who best achieve the goals of the institution. For example, in the movie industry the leading crowd is composed of those who have achieved the top roles--they are by consensus the "stars." Or in a graduate school, the "leading crowd" of students ordinarily consists of the bright students who excel in their studies. Not so for these high school girls. The leading crowd seems to be defined primarily in terms of social success: their personality, beauty, clothes--and in communities where social success is tied closely to family background, their money and family are important, too.

Perhaps, however, achievement in other areas within the school is important in getting into the leading crowd. That is, participation in school activities of one sort or another may be the entree for a girl into the leading group.

When we look at the responses, as shown in the graph above, this seems not to be true. Activities in school, such as cheerleading, and "being active in school affairs" were mentioned, but rather infrequently. The overall frequency was 6.5%--and in none of the schools were these things mentioned as much as 10% of the time. There are variations among schools, as later tabulations will show--but the general case seems to be that participation in school activities is not a crucial element in bringing a girl into the leading crowd.

What about the boys? What were their responses to this question? Fig. 2.9 shows the responses of the boys, grouped as much as possible into the same categories as used for the girls. There are a great number of similarities, but a great number of differences as well. First of all is the fact that not so many responses are given by the boys as by the girls. The girls sometimes set down in great detail just what is required to get in the leading crowd--but the matter seems somewhat less salient to the boys.

For the boys, a somewhat different set of attributes is important for membership in the leading crowd. The responses below give some idea of the things mentioned.

> "A good athlete, pretty good looking, common sense, sense of humor."
>
> "Money, cars and the right connections and a good personality."
>
> "Be a good athlete. Have a good personality. Be in everything you can. Don't drink or smoke. Don't go with bad girls."
>
> "Athletic ability sure helps."
>
> "Prove you rebel the polic officers. Dress sharply. Go out with sharp Freshman girls. Ignore Senior girls."

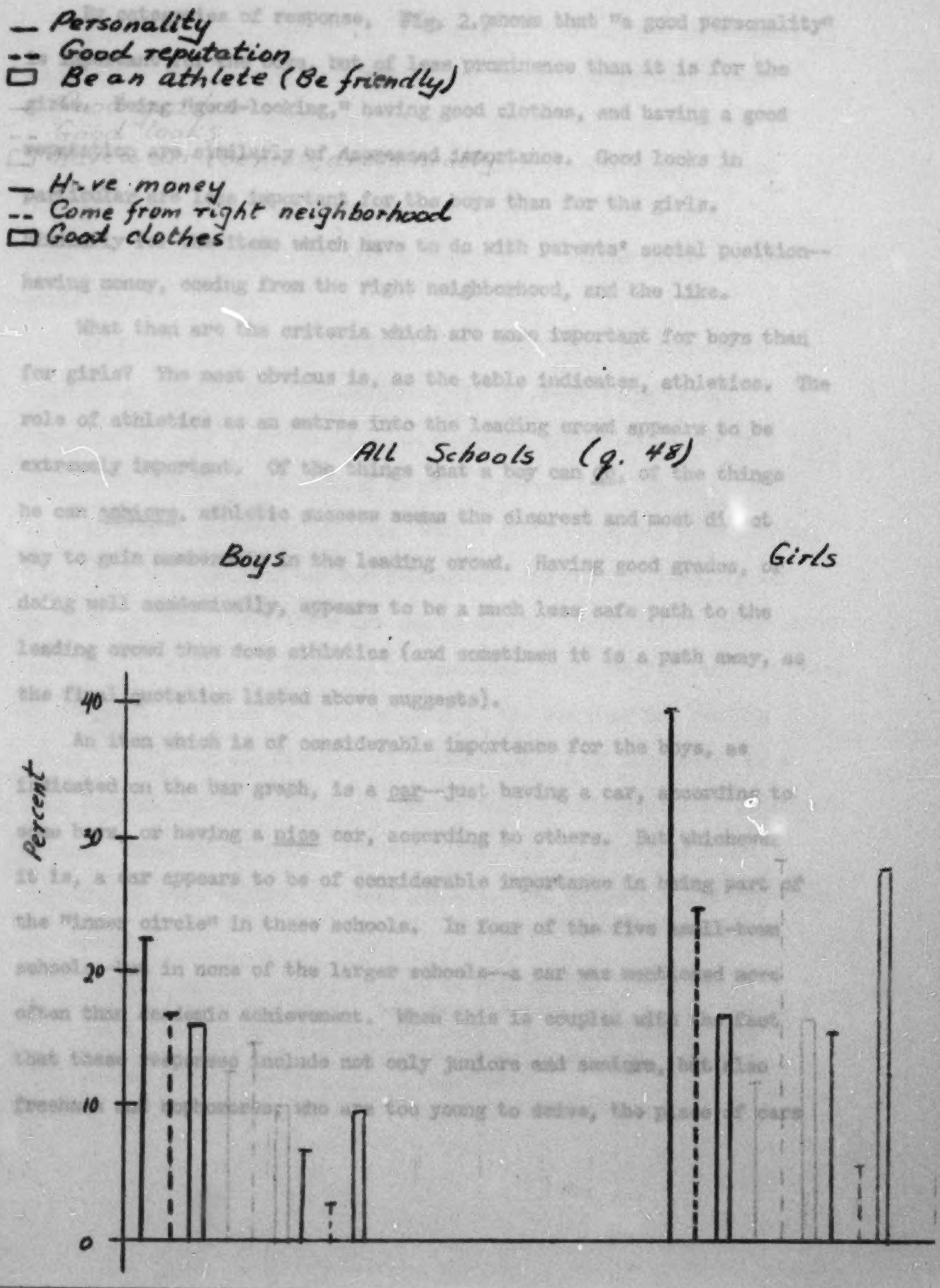
"Good in athletics; "wheel" type; not too intelligent."

By categories of response, Fig. 2.9 shows that "a good personality" [illegible] too, but of less prominence than it is for the girls. Being "good-looking," having good clothes, and having a good reputation are similarly of decreased importance. Good looks in particular are less important for the boys than for the girls. [illegible] items which have to do with parents' social position--having money, coming from the right neighborhood, and the like.

What then are the criteria which are more important for boys than for girls? The most obvious is, as the table indicates, athletics. The role of athletics as an entree into the leading crowd appears to be extremely important. Of the things that a boy can do, of the things he can achieve, athletic success seems the clearest and most direct way to gain membership in the leading crowd. Having good grades, or doing well academically, appears to be a much less safe path to the leading crowd than does athletics (and sometimes it is a path away, as the final quotation listed above suggests).

An item which is of considerable importance for the boys, as indicated on the bar graph, is a car--just having a car, according to some boys, or having a nice car, according to others. But whichever it is, a car appears to be of considerable importance in being part of the "inner circle" in these schools. In four of the five small-town schools and in none of the larger schools--a car was mentioned more often than academic achievement. When this is coupled with the fact that these responses include not only juniors and seniors, but also freshmen and sophomores, who are too young to drive, the place of cars

Figure 2.9



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Then as a whole, how do the criteria for the leading crowd among boys differ from the criteria for girls? Several sharp differences are evident. Family background seems to matter less for boys--it is apparently considerably easier for a boy from the wrong side of the tracks to break into the crowd than for a girl. Clothes, money, being from the right neighborhood hold a considerably higher place for the girls than the boys.

Similarly with rather personal attributes, such as personality, reputation, good looks, friendliness--all of these being things which define what a person _is._ In contrast, the criteria for boys include a much larger component of what a person does, whether in athletics or in academic matters. Such a distinction can be overdrawn, for a girl's reputation and her personality are certainly determined by what she does. Yet these are not clear-cut dimensions of achievement in which a person can actively do something; they are far less tangible. Furthermore, they are far more pliable in the hands of the leading crowd itself, who can define what constitutes a good reputation or a good personality, but who cannot ignore football touchdowns or scholastic honors. Numerous examples of the way the leading crowd can shape reputations were evident in these schools. One senior, a girl reported, for example:

> It is rumored that if you are in with either _____ or _____ that you've got it made. But they are both my friends. You've got to be popular, considerate, have a good reputation. One girl came this year with a rumor started about her. She was ruined in no time by _______ especially.

The girl referred to was a top student and a leader in school activities, but neither of these things were enough to give her a place in the leading crowd. At the end of the school year she was just as far out of things as she was at the beginning, despite her achievements in school.

The matter is different for boys, as the bar graph indicates. There are fewer solid barriers, such as family background, and fewer criteria which can be twisted at the whim of the in-group, than there are for girls. To be sure, achievement must be in the right area--and athletics is by far the area which is more right than any other--but achievement can in most of these schools bring a boy into the leading crowd, which is more than it can do in many instances for girls.

Again there is the suggestion that the girls' culture is in some fashion derivative from the boys: the girl's role is to sit there and look pretty, waiting for the athletic star to come pick her. She must cultivate her looks, wear the right clothes, but then wait--until the football players, whose status is determined by their specific achievements, come along to choose them. This is, of course, only part of the matter, for in a community where the leading crowd is largely determined by the family you come from, or in a school where "activities" are quite important, then the girls have more independent power; also, the fact that girls give the parties and determine who's invited puts a tool in their hands which the boys don't have.

Altogether, the matter is exceedingly complex, and in some ways, reflects in a kind of magnified form the relations between the sexes in the adult society. It is as if the adolescent culture is a Coney

Island mirror, which throws back a reflection of the adult society, distorted but recognizable. And, just as there are variations in different schools in the adolescent society, there are variations in different places in the adult society. These variations will be dealt with in later chapters, but their existence should be held immediately in mind, in order not to make the serious mistake of seeing the "adolescent culture" as all of a piece, as a single entity.

What does the leading crowd matter?

But after all, one might protest, what does all this have to do with education? Suppose there is a leading crowd, and suppose the leading crowd is largely determined by matters extraneous to the school's task? Let the leading crowd go its way, one might argue, and education will go its way.

The question that this raises is a crucial one in the analysis. Just how important _is_ the leading crowd to the main body of students, and what effect do these values have on education? One step toward answering this provided by the following pair of questions:

I.143-8. Among the items below, what does it take to get to be important and looked up to by the _other fellows_ here at school? (Rank from 1 to 6).
- coming from the right family
- leader in activities
- having a nice car
- high grades, honor roll
- being an athletic star
- being in the leading crowd.

I.149-54. Which of these items is most important in making a fellow _popular with the girls_ around here? That is, among the girls who _really rate_, which of these things count most? (Rank from 1 to 6).
- coming from the right family
- leader in activities
- having a nice car
- high grades, honor roll
- being an athletic star
- being in the leading crowd

The reasoning behind this step in the analysis is as follows: we raise the question of how important being in the "leading crowd" is for boys and girls in school, and how this might affect their years in school. We know that getting "to be important and looked up to by the other fellows at school" is important to many boys, and we know that being popular with the girls is important to many boys. If, then, we see just how important "being in the leading crowd" is for these two matters, then this is one step toward seeing the role it plays in these students' lives.

Fig. 2.10 shows the average rankings given by the boys in answer to these two questions.

These two questions show the powerful importance of athletics in making a boy popular; but next to this, they show as well the powerful effect of being in the leading crowd. That is, if a boy wants to be popular, either with boys or with girls, it helps most of all to be an athlete; but beyond this, being a member of the leading crowd is seen as the most efficacious way. That both of these matters are in fact true, and not just distortions in these boys' minds can be seen by the actual popularity of athletes and of members of the leading crowd. Each boy in school was asked:

> What girls here in school do you go around with most often? (Give both first and last names.)

Each boy listed his friends,* whose names were coded; then each boy was

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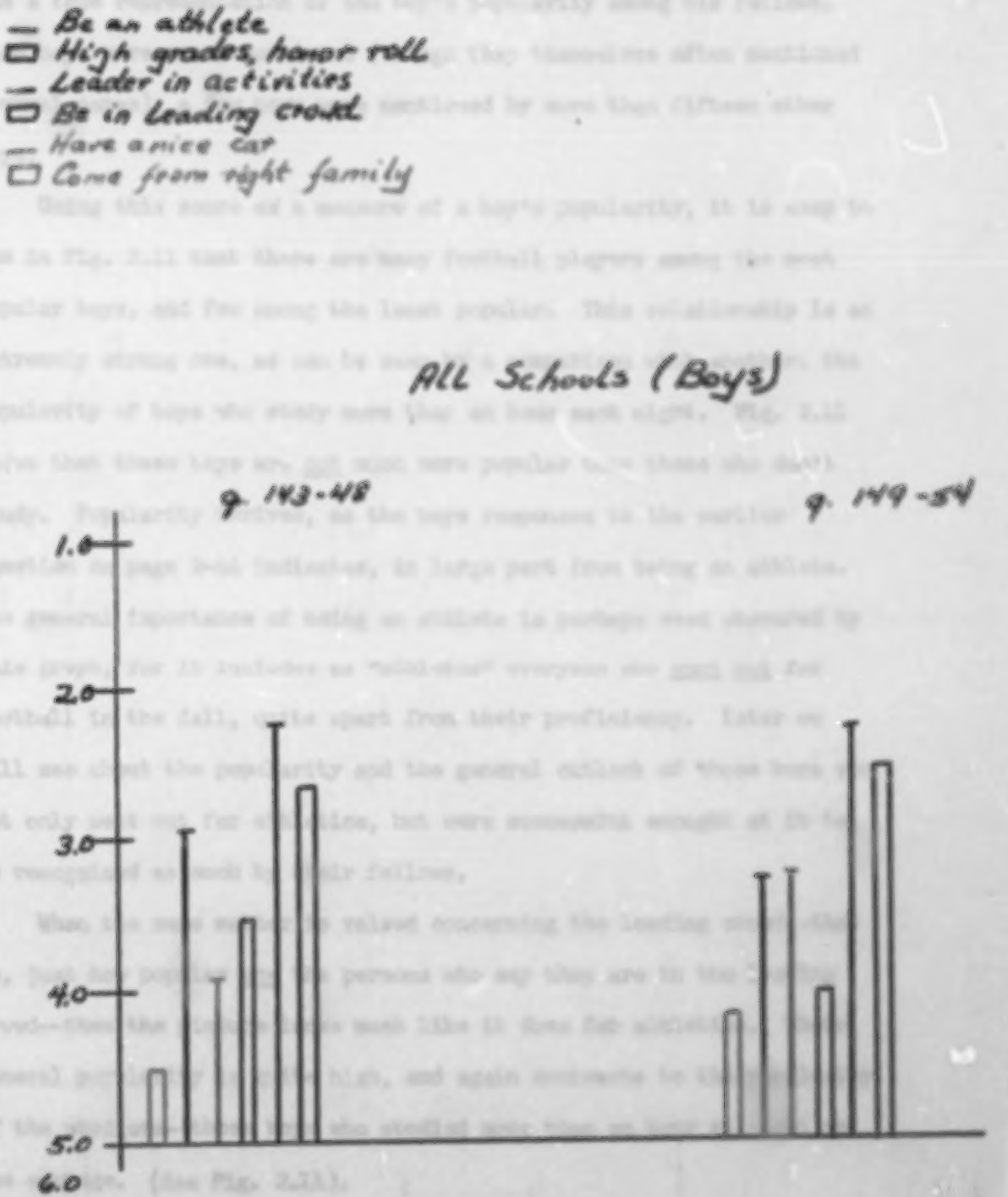
*The percent of boys not responding was 10.0%. This can be thought of as an upper limit to the non-response, for some of these apparent non-responses were legitimate statements that the boy went around with no one.

Figure 2.10

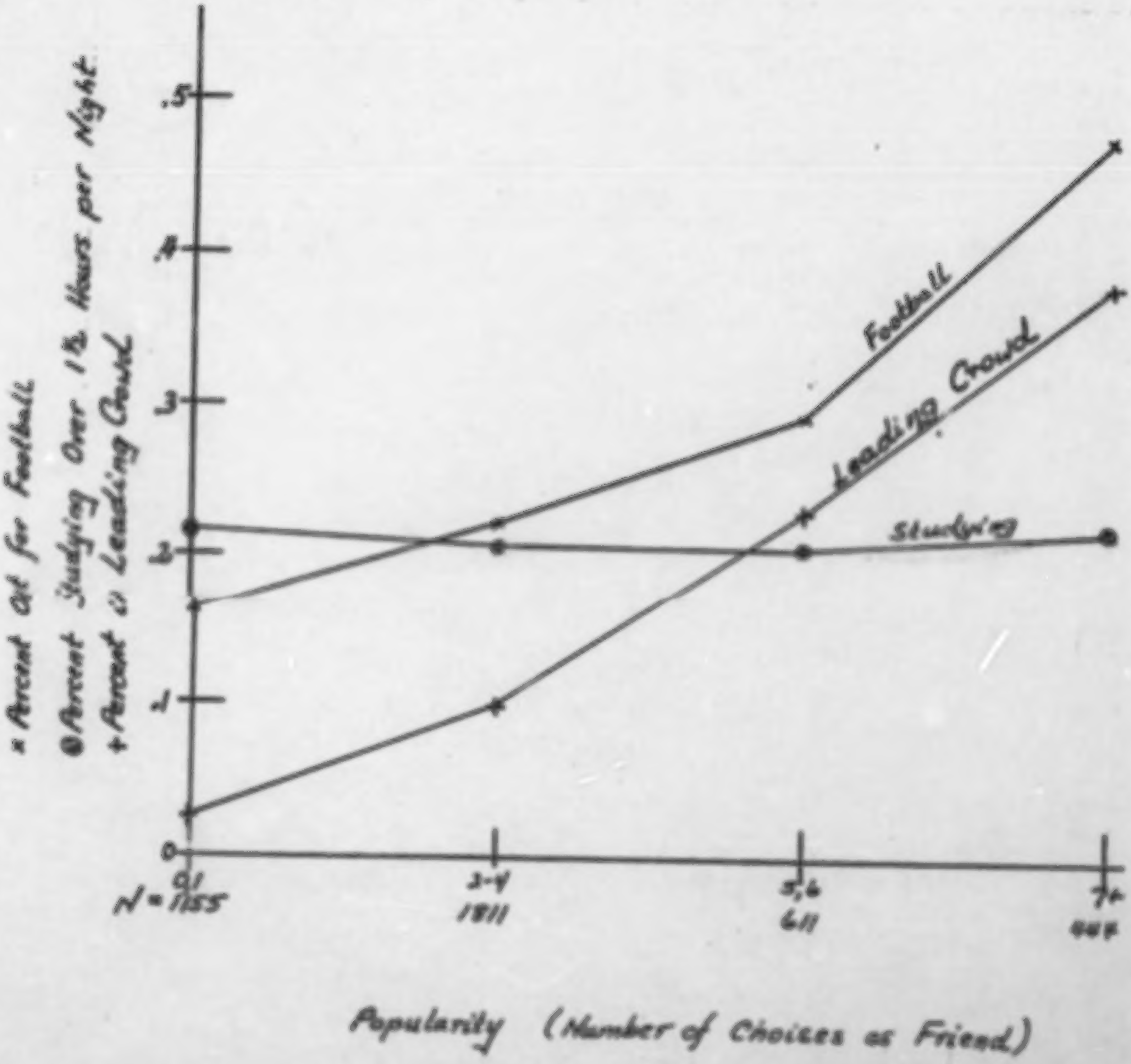

All Schools (Boys)

scored by the number of choices he *received* from the other boys. Since almost every boy in school filled out a questionnaire (the overall proportion not filling out a questionnaire was only 0.3%), this score was a true representation of the boy's popularity among his fellows. Some boys were never mentioned (though they themselves often mentioned several names); a few boys were mentioned by more than fifteen other boys.

Using this score as a measure of a boy's popularity, it is easy to see in Fig. 2.11 that there are many football players among the most popular boys, and few among the least popular. This relationship is an extremely strong one, as can be seen by a comparison with another: the popularity of boys who study more than an hour each night. Fig. 2.11 shows that these boys are *not* much more popular than those who don't study. Popularity derives, as the boys responses to the earlier question on page 2-44 indicates, in large part from being an athlete. The general importance of being an athlete is perhaps even obscured by this graph, for it includes as "athletes" everyone who *went out* for football in the fall, quite apart from their proficiency. Later we will see about the popularity and the general outlook of those boys who not only went out for athletics, but were successful enought at it to be recognized as such by their fellows.

When the same matter is raised concerning the leading crowd—that is, just how popular *are* the persons who say they are in the leading crowd—then the picture looks much like it does for athletics. Their general popularity is quite high, and again contrasts to the popularity of the studiers—those boys who studied more than an hour at night on the average. (See Fig. 2.11).

Figure 2.11



× Percent Out for Football
● Percent Studying Over 1½ Hours per Night
+ Percent in Leading Crowd
.5
.4
.3
.2
.1
0
Football
Leading Crowd
Studying
0,1
N = 1155
2-4
1811
5,6
611
7+
444
Popularity (Number of Choices as Friend)

Thus no matter which way one looks at it--whether in terms of the way the boys _see_ the system of popularity functioning, or in terms of the _actual_ popularity of different boys--being an athlete and being in the leading crowd are of great importance in making a boy popular.

Looking again at the way the other items are ranked in question 143-148 (Fig. 2.10), there is a general consistency with the earlier question of what it takes to get in the leading crowd. For general popularity, just as for being in the leading crowd, good grades count for much less than does athletics. Also, another attribute shows its importance--being a leader in school activities. Though this was seldom mentioned by boys in question 48, as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd, it does rank high here--higher than good grades, and third among the group of six. Having a nice car is next to last in rank, with "coming from the right family" ranked lowest.

The differences these boys perceive in what it takes to be popular with _girls_ is striking: Being an athlete, or being in the leading crowd holds about the same importance for popularity with girls, as for popularity with other boys, according to these boys' view; but being a leader in activities, and even more, getting good grades, is seen as _less_ important in making a boy popular with girls. Having a nice car jumps in rank from 3.91 to 3.24, and coming from the right family jumps less spectacularly, from 4.50 to 4.18.

In general, then, these boys feel that, to be popular with girls, the school-related activities excepting athletics are of considerably less importance than they are to be popular with other boys. Good grades and leadership in school activities fall, and two extra-school considerations arise: cars, an attribute of the adolescent culture, and one's family background, an accession to parental constraints or general social status.

The girls' responses to a parallel pair of questions shows a variation upon this pattern.

I.143-8. Among the items below, what does it take to get to be important and looked up to by the other girls here at school? (Rank from 1 to 6).
coming from the right family
leader in activities
clothes
high grades, honor roll
being cheerleader
being in the leading crowd

I.149-54. Which of these items is most important in making a girl popular with the boys around here? That is, among the boys who really rate, which of these things count most?(Rank from 1 to 6)
coming from the right family
leader in activities
clothes
high grades, honor roll
being cheerleader
being in the leading crowd

Girls see "being in the leading crowd" as even more important in a girl's getting to be popular, ranking it 2.25 higher than any other item. Being a leader in activities has the second position, followed by clothes, family background, grades, and finally being a cheerleader. There are some interesting and puzzling differences here from question 48. In particular, activities were seldom mentioned in question 48 as a criterion for the leading crowd—yet here they rank second, higher than several items which were mentioned more prominently in question 48.

The reason for this difference is not clear; but the difference is there. The significance of activities for popularity is shown in another way, by the actual popularity of activities girls who went out for some activity as a freshman as those who did not./ (See Fig. 2.12) Just as athletics for the boys, activities for the girls shows a high relation to actual popularity, and appears to be an important determinant of popularity. Similarly, membership in the leading crowd is strongly related to the popularity score.

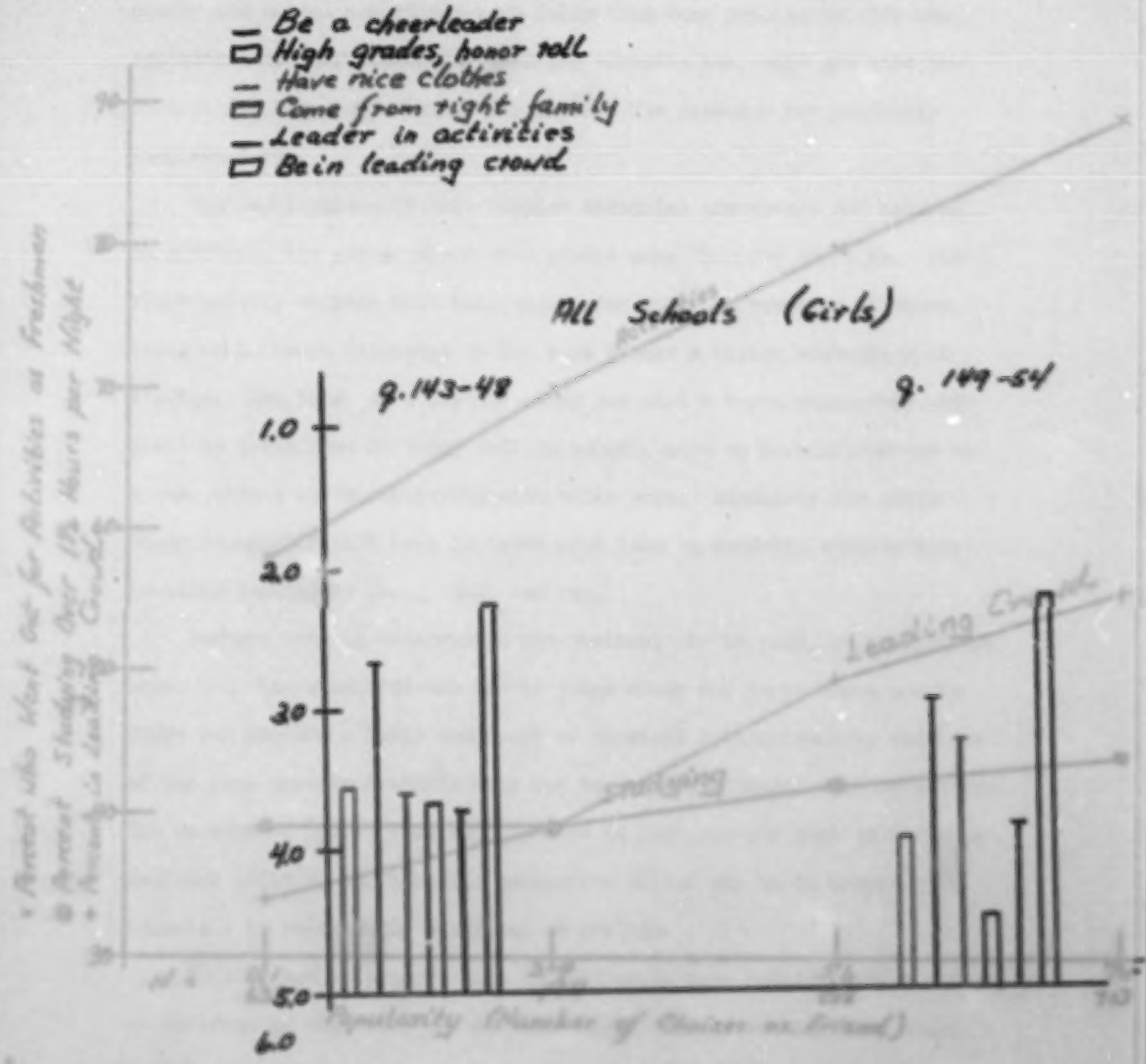
One result shown in Fig.2.12 which is surprising to anyone not familiar with the high school culture is the relative importance of being a cheerleader. As the counterpart of the athletic star, the cheerleader less fully dominates the scene than does the athletic star--yet, as this question indicates, in many schools, her role comes closer to paralleling that of the athlete than does any other role. This is not the point in the analysis to examine at length the reasons why this is so--but it might be suggested that, like the athletic star, the cheerleader focusses the attention of the school as a whole in a common activity, and in a sense "leads them on toward victory." Thus she, and even more the athletic star, are leaders of the school in a very active sense--for theirs is one of the few activities in which the school as a whole is led into action *as* a school rather than as a set of separate individuals.

This matter will be discussed in some detail later, because of its obvious importance; it is enough for the present to note that the athlete for the boys, and cheerleader for the girls hold positions of peculiar importance in the informal status systems of these schools.

The differential importance of being a cheerleader and of getting high grades or being on the honor roll is evident in further examination of Fig. 2.12. For girls as for boys, grades rank low. In fact, in relation to the other five items used for girls, good grades ranks lower for the girls than it does for the boys. To be sure, the other items are not alike for the boys and the girls; but casual inspection suggests that, if anything, the five other categories for the boys were more attractive than were the five other categories for girls. Though these data are not conclusive, they are consistent with the earlier indicators that getting good grades or doing well in school is even less important a criterion for popularity among girls than it is among boys. They reinforce the earlier finding from Fig. 2.9 that good grades or "being smart" is mentioned by boys as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd more often than by girls relative to the other items mentioned.

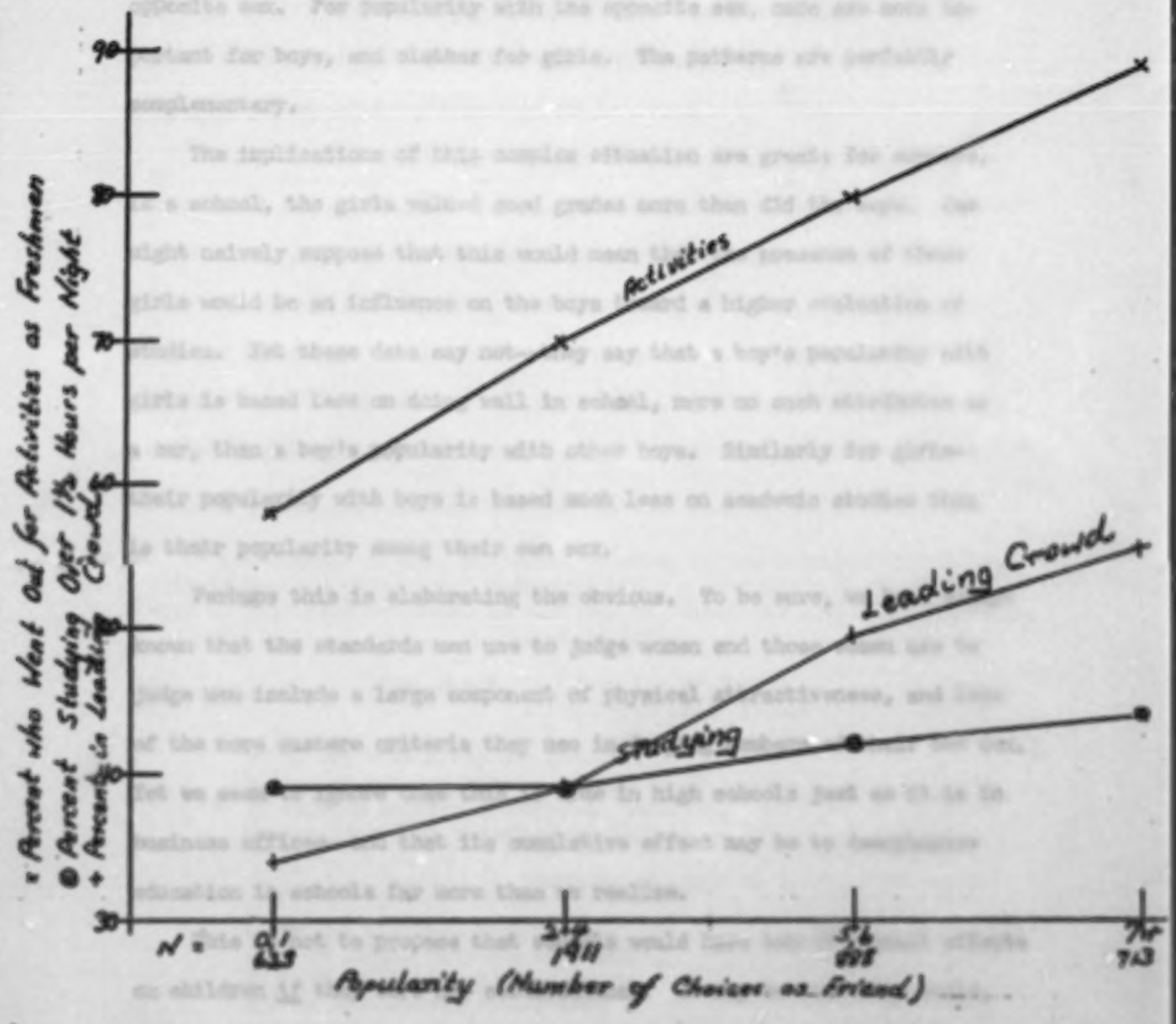
But what are the differences in the things it takes for a girl to be popular with boys? That is, how do the girls rank the importance of each of these items for a girl's being popular with boys? Fig. 2.13 shows that the one most outstanding difference is in good grades—these girls feel that scholastic success counts for even less in being popular with boys than it does in being popular with other girls. In only two schools (8 and 1) is its rank not lowest of the six items. In contrast, in only three schools (0, 4, and 7) did it rank lowest for the boys as a criterion for popularity with other girls. A less sharp decline, but still a decline, is evident in the rank of "leader in activities"—

Figure 2.12



— Be a cheerleader
▭ High grades, honor roll
— Have nice clothes
▭ Come from right family
— Leader in activities
▭ Be in leading crowd
All Schools (Girls)
q. 143-48
q. 149-54
1.0
2.0
3.0
4.0
5.0
6.0
Leading Crowd
studying
Popularity (Number of Choices as Friend)
Percent who Went Out for Activities as Freshmen
Percent Studying Over 1½ Hours per Night
Percent in Leading Crowd

Figure 3.13


90
80
70
60
50
40
30
× Percent who Went Out for Activities as Freshmen
● Percent Studying Over 1½ Hours per Night
+ Percent in Leading Crowd
Activities
Leading Crowd
Studying
N =
0,1
833
2,3,4
1911
5,6
898
7+
713
Popularity (Number of Choices as Friend)

along with an increase in having nice clothes.

The parallel to the situation for the boys is interesting. For both boys and girls popularity with one's own sex is believed to involve good grades and school activities more fully than does popularity with the opposite sex. For popularity with the opposite sex, cars are more important for boys, and clothes for girls. The patterns are perfectly complementary.

The implications of this complex situation are great: for suppose, in a school, the girls valued good grades more than did the boys. One might naively suppose that this would mean that the presence of these girls would be an influence on the boys toward a higher evaluation of studies. Yet these data say not--they say that a boy's popularity with girls is based less on doing well in school, more on such attributes as a car, than a boy's popularity with other boys. Similarly for girls--their popularity with boys is based much less on academic studies than is their popularity among their own sex.

Perhaps this is elaborating the obvious. To be sure, we have always known that the standards men use to judge women and those women use to judge men include a large component of physical attractiveness, and less of the more austere criteria they use in judging members of their own sex. Yet we seem to ignore that this is true in high schools just as it is in business offices--and that its cumulative effect may be to deemphasize education in schools far more than we realize.

This is not to propose that schools would have better overall effects on children _if_ they were not coeducational. It may be that they would, but that is a far more complex problem, which we will not pretend to answer. It is to say, rather, that in the normal activities of a high school, the relations between boys and girls tend to increase the importance of physical attractiveness, care, and clothes, and decrease the importance of achievement in school activities. Whether this _must_ be true is another question; it may be that the school itself can so shape these relations that they will have a _positive_ effect rather than a negative one on the school's goals.*

The general research question is this: what kinds of interactions among boys and girls lead each sex to evaluate the other less on grounds of physical attraction, more on grounds which are not so superficial. It seems likely, for example, that the kinds of common work activities engaged in by boys and girls in some private schools such as the Putney School, lead to different bases for evaluating the opposite sex than do the usual activities surrounding a public high school.

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*A colleague of mine was moved to verse by the possibilities intrinsic in this educational strategy; after an evening's discussion of ways of improving education in America, he penned the following poem:

Firmer Academia

(The Saint Trinian's Girls' Creed)
First Form Girls' Pledge

We do not kiss a boy who gets a C
Before we pet, we require a B.
If mention is made of romps in hay,
We consider only the straight firm A.

Addendum required by Second Form Girls

We do not believe, eugenically,
That we should clip the boy with D,
For A's are rare and many are we
And we must beware of atrophy!

Fred Strodtbeck

The question of practical policy, once such a research question has been answered, is even more difficult: what can a school do to foster the kinds of interactions and activities which lead judgments of the opposite sex to be made on grounds which implement the school's goals?

Before turning from this point, it may be well to state explicitly a general matter implicit in the above: It is commonly assumed, both by educators and by laymen, that it is "better" for boys and girls to be in school together during adolescence--if not better for their academic performance, at least better for their social development and adjustment. But this may not at all be so--it may depend wholly upon the kinds of activities within which their association takes place. Coeducation in some high schools may be inimical both academic achievement and social adjustment. Again, we should emphasize that the dichotomy often forced by educators between "life-adjustment" and "academic emphasis" is a false one, for it forgets that most of the teen-ager's energy is not directed toward either of these goals: The relevant dichotomy is instead cars and cashmere sweaters versus school activities, whether of the academic or life-adjustment variety.

But perhaps this is where the emphasis should be among girls: on making themselves into desirable objects for boys. Perhaps physical beauty, nice clothes, and an enticing manner are the attributes which should be important among adolescent girls.

There are two possible answers to this. One is to argue that the ultimate goals of educational institutions and of society are not served by such an emphasis. This is difficult, for no one is quite sure what are the ultimate goals of public education in the United States, especially for girls. Should they be trained to be wives, citizens, mothers, career women? Yet one thing is clear: in none of these areas of adult life are physical beauty, an enticing manner, and nice clothes as important for performing successfully as they are in high school. The adult activities of women in which these attributes *are* most important are of a different order: chorus girls, models, movie and television actresses, and call girls. In all these activities, women serve as *objects of attention* for men, and furthermore, not merely objects of attention, but objects to *attract* men's attention. In this, they are quite different from the attributes of a good wife, which involve less superficial qualities. If we want our high schools to inculcate the attributes which make girls objects to attract men's attention, then these values of good looks and nice clothes discussed above are just right. If not, then the values are quite inappropriate.

A second kind of answer to the question,"What's wrong with these values?" is of a different sort. It is this: Nothing is wrong with such values, so long as they do not completely pervade the atmosphere. The values are all right,so long as there are *other* ways a girl can become popular and successful in the eyes of her peers. And, to be sure, there are other ways as indicated by the emphasis on "a nice personality" in the questions discussed above. Yet the importance of clothes and good looks in the two questions just examined suggests that in adolescent cultures, these superficial, external attributes do pervade the atmosphere to the extent that girls come to feel that this is the only basis or the *most important* basis on which to excel.

There are several sets of responses in the questionnaire which suggest such an impact upon girls. One is the responses to question 68, (see tabulation on p. 2-22), in which more girls checked "model" as the occupation they would like than any of the other three: "nurse" or "schoolteacher" or "actress or artist." As suggested above, a model is one of the few occupations which most embodies these attributes of beauty and superficial attractiveness to men.

But the consequences of this emphasis on being attractive to boys in high school, this emphasis on being an object of attention, is indicated even more by responses to a set of sentence completion questions. Comparing the boys' responses and the girls' will give some indication of the degree to which the high school culture impresses these matters upon girls. The questions are listed below, together with the proportions responding in terms of popularity with the opposite sex or relations with the opposite sex.

Table 2.7 *

Boys' and Girls' Sentence-Completion Responses Related to Popularity
Totals for 9 schools

	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
s.11. More than anything else, I'd like to..................		
Responses involving popularity with opposite sex	5.4	10.8
Responses involving popularity, unspecified	5.3	11.4
Total codable responses	(2543)	(2776)
s.12. The best thing that could happen to me this year at school would be...		
Responses involving relations with opposite sex	4.5	20.7
Responses involving relations with others, unspecified	3.2	9.0
Total codable responses	(2222)	(2702)
s.13. The most important thing in life is..............		
Responses involving popularity with opposite sex	6.3	7.4
Responses involving popularity, sex unspecified	4.6	7.9
Total codable responses	(2151)	(2737)
s.14. I worry most about................................		
Responses involving popularity with opposite sex	9.2	13.9
Responses involving personal attributes related to popularity (weight, hair, figure, etc.)	2.7	8.6
Total codable responses	(2201)	(2803)

---

*These questions were asked in a supplementary questionnaire, filled out by the 6289 students in the 9 schools who completed the basic questionnaire early.

To each one of these sentence-completion questions, girls gave far more responses involving popularity with the opposite sex than did boys. These responses suggest that the emphasis of these cultures on girls' being an object of attention for boys has powerful consequences for these girls' attitudes toward life and toward themselves. A further indication that success with boys is tied to rather superficial external qualities is shown by the greater proportion of girls who say they worry most about some personal characteristic (most often an external attribute such as weight or figure or hair or skin, but also including such attributes as "shyness").

One might reasonably suggest, however, that girls' concern with popularity with boys, and with physical attributes which help make them popular would be just as strong in the absence of the adolescent culture--in the absence of the strong values elicited in the questions discussed earlier about the leading crowd and popularity. Later evidence will be presented to show that this is not so; but a simple comparison of these four sentence-completion questions provides some evidence. The question in which girls most often give responses involving relations with the opposite sex is the one which refers directly to the school life: "The best thing that could happen to me this year at school would be...." Furthermore, this is the question in which the boys least often give such a response. When the question refers to life in general ("The most important thing in life is...."), then the boy-girl differential is sharply reduced. This suggests that it is the system itself, the social system of adolescents, which makes relations with boys, and physical attractiveness, so important to girls.

These values which emphasize a girl as an object of a boy's attention have other effects on the girls, most of which we have only the barest knowledge. One of the effects, however, is on her self-conception. We might suppose that a girl who found herself in a situation where she was not successful in "the things that count," would be less happy with herself, and would want to change, to be someone different. On the other hand, the more successful she was in the things that count, the more she would be satisfied with herself, as she was.

We have no measure of the objective beauty of girls, and we are not able to separate out those who are particularly unattractive in dress or beauty, to see the impact that these values have upon their conceptions of themselves. However, we can pick out those girls who are, in the eyes of their classmates, the best-dressed girls. This will allow an indirect test of the effect of the emphasis on clothes, and on being attractive to boys. On the questionnaire, we asked every girl,

> I.40b.i. Of all the girls in your grade, who is the best dressed?

The girls who were named most often by their classmates are at one end of the continuum--better dressed than their classmates. Thus, if this is an important attribute to have, these girls should feel considerably better about themselves than do their classmates. Table 2.8 below shows that they do, and that those named most often fell best about themselves.

Table 2.8

I.136. Agree or disagree: If I could trade, I would be someone different from myself.

	% who would be different	
All girls	21.2	(3782)
Girls named 2-6 times as best dressed	17.0	(282)
Girls named 7 or more times as best dressed	11.2	(98)

The effect of being though of as "best dressed" by her classmates is quite striking, reducing by half her likelihood of her wanting to be someone different. Or to put it differently, the effect of *not* being thought of as "best dressed" by her classmates more than doubles a girl's likelihood of wanting to be someone different.

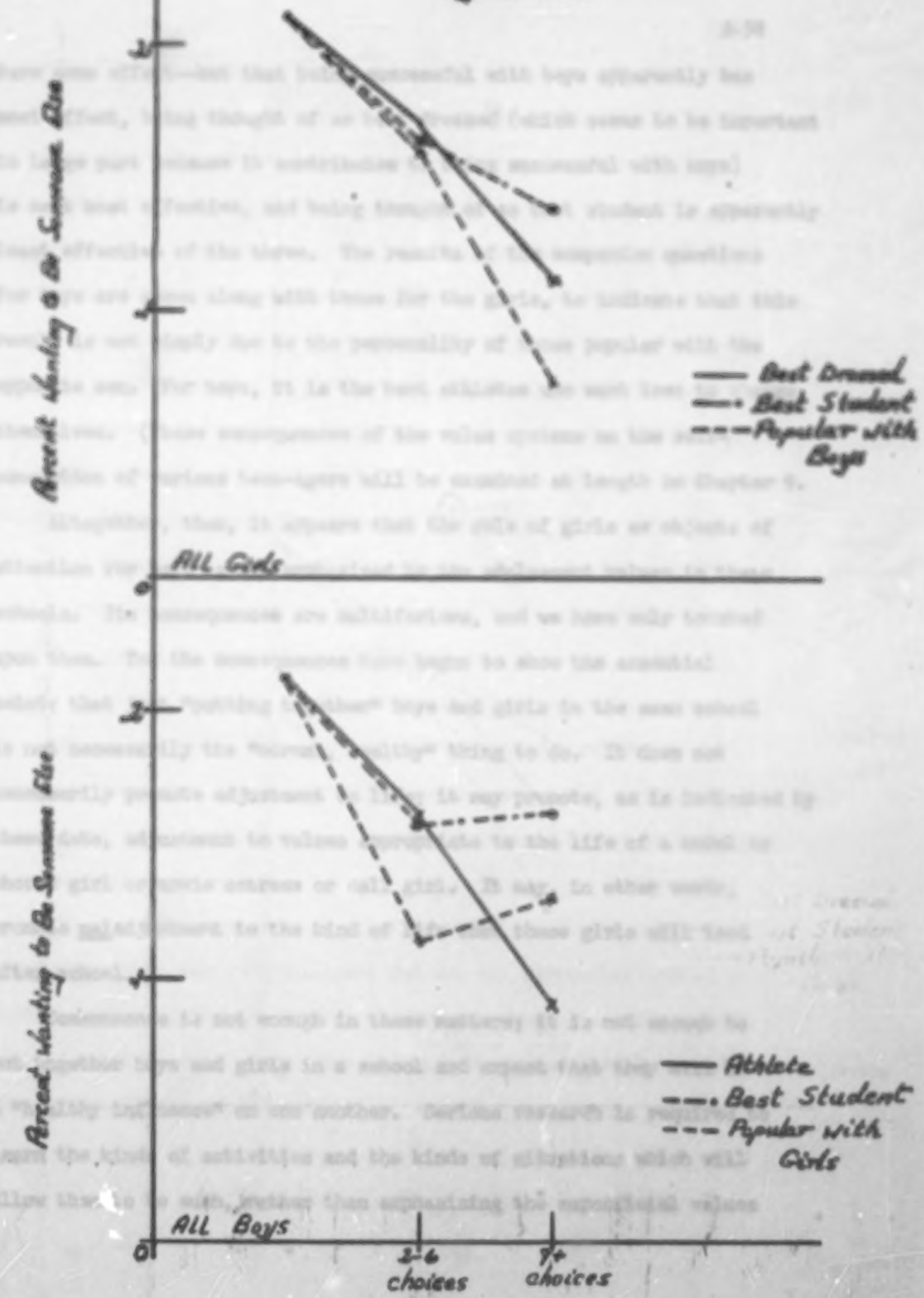
To see something about the strength of this effect, relative to the strength of effect that competing values have, it is possible to compare these responses with those of girls who were highly thought of by their classmates, but in other ways. The following questions were asked along with the "best-dressed" question:

I.40b. Of all the girls in your grade, who...
is the best student?
do boys go for most?

The girls who were named most often by their classmates on these two questions and the previous one can be thought of as "successful" in each of these areas--studies, relations with boys, and dress. Insofar as these things "count," they should make the girls feel happier about themselves--and conversely, make the girls who are not successful less happy about themselves.

Figure 2.14 indicates the relative effectiveness of these three values, the relative degree to which these three matters "count" in making a girl happy about herself or unhappy. It is apparent that all

Figure 3.14


Percent Wanting to Be Someone Else
3
2
All Girls
0
Best Dressed
Best Student
Popular with Boys
Percent Wanting to Be Someone Else
2
1
All Boys
0
Athlete
Best Student
Popular with Girls
2-6 choices
7+ choices

have some effect—but that being successful with boys apparently has most effect, being thought of as best dressed (which seems to be important in large part because it contributes to being successful with boys) is next most effective, and being thought of as best student is apparently least effective of the three. The results of the companion questions for boys are shown along with those for the girls, to indicate that this result is not simply due to the personality of those popular with the opposite sex. For boys, it is the best athletes who want less to change themselves. (These consequences of the value systems on the self-conception of various teen-agers will be examined at length in Chapter 9.

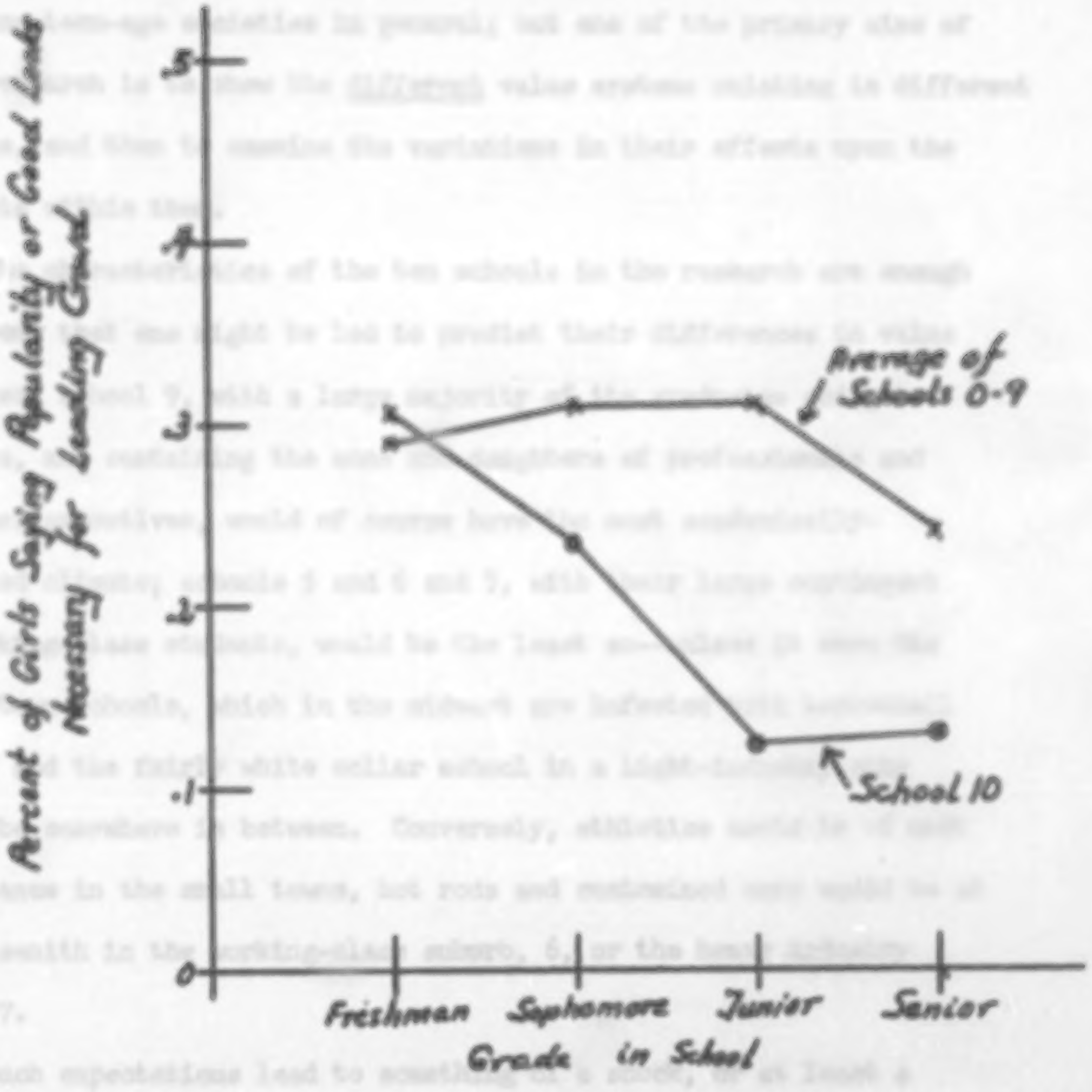
Altogether, then, it appears that the role of girls as objects of attention for boys is one emphasized by the adolescent values in these schools. Its consequences are multifarious, and we have only touched upon them. Yet the consequences have begun to show the essential point: that just "putting together" boys and girls in the same school is not necessarily the "normal, healthy" thing to do. It does not, necessarily promote adjustment to life; it may promote, as is indicated by these data, adjustment to values appropriate to the life of a model or chorus girl or movie actress or call girl. It may, in other words, promote *mal*adjustment to the kind of life that these girls will lead after school.

Commonsense is not enough in these matters; it is not enough to put together boys and girls in a school and expect that they will be a "healthy influence" on one another. Serious research is required to learn the kinds of activities and the kinds of situations which will allow them to be such, rather than emphasizing the superficial values of a hedonistic culture.

To show with somewhat more force the way in which such interactions can affect the value system which pervades a school, one of the two schools which were added to the study, school 10, can be of aid. As mentioned in the introduction, this is a private school, with students of upper middle class backgrounds similar to those of students in school 9, but in a very serious-minded university setting. Fig. 2.15 shows the importance over the four years, of "good looks" as an attribute for membership in the leading crowd, in this school, together with the average over all the nine schools in the study. The contrast is striking: They start out at almost the same point, in the freshman year. But then in school 10, the importance of good looks goes down sharply over the four years; in the average for the nine schools in the study, it even rises slightly as dating begins in earnest in the sophomore and junior years, before dropping off somewhat in the senior year. This graph gives only the faintest hint of the different experience these two school situations would present for a girl. In the one, she would be competing on the basis of good looks; in the other, on quite different grounds.

This is not to suggest that all the schools of the nine in the study showed this same pattern—some did not—in particular, school 1 showed a continual decline similar to that of school 10, while others, 0, 3, 4, and 7 showed a sharp rise in the sophomore and junior years, before decreasing among the seniors.

Figure 3.15



Value Climates of Each School

The preceding chapter has shown something about the value systems of these teen-age societies in general; but one of the primary aims of this research is to show the different value systems existing in different schools, and then to examine the variations in their effects upon the students within them.

The characteristics of the ten schools in the research are enough different that one might be led to predict their differences in value climates. School 9, with a large majority of its students going to college, and containing the sons and daughters of professionals and business executives, would of course have the most academically-oriented climate; schools 5 and 6 and 7, with their large contingent of working-class students, would be the least so. [illegible] the small town schools, which in the midwest are infected with basketball fever, and the fairly white collar school in a light-industry town would be somewhere in between. Conversely, athletics would be of most importance in the small towns, hot rods and customized cars would be at their zenith in the working-class suburb, 6, or the heavy industry town, 7.

Such expectations lead to something of a shock, or at least a surprise, when the data are examined. For matters are not so simple or straightforward as this. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the responses among boys and girls in each school to the question:

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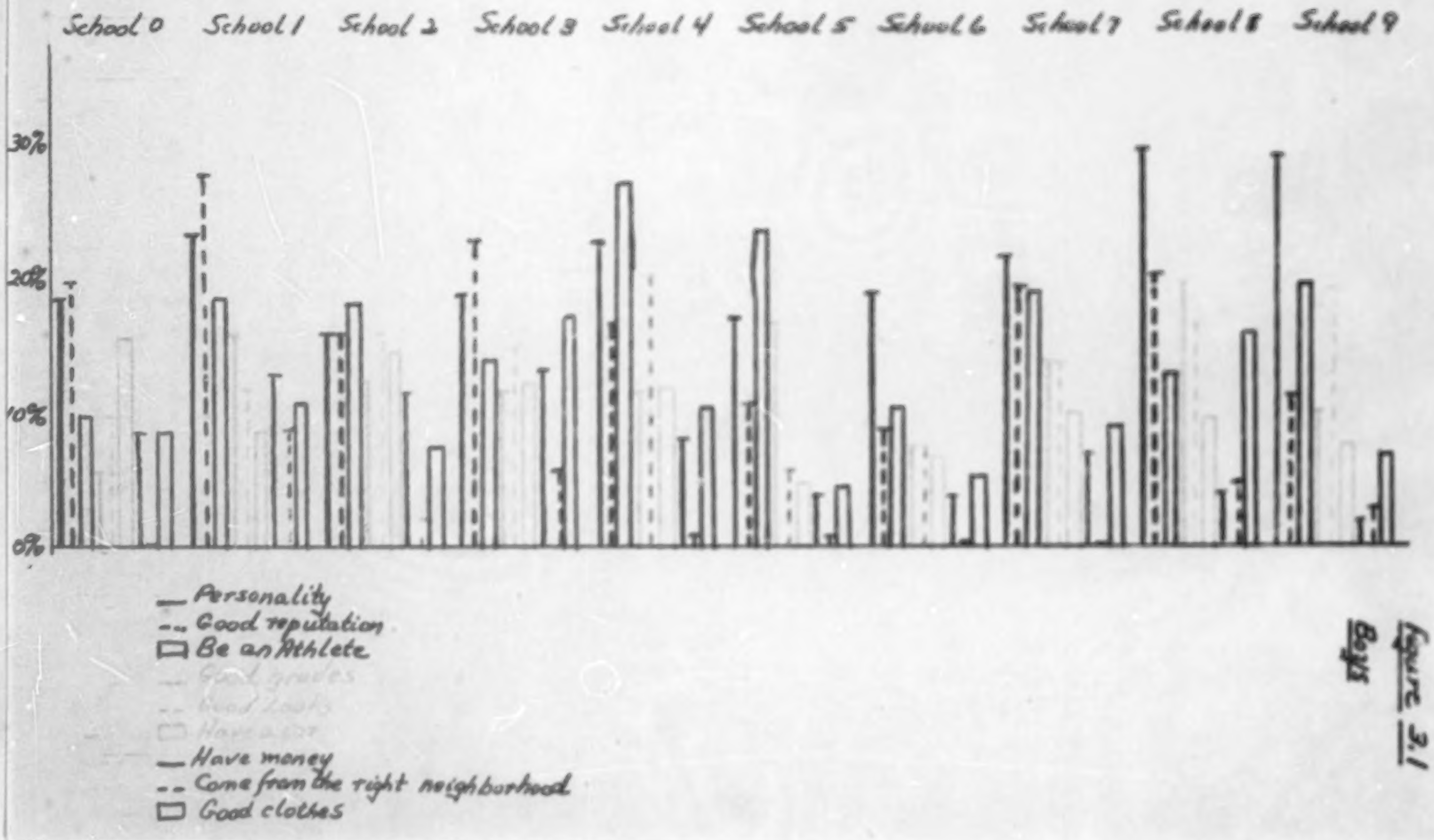


Figure 3.1

Boys

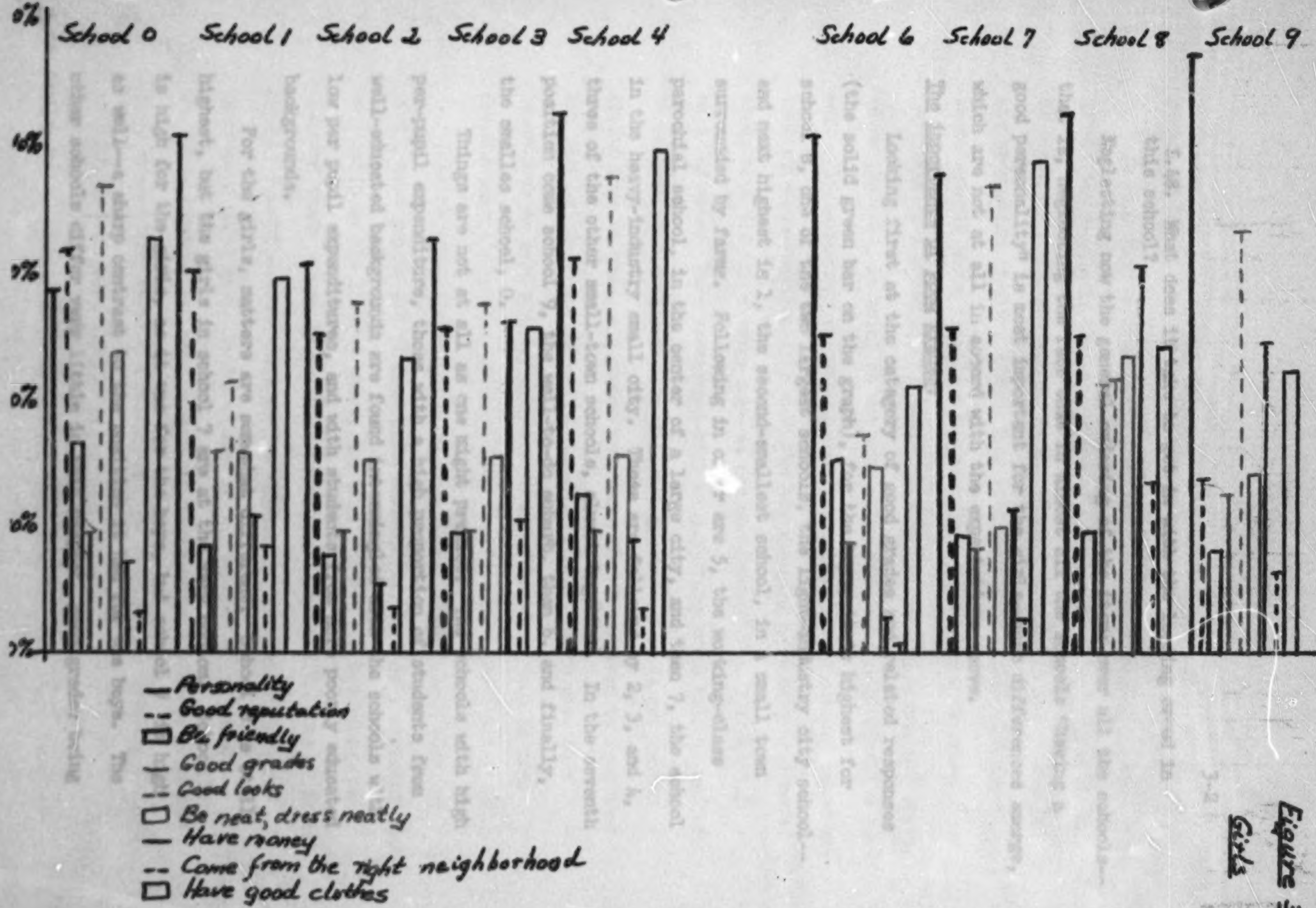


Figure 3.2

Girls

I.48. What does it take to get in with the leading crowd in this school?

Neglecting now the general ordering of the items over all the schools--that is, neglecting the fact that in almost all the schools "having a good personality" is most important for the girls--some differences emerge, which are not at all in accord with the expectations above.

The importance of good grades:

Looking first at the category of good grades and related responses (the solid green bar on the graph), for the boys, it is highest for school 8, one of the two largest schools, the light-industry city school--and next highest is 1, the second-smallest school, in a small town surrounded by farms. Following in order are 5, the working-class parochial school, in the center of a large city, and then 7, the school in the heavy-industry small city. These are followed by 2, 3, and 4, three of the other small-town schools, almost together. In the seventh position come school 9, the well-to-do suburb, then 6, and finally, the smalles school, 0.

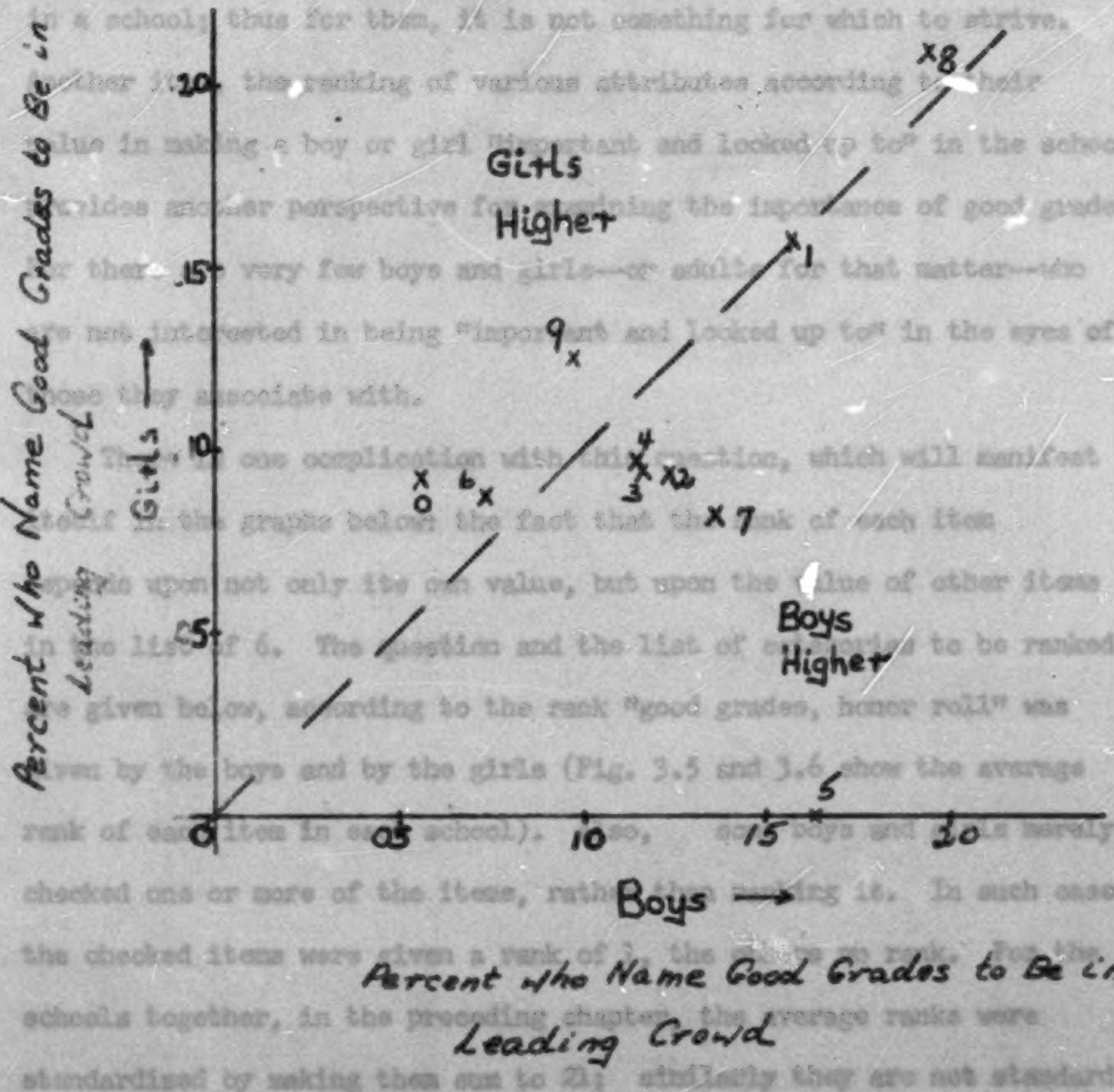
Things are not at all as one might predict. The schools with high per-pupil expenditure, those with a high proportion of students from well-educated backgrounds are found intermingled with the schools with low per pupil expenditures, and with students from more poorly educated backgrounds.

For the girls, matters are somewhat different. School 8 is still highest, but the girls in school 7 are at the very bootom. School 1 is high for the girls, as it was for the boys, but school 9 is high as well--a sharp contrast to the position it had for the boys. The other schools differ very little in this respect, good grades being mentioned in all of them by about 8 or 9% of the girls.

In Fig. 3.3, each school's position is located as a point on a graph; the x-axis is the proportion of boys who mentioned "good grades" as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd, and the y-axis is the proportion of girls giving this response. The broken line separates those schools above this line in which good grades was more often mentioned as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd, and those, below the line, in which it was more often mentioned as a criterion for boys. It is perhaps surprising that there are as many schools below the line as above--particularly when the average girl mentioned many more items than did the average boy--as a comparison of Fig. 3.1 and 3.2 will indicate. This provides a hint of something which will be evident throughout this analysis--that although girls in general get better grades than do boys, and appear more motivated to conform to teachers' and parents' desires, the social rewards from her peers give less importance to good grades, relative to other matters, than is true for the boys.

Looking again at Fig. 3.3, it is evident that for both boys and girls, good grades are of most importance in school 8 as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd; and that school 1 is second for both (leaving aside school 5, which is second for the boys, but has no girls). Schools 9 and 7 deviate in opposite directions, with grades of more importance among girls in 9 and boys in 7. Schools 2, 3, and 4 are about the same, overall, as 9 and 7, but are more nearly equal for girls and boys, rather than showing a difference, as do 9 and 7. Schools 0 and 6 are low for both boys and girls.

Figure 3.3



Before turning to other items mentioned as criteria for membership in the leading crowd, it is [illegible] to turn to other items measuring the importance of good grades in these different adolescent cultures. For membership in the leading crowd is not desired by all boys and girls in a school; thus for them, it is not something for which to strive. Another item, the ranking of various attributes according to their value in making a boy or girl "important and looked up to" in the school provides another perspective for examining the importance of good grades. For there are very few boys and girls--or adults for that matter--who are not interested in being "important and looked up to" in the eyes of those they associate with.

There is one complication with this question, which will manifest itself in the graphs below: the fact that the rank of each item depends upon not only its own value, but upon the value of other items in the list of 6. The question and the list of categories to be ranked are given below, according to the rank "good grades, honor roll" was given by the boys and by the girls (Fig. 3.5 and 3.6 show the average rank of each item in each school). Also, some boys and girls merely checked one or more of the items, rather than ranking it. In such cases, the checked items were given a rank of 1, the others no rank. For the schools together, in the preceding chapter, the average ranks were standardized by making them sum to 21; similarly they are not standardized here. Thus the average ranks are not completely constrained by one another.

Before turning to other items mentioned as criteria for membership in the leading crowd, it is best to turn to other items measuring the importance of good grades in these different adolescent cultures. For membership in the leading crowd is not desired by all boys and girls in a school; thus for them, it is not something for which to strive. Another item, the ranking of various attributes according to their value in making a boy or girl "important and looked up to" in the school provides another perspective for examining the importance of good grades. For there are very few boys and girls--or adults for that matter--who are not interested in being "important and looked up to" in the eyes of those they associate with.

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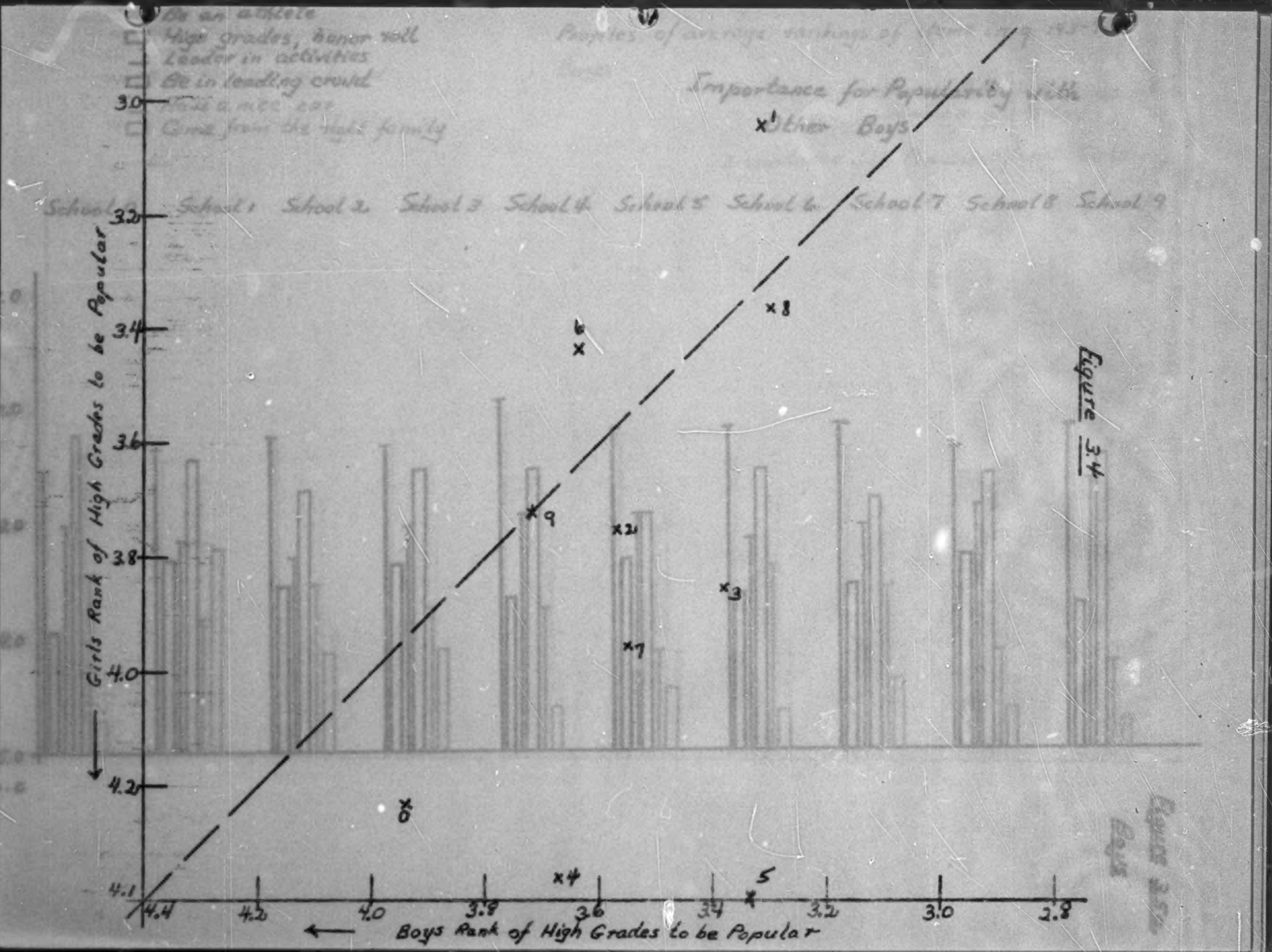


Figure 3.4

Girls Rank of High Grades to be Popular
3.0
3.2
3.4
3.6
3.8
4.0
4.2
4.1
Boys Rank of High Grades to be Popular
4.4
4.2
4.0
3.8
3.6
3.4
3.2
3.0
2.8
x 0
x 1
x 2
x 3
x 4
x 5
x 6
x 7
x 8
x 9
Be an athlete
High grades, honor roll
Leader in activities
Be in leading crowd
Have a nice car
Come from the right family
Importance for Popularity with Other Boys
School 0
School 1
School 2
School 3
School 4
School 5
School 6
School 7
School 8
School 9
Figure 3.5a
Boys

Profiles of average rankings of items in q. 143-1

Importance for Popularity with Other Boys

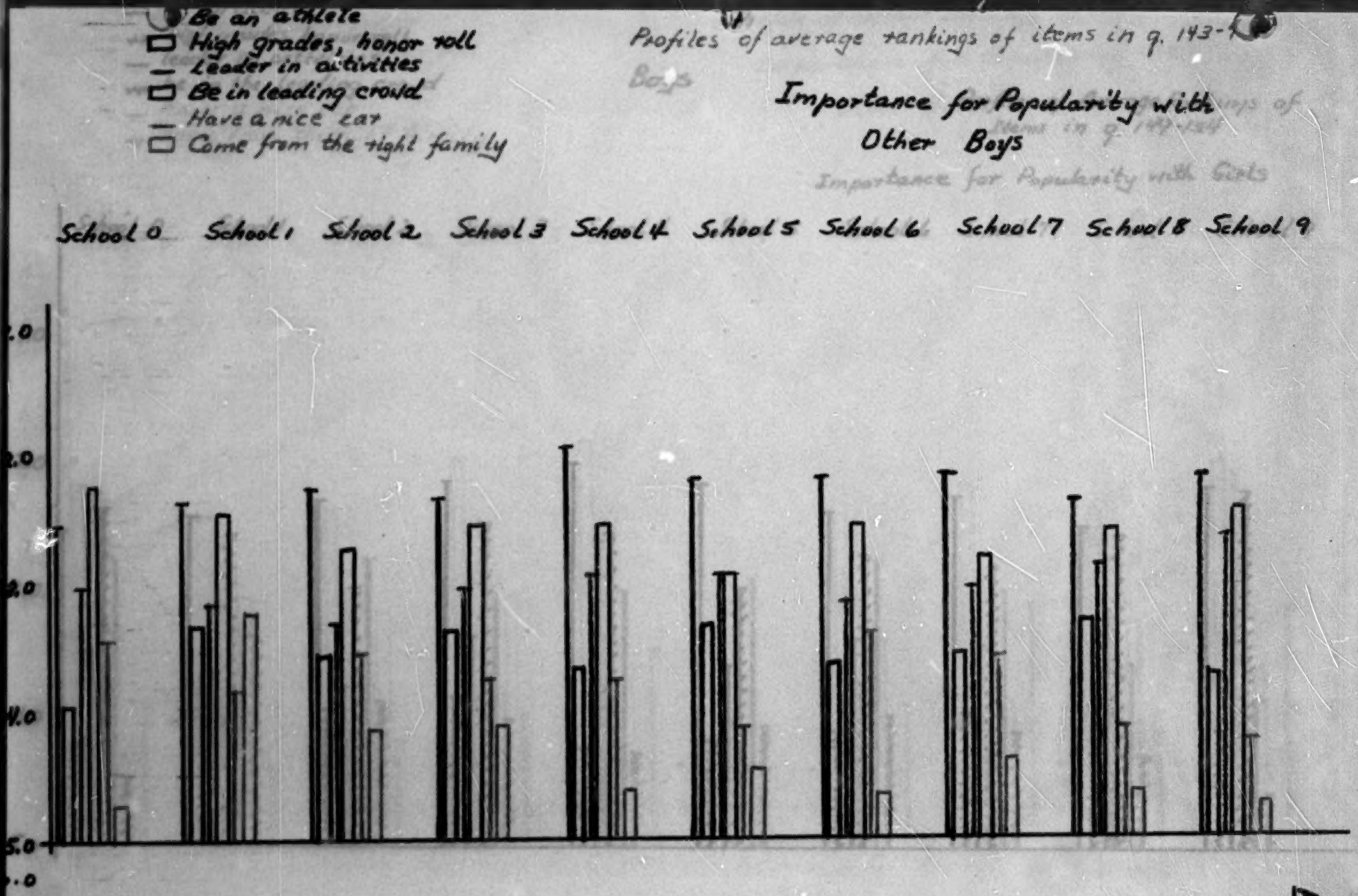


Figure 3.5a.
Boys

Profiles of Average Rankings of Items in q. 149-154

Importance for Popularity with Girls

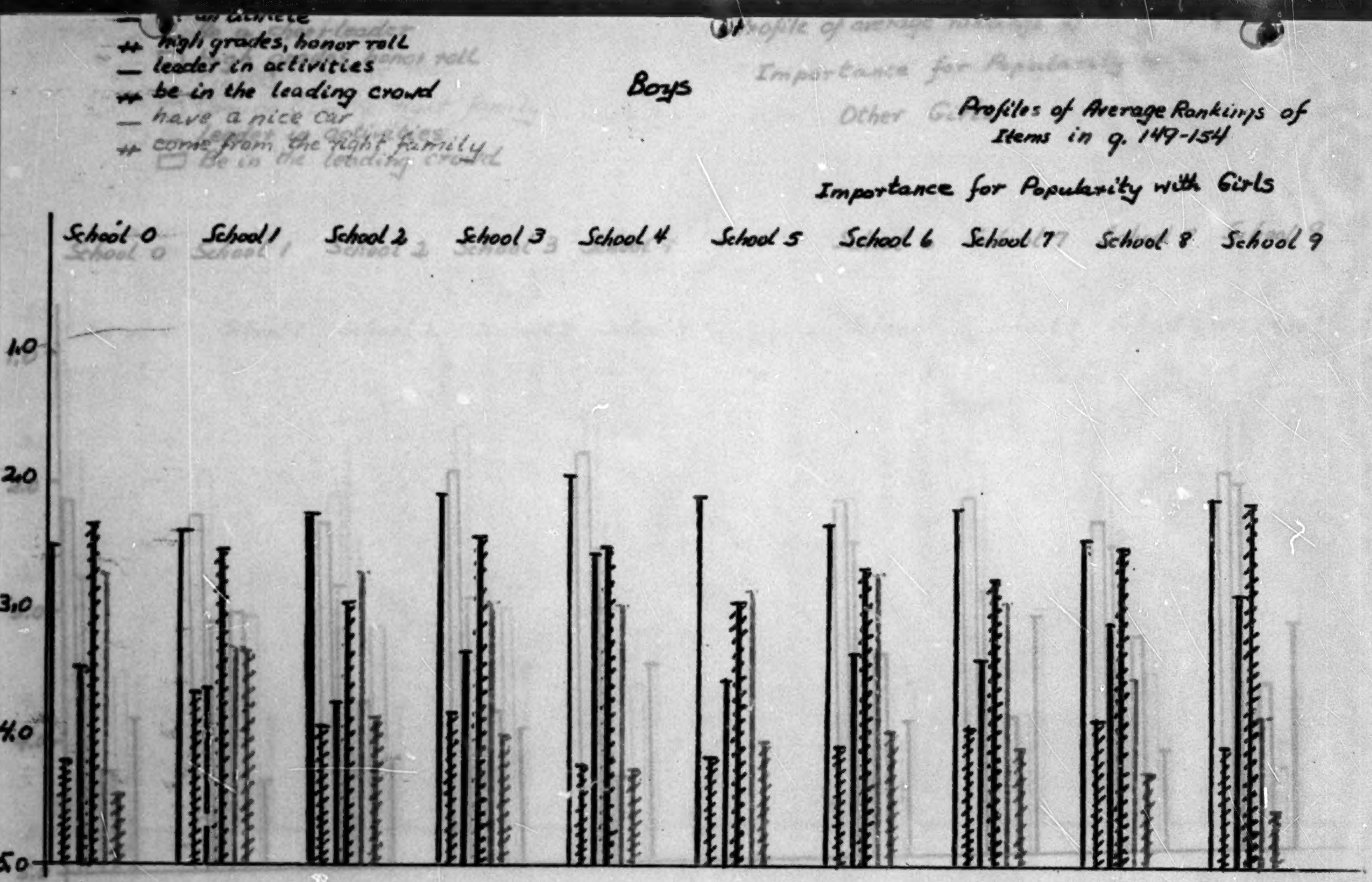


Figure 3.5a

Profile of average rankings of items

Importance for Popularity with

Other Girls

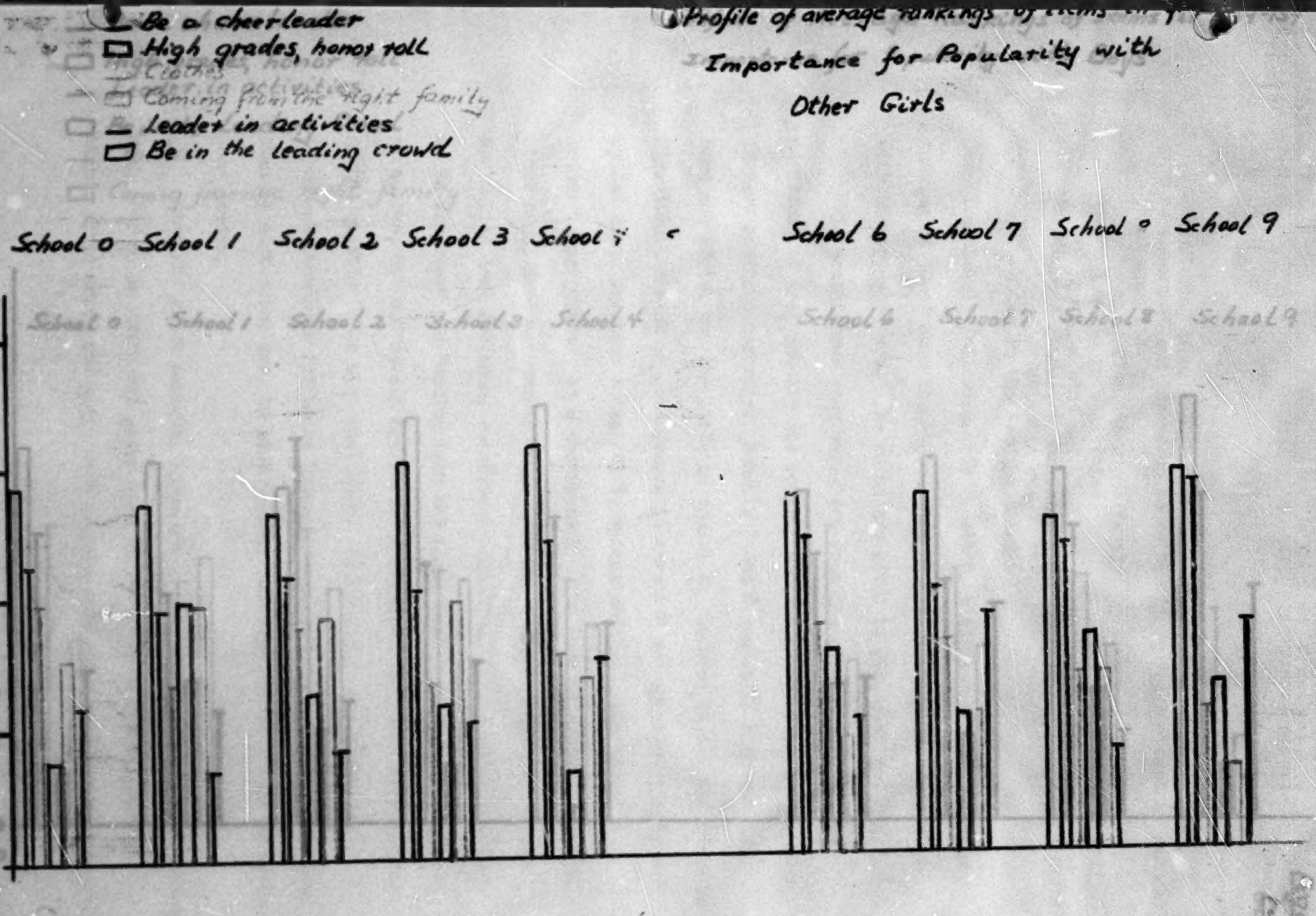


Figure 3.6a

Girls

Profile of Average Rankings of Items in 14-157
Importance for Popularity with Boys

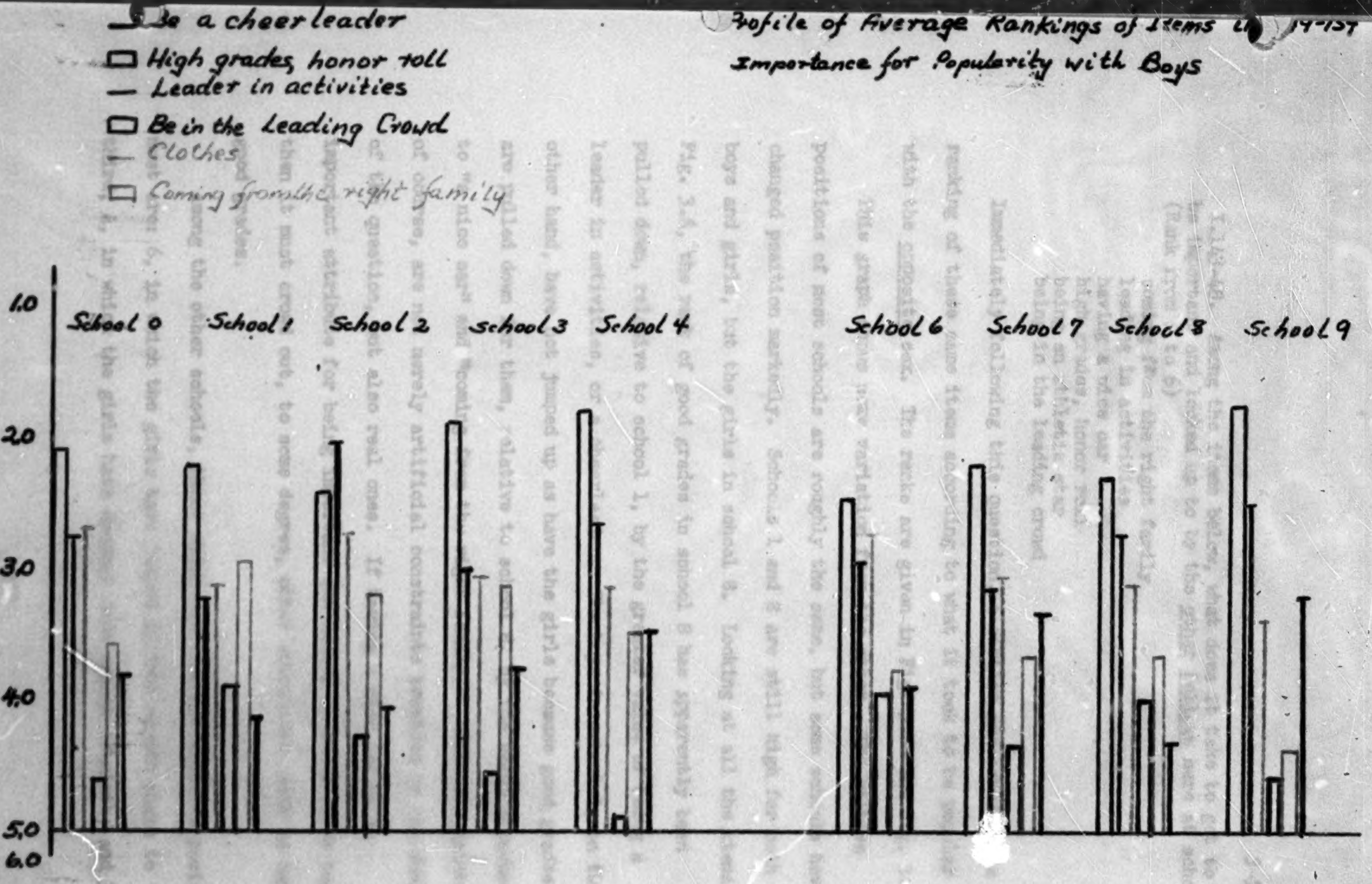


Figure 3.6 b
Girls

I.143-48. Among the items below, what does it take to get to be important and looked up to by the other fellows here at school? (Rank from 1 to 6)

coming from the right family
leading in activities
having a nice car
high grades, honor roll
being an athletic star
being in the leading crowd

Immediately following this question, a similar one asked for a ranking of these same items according to what it took to be popular with the opposite sex. The ranks are given in Fig. 3.5b and Fig. 3.6 b.

This graph shows some variation from the other. The raltive positions of most schools are roughly the same, but some schools have changed position markedly. Schools 1 and 8 are still high for both boys and girls, but the girls in school 8. Looking at all the items in Fig. 3.6, the rank of good grades in school 8 has apparently been pulled down, relative to school 1, by the greater value of being a leader in activities, or a cheerleader. The boys in school 1, on the other hand, have not jumped up as have the girls because good grades are pulled down for them, relative to school 8, by the value attached to "a nice car" and "coming from the right family." Such constraints, of course, are not merely artificial constraints provided by the form of the question, but also real ones. If having a nice car is an important attribute for being important and looked up to by other boys, then it must crowd out, to some degree, other attributes, such as having good grades.

Among the other schools, those which have changed relative positions most are: 6, in which the girls have jumped up from eighth place to third; 4, in which the girls have dropped from fourth to ninth; and 3, in which the boys have jumped ahead of 4 and 2, which were bunched together with it, and 7, which was ahead of it. Good grades among the girls in school 4 appears to be pulled down, relative to schools 2 and 3.

by the importance of "being in the leading crowd," being a cheerleader, and being a leader in activities.

These differences between the two questions could be due simply to the fact that the alternatives in the ranking question included those which were important for some schools and left out those which were important for other schools. Or they could be due to the difference between what it takes to "get into the leading crowd" and what it takes to get to be "important and looked up to by other fellows." Finally, there might simply be a great deal of unreliability, with no real differences between the schools, so that one cannot really talk about the existence of a "value climate" or at least not about different value climates in the different schools.

Confirmation that differences in value climates do in fact exist in these schools comes by looking at the different grades in the school. Table 3.1 below gives for each grade, the ranks of each school, relative to the others, in (a) the proportion of boys mentioning good grades as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd, and (b) the rank of "high grades, honor roll" in answer to the question about what it takes to get to be important and looked up to by other fellows in school.

There are several remarkable facts about the results in Table 3.1: First of all, some schools vary extravagantly between different grades. School 1 is the most striking example: in the sophomore and junior years, it is highest or second highest, depending on the question; but then in the senior year it goes down to position 8 on one question and 9 on the other. Other schools show similar shifts: school 2 goes from position 8 or 6 in the freshman year to 2 or 3 in the sophomore year, then back again to 5 or 7 in the junior year. School 6 stays near the bottom through the freshman and sophomore years, but then by one measure in the junior year and both in the senior year, it jumps to third place. School 5 is high in the freshman and senior years, but only in the middle in the junior year. Other schools are more consistent: school 4 and school 0, the two small-town schools with the highest proportion of farm boys, are near the bottom every year after the first; school 9, with the highest proportion of executives' sons, starts out in the middle, but by the last two years joined those schools at the bottom. The one consistently high school is the school in a light-industry city, school 8.

Table 3.1

Ranks Positions of Each School Relative to Others, by Grade in:
(a) proportion of boys saying good grades necessary for leading crowd
(b) *average rank of "high grades, honor roll" as a way to be looked* up to

School	Freshman		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
0	4	2	10	10	10	10	7	10
1	7	1	1	2	1	2	8	9
2	8	6	2	3	5	7	4	5
3	2	4	8	o	7	6	6	6
4	3	8	6	9	6	9	10	8
5	1	3	5	5	4	4	1	1
6	9	7	9	8	9	3	3	3
7	6	5	4	6	3	5	5	4
8	-	-	3	4	2	1	2	2
9	5	5	7	7	8	8	9	7
rank correlation between (a) and (b)	.19		.60		.66		.87	

The second important result in this table is the increasing correlation between the two measures of the value climate. Among the freshmen, who had been in school only a few weeks when the questionnaire was administered, the two measures correlate hardly at all, with a rank correlation of only .19. But this correlation jumps to .60 for the sophomores, who had had a year to develop a social structure and value system, and then climbs to .66 and .87 for the juniors and seniors respectively.

This increasing correlation is only in part due to the better knowledge that the seniors have of the system, and the fact that the social system becomes more completely a system as the four years of school go on; it is in part due to the fact that the schools diverge in their value climates. If all 39 classes (4 grades x 9 schools + 3 grades for school 8 = 39) are ranked from 1 to 39 according to the average rank they give "high grades, honor roll," and then the standard deviation of the position of all 9 freshman classes is calculated, it is 8.4; the standard deviation for the ranks of the senior class is 12.6. In other words, the freshmen classes as they enter these schools are more alike in the importance they attach to good grades than are the seniors. As these social systems develop, they diverge, going their own ways, depending on factors peculiar to the school itself.

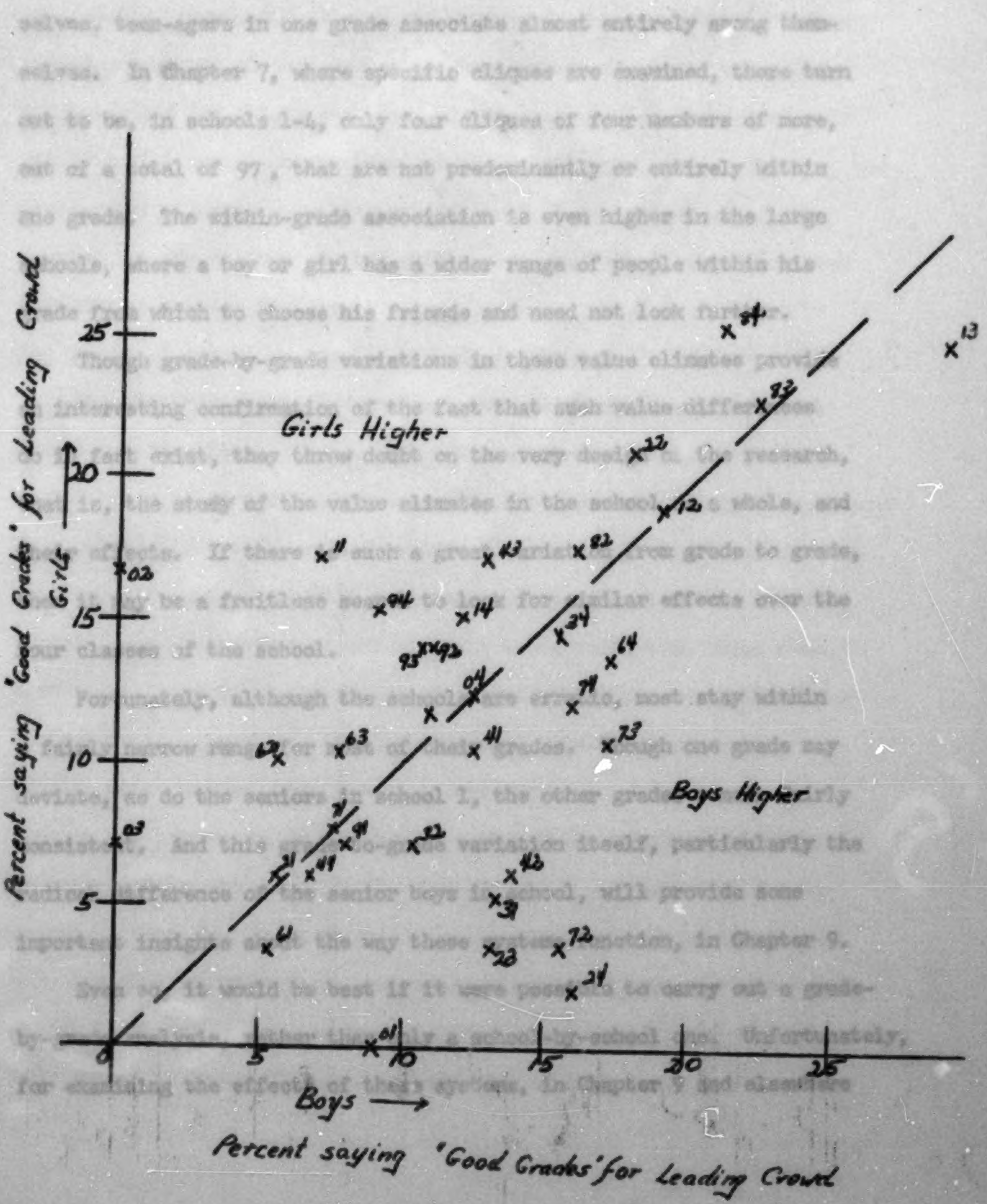
But Table 3.1 shows that these different ways depend not only on factors peculiar to the school, but also factors peculiar to the particular grade. School 1 provides the best example of this: all grades but the seniors are near the top of the list in the importance of good grades to the adolescent culture; but the seniors are near the bottom. The principal in this school and in others commented on the great variation among different classes. Each class gets a "reputation" according to its most salient characteristics, characteristics which make it far more than a random sample of teen-agers from the community.

When the separate grades are plotted according to the proportion of "good grades" among the boys responses and the proportion among the girls responses, the results show a stronger correspondence than they did in the graph for the school as a whole. Fig. 3.7 shows this correspondence, which again indicates that the separate grades constitute something of a social system. On the chart, for example, junior (3) is highest in school 1 for both boys and girls; sophomore (2) is next for both; and the seniors are not far from the 45° line of agreement, though much lower.

This chart shows six grades in three schools which are above the 15% mark for both boys and girls. These are all three grades of school 8, the sophomore and junior grades of school 1, and the sophomore grade of school 2. School 7, which, taken as a whole, was third in academic orientation for the boys, but low for the girls, has three of its grades above the 15% mark for the boys, and on the "boys' side" of the 45° line. School 9, which was quite low for the boys but third for the girls, has three grades fairly high on the girls' side of the line.

Altogether, then, this graph indicates that even in the more academically-oriented schools, the grades are clearly distinguishable in the degree of importance of good grades.

Figure 3.7


Girls Higher
Boys Higher
Percent saying 'Good Grades' for Leading Crowd
Girls
Boys
Percent saying 'Good Grades' for Leading Crowd
0
5
10
15
20
25
5
10
15
20
25
84
13
93
22
12
11
43
82
02
94
14
34
93
92
64
04
74
73
63
62
41
71
91
03
21
44
32
42
31
61
23
72
24
01

Perhaps it should have been expected at the beginning of the research that each of the different grades would have its own value system--for just as adolescents associate almost entirely within themselves, teen-agers in one grade associate almost entirely among themselves. In Chapter 7, where specific cliques are examined, there turn out to be, in schools 1-4, only four cliques of four members of more, out of a total of 97 , that are not predominantly or entirely within one grade. The within-grade association is even higher in the large schools, where a boy or girl has a wider range of people within his grade from which to choose his friends and need not look further.

Though grade-by-grade variations in these value climates provide an interesting confirmation of the fact that such value differences do in fact exist, they throw doubt on the very design of the research, that is, the study of the value climates in the school as a whole, and their effects. If there is such a great variation from grade to grade, then it may be a fruitless search to look for similar effects over the four classes of the school.

Fortunately, although the schools are erratic, most stay within a fairly narrow range for most of their grades. Though one grade may deviate, as do the seniors in school 1, the other grades remain fairly consistent. And this grade-to-grade variation itself, particularly the radical difference of the senior boys in school, will provide some important insights about the way these systems function, in Chapter 9.

Even so, it would be best if it were possible to carry out a grade-by-grade analysis, rather than only a school-by-school one. Unfortunately, for examining the effects of these systems, in Chapter 9 and elsewhere such an analysis presents complexities which could not be solved at present, partly because many of the effects have to do with the elites (best athletes, best dressed, best students, most popular with opposite sex, leading crowd, and others) who are few in number, not only within a grade, but even within a school. Thus, except in Chapters 7 and 8, which examine the clique structures in the schools, grade by grade, the analysis will remain on the level of the school as a whole. However, the boys' value climates and the girls' will be characterized separately because, as the Figures of this chapter have indicated, they show real differences in some schools.

The puzzle of school 9, and the two added schools:

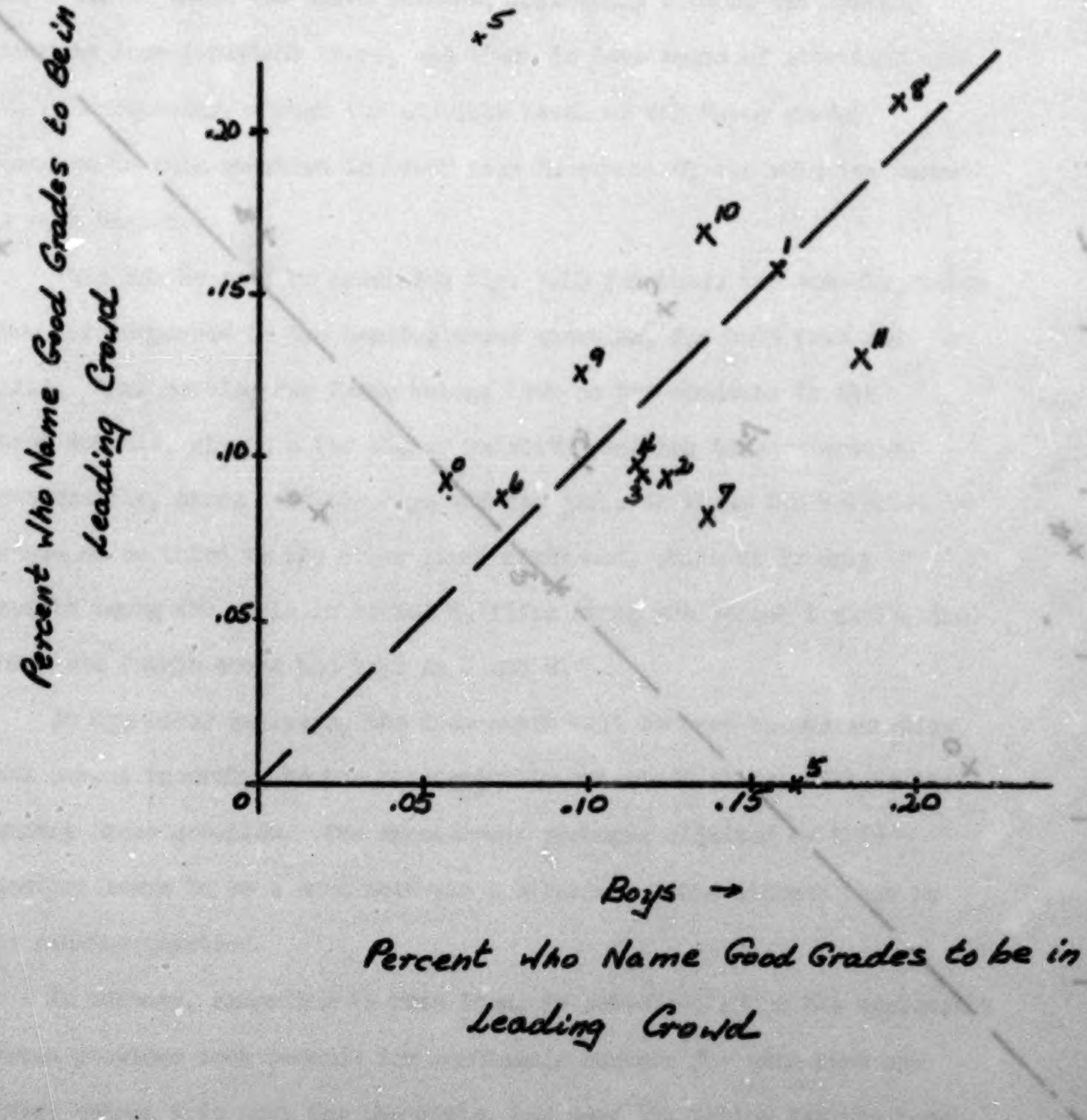
Thinking back upon the peculiarly low position of school 9--not lowest relative to the others, but extremely low compared to what one might expect, the question arises: what is the source of this discrepancy? Is it really true that academic achievement has so little "currency" in this school?--not only little in comparison to several of the other schools. Is it something about the well-to-do comfort in which these teen-agers live; is it the rounds of social activities in which some of their parents engage? Is it something about the suburban setting itself, which brings other values to the fore?

It was largely in an attempt to answer these questions that two private schools, mentioned in the introduction, were added to the research. School 11, in an almost identical suburban setting as that of school 9, has students whose background mirrors very closely those in school 9, though it is less than a tenth the size of 9. School 10. a high school of about 500, also has students whose parents are very similar in education and occupation to those in school 9, though city-dwellers rather than suburbanites. Though these schools were added to help answer the puzzles of school 9, they will be introduced at this point for a lesser task: merely to see whether, in fact, these questions do appear to measure the climate they purport to. For if school 10, which by all external appearances has a very academically-oriented student body, does not appear so with these questions, then there is reason to ask whether these questions are in fact measuring the values they purport to measure.

How do these schools compare to the others on these two questions? Figs. 3.8 and 3.9 are a reproduction of the earlier Figs. 3.3 and 3.4, except with schools 10 and 11 added to the graphs. The first locates the schools according to the frequency that good grades were mentioned as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd; and the second shows the average rank that boys and girls in each school gave "high grades, honor roll."

In both graphs, these schools are near the top or at the top of the list of schools. And according to both charts, academic values are more important among the girls of school 10, and the boys of school 11. The measures seem quite consistent in this respect, and allay any suspicions about whether the items measure what they are meant to. There is one slightly puzzling fact: these two schools are below school 8 in the proportion mentioning good grades in relation to the leading crowd; but they are far above it in the average rank they give to other items. This difference again seems due to the fact that the ranking question is relative to certain other items, while the leading crowd question is a

Figure 3.8


Percent Who Name Good Grades to Be in Leading Crowd
.20
.15
.10
.05
0
.05
.10
.15
.20
Boys →
Percent Who Name Good Grades to be in Leading Crowd
x5
x8
x10
x1
x9
x11
x0
x6
x4
x3
x2
x7
x5

spontaneous response. The items in the list to be ranked included at least two which were of much less importance in these schools: athletics for the boys, and "coming from the right family" for both boys and girls.

Also, the total amount of response to the leading crowd question is far lower in these two added schools, apparently because the leading crowd is less important there, and there is less focus of attention upon it. Consequently, though the absolute level of the "good grade" response to this question is lower than in school 8, the relative amount is much higher.

This can be seen by examining Fig. 3.10 for these two schools, which show all responses to the leading crowd question, for both boys and girls. They mention far fewer things than do the students in the other schools, giving a far higher relative position to good grades. Consequently, among both the boys and the girls in these two schools, it is second or third to the other items mentioned, while it is only seventh among the girls in school 8, fifth among the school 1 girls, and third and fourth among the boys in 1 and 8.

In the later analysis, the item which will be used to characterize each school according to how "academically oriented" it is, will be the leading crowd question. The spontaneous response elicited by this question seems to be a more accurate indication of the climate than is the ranking question.

In summary, according to this item, in schools 1 and 8 the adolescent system provides most rewards for scholastic success for both boys and girls; school 9 is next for the girls, but near the bottom for the boys; school 7 is third for the boys, but at the bottom for the girls. In the

Figure 3.9

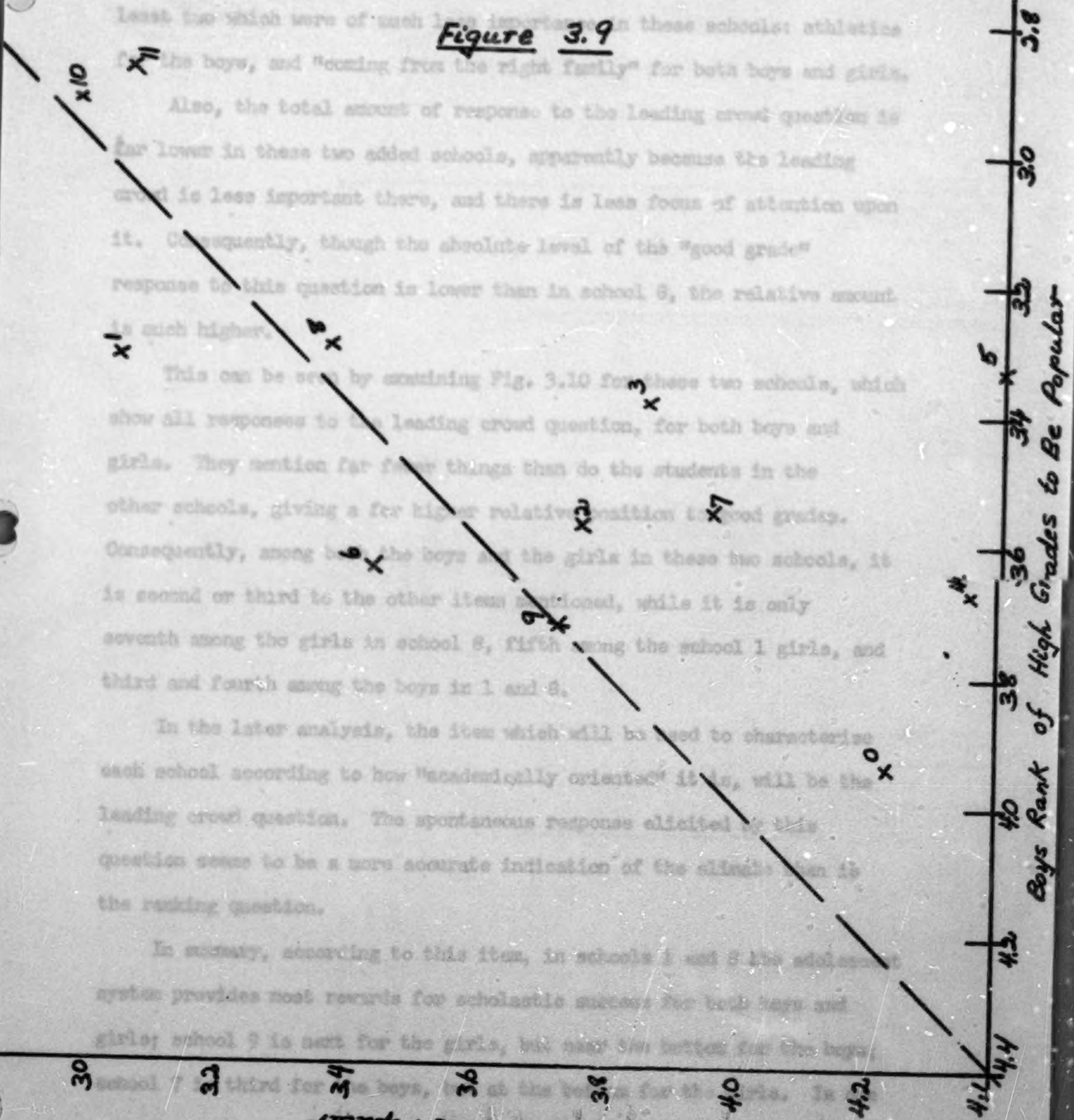


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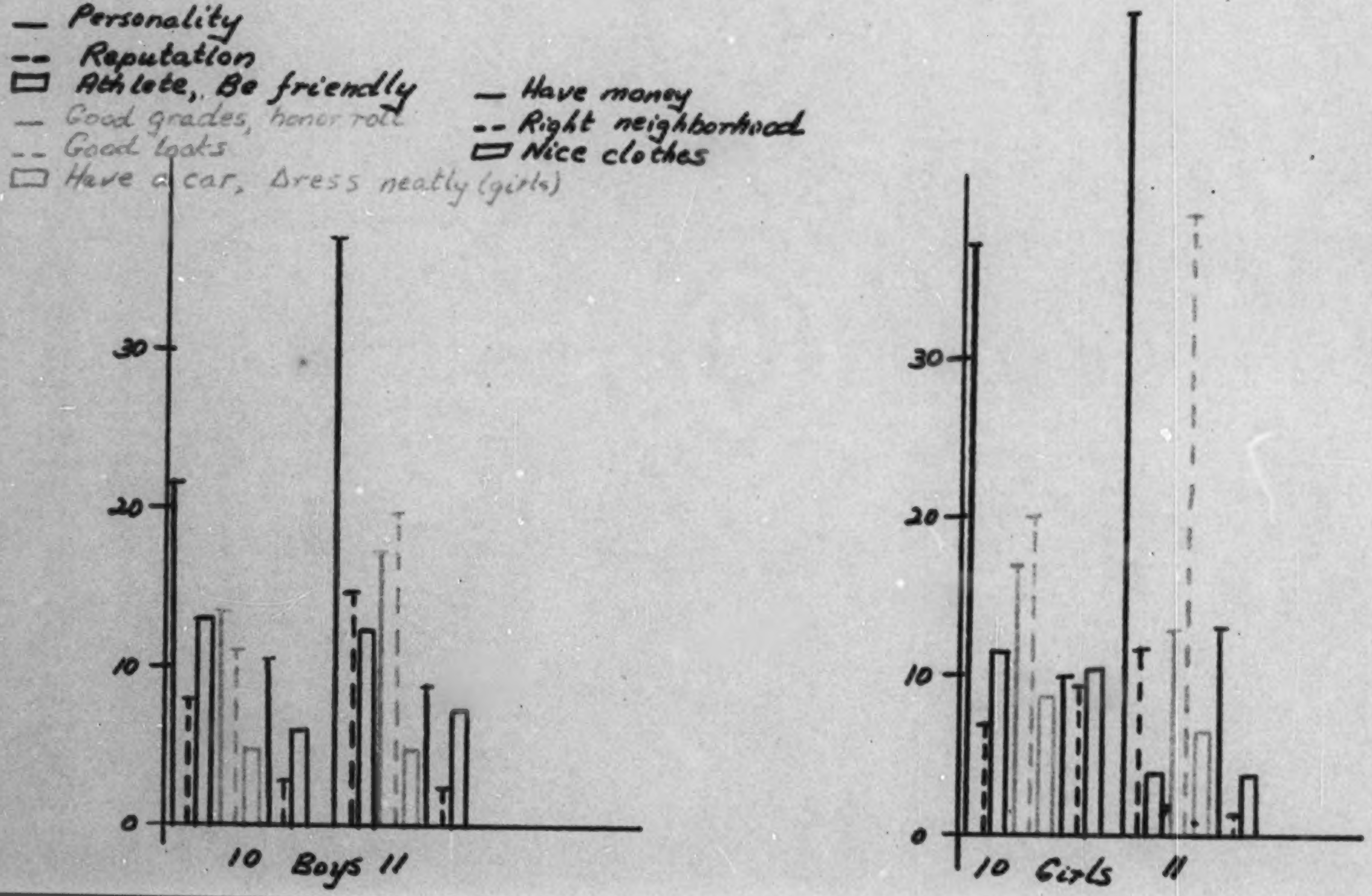
Figure 3.10


— Personality
-- Reputation
▭ Athlete, Be friendly
— Good grades, honor roll
-- Good looks
▭ Have a car, Dress neatly (girls)
— Have money
-- Right neighborhood
▭ Nice clothes
30
20
10
0
10 Boys 11
30
20
10
0
10 Girls 11

other school, 2, one class, the sophomore class, is particularly academically-oriented. Most of the rest are bunched together, though as Fig. 3.7 shows, there are some differences: the other three grades of school 2 are especially low for the girls, for example.

One comparison which gives an insight into the boy-girl relations in different situations is the comparison of the two ranks of "high grades" for a girl's being popular with other girls (Fig. 3.6a) and with boys (Fig. 3.6b). In which schools does "high grades" drop the most in boys' evaluations of girls? Simply subtracting these ranks from each other gives the answer, shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Differences in rank of "high grades, honor roll" for a girl's being looked up to by other girls and being popular with boys.

	Schools								
	0	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9
difference in rank	.38	.87	.53	.69	.53	.53	.39	.64	.88

One might have expected this difference to be greatest in the predominantly working-class schools, where boys are presumably less interested in middle class propriety and conformity. But exactly the reverse is true. The decrease is greatest in school 9, then in 1, 3, and 8--all four of these the more middle class, white collar schools, with 9 the most white collar of all. All four of these schools show a larger difference than those schools which throughout the previous analysis in Chapter 2 have been classed as the more working class ones (0, 2, 4, 6, and 7).

Why is this--why do these girls in the more middle class schools feel that boys care nothing for their grades? The finding is a puzzling but it is related to another general result which has occurred throughout this research. This is an apparent reduction, among white collar children, of the role differences between boys and girls. Boys seem less strongly masculine, girls somewhat more ready to share in boys' activities. It may be that among working class boys, there is more a notion of "looking up" to a girl, and the general syndrome which is looked up to includes propriety, conformity, getting good grades in school. The middle class boy may have a different ideal image, an image of a girl who is active, doing things.

This does in fact seem to be the case. There is a question in the questionnaire which can test this:

> I.8.30,31. At the left, below, are some descriptions which we have taken from the yearbook of "M...." high school, listing the activities in which three girls have taken part during the year in high school. Can you guess what these girls were like? On the line following each description put the number of the words which would fit each girl from those listed at the right.
>
> FHA; Yearbook editor; Octet;
> Class Secretary; Prom Committee.
>
> National Honor Society; Spanish
> Club; Student Council; Dramatics
> Club.
>
> 1-a good example
> 2-a square
> 3-a scholar
> 4-a grind or bookworm
> 5-an active leader
> 6-a joiner
> 7-prom queen
> 8-beautiful but dumb
> 9-popular with boys
> 10-ambitious

For this pair of images, the first is the more active, the "clubwoman" of the school. The second is more nearly the student, less busily active, more conforming and being rewarded by honors for her conformity to the school's standards.

Of the descriptive words at the right, 1, 5, 7, and 9 can be taken as having positive implications. We can then ask how many of these positive descriptions are given to each of these two images by boys in the extreme schools: the working class suburb 6, and the well-to-do suburb 9. In school 6, the activities girl got 68.9% positive mentions, and the scholar 77.0%. In school 9, the activities girl got 85.2% and the scholar only 75.7%. In other words, the boys in school 6 felt more positively about the scholar, while those in 9 felt more positively about the activities leader.

The same difference exists between the other schools which are more middle class and the ones which are more working class. Taking schools 9, 8, 1, and 3 together, the schools which are most middle class, and the ones which in the girls' eyes most devalued good grades in judging a girl, their average ratio of positive mentions for the activities girl to scholar is 1.03. For the more working class schools, 0, 2, 4, 6, and 7, the ratio is .93. That is, they favor the scholar over the activities girl, while the boys in the more middle class schools favor the activities girl over the scholar.

Thus it does seem true that in the eyes of the boys in a middle class school, a girl's good grades are not as much an asset as among the boys in more nearly working class schools. This result, out of accord with initial expectations, suggests that as society becomes more and more middle class, the kind of image that girls will be striving for in school is one which is only obliquely related to academic achievement, an image which is more nearly the image of the activities girl, the teen-age replica of the adult clubwoman. The question of why this is so will be deferred until Chapter 10.

Ascriptive criteria in the adolescent status systems:

Though there are other dimensions of achievement important for status in these adolescent cultures, one status element is purely ascriptive: a boy's or girl's family background. Communities differ widely in the importance of these ascriptive criteria, and among those communities in this study, extreme differences were found.

The importance of family background for actual membership in the leading crowd and for popularity in the leading crowd will be looked at in detail in Chapter 4; here we can see how these different status systems appear in the eyes of the adolescents within them.

The attributes of family background which are important differ from town to town. In only one school, 9, is religion mentioned with any frequency, and then by only 5% of the boys and 4% of the girls. These mentions are not, as one might expect, mentions of the predominant Protestantism, but charges that to get into the leading crowd one had to be a Jew. Yet even in this school, "coming from the right neighborhood" was more often mentioned , and more frequently by the girls.

In all the other communities where background factors were mentioned as important, the matter of one's "neighborhood" was the only one mentioned with any frequency except for the mention of coming "from an important family." The way in which neighborhood has its effect is in part through a boy's or girl's earlier associations in grade school. In school 9, one family with a boy in grade school was contemplating moving back to the city because they lived just out of the district for the elementary school where the nuclei of the high school leading crowds formed. The mother was afraid her son would suffer, not because of any economic differences from that crowd, but simply because his associations would not be within it. The same kind of concern was voiced by other parents as well, principally in schools 1, 3, 8, and 9.

Fig. 3.11 shows how the teen-agers themselves see this, in terms of the number of mentions made by boys and girls of such ascriptive criteria as neighborhood, family, and in school 9, religion. Schools 10 and 11 are added to the graph for comparison, though they will not be treated in the subsequent analysis of effects of these systems.

The schools fall into two very distinct clusters, four schools in which background criteria are important among both boys and girls and five in which they are not. The first four are schools 1, 3, 8, and 9, two small town schools, a city school, and a suburban school. Among all the schools but 1, birls considerably more often mention such criteria than do boys.*

Schools 1 and 3 are small town schools but quite different in the importance of family background, from the three other small town schools, 0, 4, and 2. From the earlier results of Hollingshead's study of school 2, one would have expected it to be among the group in which background is important--or in fact above that group, for the major point of his analysis was that background factors were almost the only element by which a boy or girl was judged, by teachers and peers alike. This is

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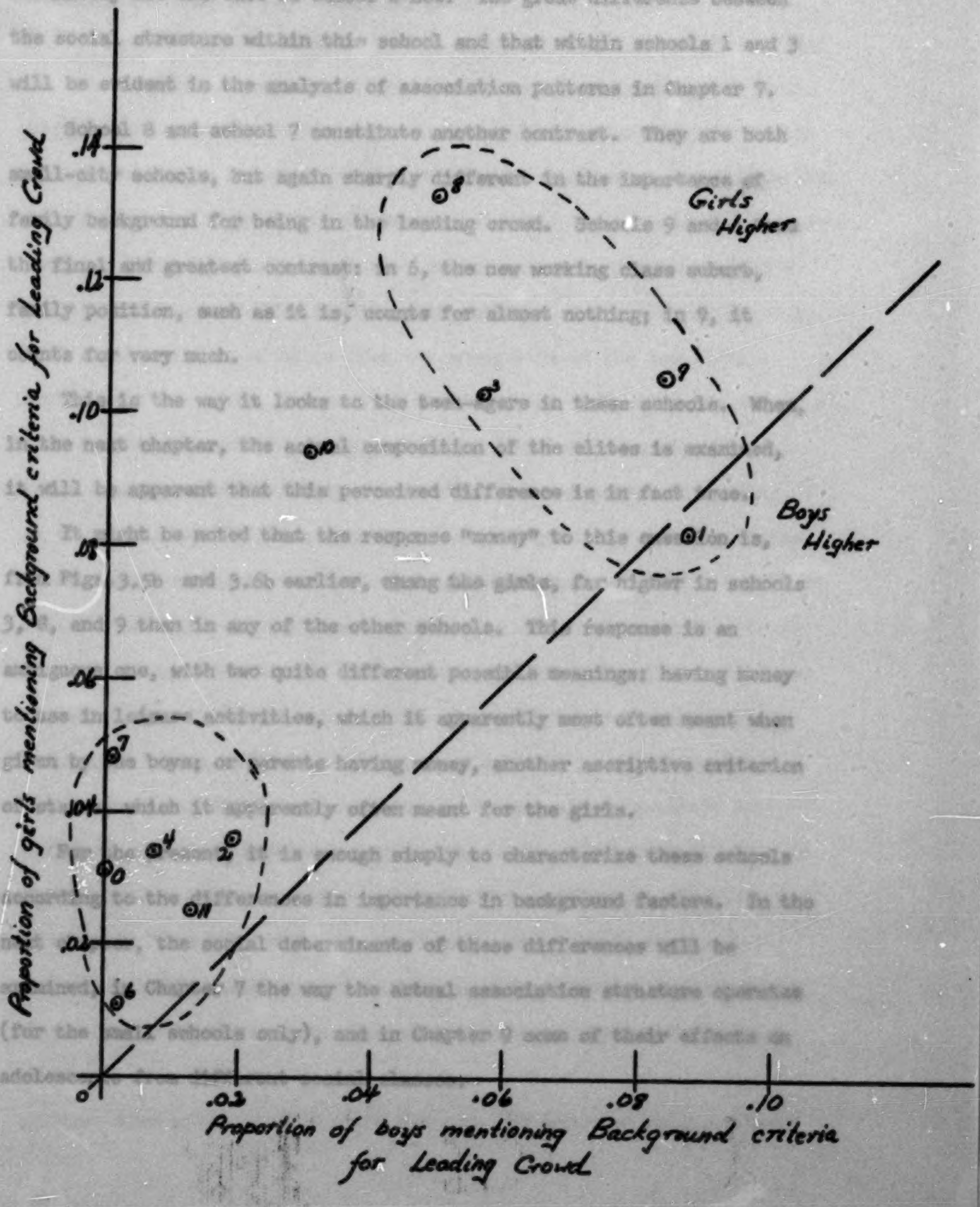
*The rank of "coming from the right family" in question 143-148 does not correlate highly with this, as a glance at Fig.   will indicate. There is reason to think that in this question that item simply acted as a kind of buffer in most schools, taking up the items which tended to be ranked at the top and those with which there was negative feeling associated, which were ranked at the bottom.

Figure 3.11



definitely not the case in school 2 now. The great difference between the social structure within this school and that within schools 1 and 3 will be evident in the analysis of association patterns in Chapter 7.

School 8 and school 7 constitute another contrast. They are both small-city schools, but again sharply different in the importance of family background for being in the leading crowd. Schools 9 and 6 are the final and greatest contrast: in 6, the new working class suburb, family position, such as it is, counts for almost nothing; in 9, it counts for very much.

This is the way it looks to the teen-agers in these schools. When, in the next chapter, the social composition of the elites is examined, it will be apparent that this perceived difference is in fact true.

It might be noted that the response "money" to this question is, from Figs. 3.5b and 3.6b earlier, among the girls, far higher in schools 3, 8, and 9 than in any of the other schools. This response is an ambiguous one, with two quite different possible meanings: having money to use in leisure activities, which it apparently most often meant when given by the boys; or parents having money, another ascriptive criterion of status, which it apparently often meant for the girls.

For the present, it is enough simply to characterize these schools according to the differences in importance in background factors. In the next chapter, the social determinants of these differences will be examined; in Chapter 7 the way the actual association structure operates (for the small schools only), and in Chapter 9 some of their effects on adolescents from different social classes.

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Academic orientation and status ascription:

One of the great dilemmas a high school principal faces is evident in comparing the importance of good grades and the importance of family background in these schools. Schools 1 and 8, which are highest in the amount that "good grades" counts for being in the leading crowd, are also two of the four highest in the amount that family background counts. These are also the two schools which were criticized most by parents (and a few teachers in each) for favoring the children of "better families" in town at the expense of those from the wrong side of the town (the North and West sides for school 1, the South and West sides for school 8).

Is this no more than a coincidence? It seems to be something more: because of the very high correlation between social background, on the one hand, and doing well in school and going to college, on the other, it is ordinarily true that the adolescents from "better families" will be those who are most academically inclined. At least this is so in a community which has a fairly large proportion of children from low educational backgrounds. The special case of a predominantly college-background school, like 9, is different, and will be discussed later.

Thus if an administration places much emphasis on academic excellence, and finds ways to reward those who do well in school, then it is continually rewarding the few from "better families." Similarly, if an adolescent culture has as its leading crowd those who are most academically inclined, it has, by that very fact, as its leading crowd, those who are from the right side of the railroad tracks. These elements are often seen by the adolescents as part of the same general cluster--when asked about what it takes to get into the leading crowd of girls in school 3, a girl replied:

> You have to be smart, your folks have to have money, you have to have nice looking clothes, and you have to join every activity in school.

The definition of the leading crowd comes to include both these attributes in such a school, primarily because they reside in the same individuals, and because both attributes--family background and doing well scholastically--serve to set them apart from the others in school.

This presents a dilemma for the principal of such a school. If he finds ways to reward scholastic excellence, and manages to make this an important item to the adolescent community, then he is charged--and not unfairly so--with favoring the "college bound" children or those from "better families." Conversely, if he manages to break down the dominance of the students from the "better families" he may find that in doing so he has created a leading crowd which pays little attention to scholastic success. This is not to say, of course, that a principal has direct control over the composition of the leading crowd, for he can control it only through indirect measures, such as focussing attention upon specific activities and individuals. Yet even if he had, the high correlation between family background and interest in school would make it difficult to act. The question of how, in such socially heterogeneous communities as these, there can be an adolescent status system which rewards academic excellence and thereby motivates all students toward academic success, without heaping its rewards upon the few from good families, is not an easy one to answer. Some comments upon the problem will be made in Chapter 10.

Yet the two elements are not inextricably tied together in the status system, as schools 3 and 9 illustrate. Though background attributes are important there for membership in the leading crowd, academic excellence is not. In both, family background is often mentioned as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd, but in neither are good grades mentioned more often than for many of the other schools (except among the girls in school 9).

What is the difference between these schools and schools 1 and 8? The leading crowds in both 3 and 9 seem to have an extremely social character, more so than do 1 and 8. It seems that a highly ascriptive system, with emphasis on family background, makes it possible, but not necessary, to have "good grades" as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd. The leading crowd may be more concerned with other matters besides schoolwork which equally well distinguish it from the others in school.

We can think, then, so far of a dual classification of schools, according to the importance of family background and scholastic achievement. These locate the schools as follows:

	Scholastic success important		
	Hi	Int	Lo
Boys			
Background important			
Yes	1,8	3	9
No	5	7,2	0,4,6
Girls			
Background important			
Yes	1,8	9	3
No		6	0,2,4,7

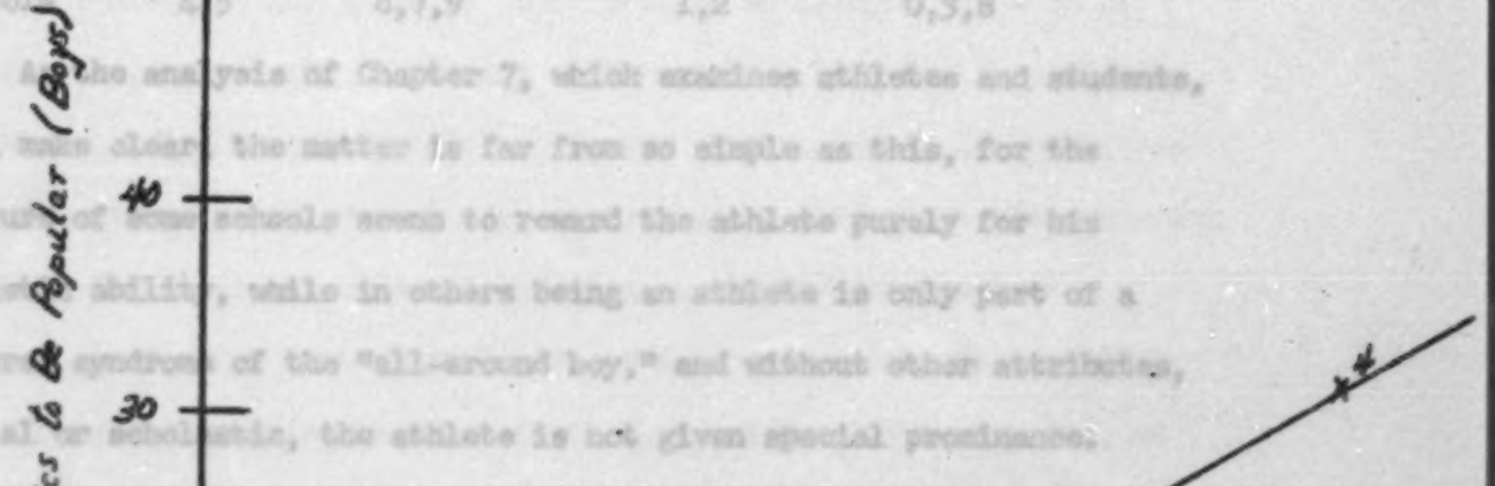
Athletics in the status system:

As has been evident thus far in the report, athletic achievements are extremely important in the status systems of these schools. In these schools, the sports which are important are basketball and football, with only two variations: school 0 has no football team, while school 6 has excellent wrestling teams, and wrestling is an important means of gaining status. In other schools than these, it may be baseball or swimming or tennis, but the ubiquitous nature of athletics in these systems is not equalled by any other activity.

Figure 3.12 shows each school treated according to two measures: the frequency athletics was mentioned as an attribute for membership in the leading crowd, and the rank of "being an athlete" as a way to be important and looked up to by other fellows. These items correlate far less highly than one would hope, although some schools' positions are clear-cut. Schools 3 and 8 are low by both criteria, school 4 is by far the highest according to both, and schools 7, 9, and 5 are also high, though clearly below school 4.

Schools 6 and 1 show the greatest discrepancy, in the opposite directions. In school 6, athletics was not mentioned often as a way to get into the leading crowd, but was ranked high on the other item. A glance at Fig. 3.7 earlier in the chapter indicates the source of the discrepancy. In school 6, there was far less mention of anything as an attribute for getting into the leading crowd. Relative to the other items mentioned, the athlete seems about on a par with the athlete in school 7. This would pull school 6 up to the regression line and put it together with the 9 and 7 cluster. The discrepancy of school 1 is

Figure 3.12


Rank of Athletics to Be Popular (Boys)
40
30
20
10
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
x0
x1
x2
x3
x4
x5
x6
x7
x8
x9
Percent of Boys Saying Athletics to Be in Leading Crowd

not so easily resolved. However, for the later analysis of effects of the systems, it will be grouped with school 2 in a low intermediate position in the importance of the athlete. The classifications then, will be as follows:

	Hi	Med. Hi	Med. Lo	Lo
Schools	4,5	6,7,9	1,2	0,3,8

As the analysis of Chapter 7, which examines athletes and students, will make clear, the matter is far from so simple as this, for the culture of some schools seems to reward the athlete purely for his athletic ability, while in others being an athlete is only part of a general syndrome of the "all-around boy," and without other attributes, social or scholastic, the athlete is not given special prominence.

There seems more difficulty in classifying the schools according to the importance of athletics as an avenue of status than in classifying them in the other ways examined earlier. There may be some structural sources of this, which compress the values of these cultures closely together in the importance they place on athletics. In Chapter 10, this apparent "compression" and its possible sources will be examined.

The classification above should not suggest that athletics is unimportant in schools 0, 3, and 8. Basketball and football are extremely important in these schools generally. In particular, school 8 is by far the most successful in basketball, having won the state tournament recently, while 3 probably fields the next best teams. Yet these schools include several other avenues of gaining status, not only family background, but also other activities in the school. Consequently, an athlete in these schools does not have the special status he has in school 4, for example, where the athlete needs no other quality to have high status.

Girls--Popularity with boys:

Among girls in these schools, there is no clear-cut achievement dimension in which they can "star" as can boys in athletics. The nearest equivalent for girls is their success with boys. In some of the schools, a girl who is popular with the right boys has a special position, envied by other girls and fought over by boys. In part, this is a dimension of achievement just as much as is athletics. It contrasts sharply with a situation in which family background determines the leading crowd. For just as athletics is for boys an activity in which all boys start on a fairly equal footing, regardless of background, so is a girl's popularity with boys. To be sure, this popularity depends in part on elements which derive from family position: clothes, social sophistication, ability to dance well, dressing well, and so on. Nevertheless, it introduces into the status system an element of competition in which all girls must compete on the same footing--unless, to be sure, the system is so completely dominated by a ruling clique of girls that they determine who shall be popular and who shall not. The interview excerpt from a boys in school 3 suggests such a situation there.

Insofar, then, as such dominance does not impede the competition for boys' attention, then the girls have, as do the boys, a rather "open society," in which a girl's background need not prevent her from having status in the system. The variations in importance of status ascription in these schools has been examined in an earlier section; but it remains to see just how important, in each of these cultures, is popularity with the opposite sex.

As an attribute for gaining entry into the leading crowd, the category which comes closest to this is the one labelled "good looks." Included here are all responses which involve attributes of popularity with boys. However, from question I.148, about what makes a girl "important and looked up to," none of the items indicates exactly this. One, however, seems part of the same syndrome: being a cheerleader. Though cheerleaders have different roles in different schools, their status is always in part associated with dates, good times, and boys. At the same time, they have an "inside track" with the athletes, and are more likely to be dated by them.

Taking these two attributes, then, cheerleader from the ranking question and good looks, popularity with boys, etc. from the leading crowd question, each of these schools can be characterized according to the prominence of this syndrome.

Fig. 3.13 shows that the schools fall roughly into two clusters, though the two measures do not correlate very highly. Schools 0,4,7, and 9 are in the "popularity" group, while schools 1, 2, 3, 6, and 8 are not. This difference between the two groups has a negative relation to the academic-ascriptive syndrome discussed earlier, though not a perfect one. Far at the non-popularity end are schools 1 and 8, in which scholastic achievement and family background were seen to be most important. However, this is a somewhat independent dimension, as seen by the varying positions of the other schools. Again, this classification can help show, in Chapter 9, the effects of the status system of the school upon those who are "favored" by it and those who are not. It will not be elaborated here in an attempt to see further into the schools, for the succeeding chapters will accomplish that.

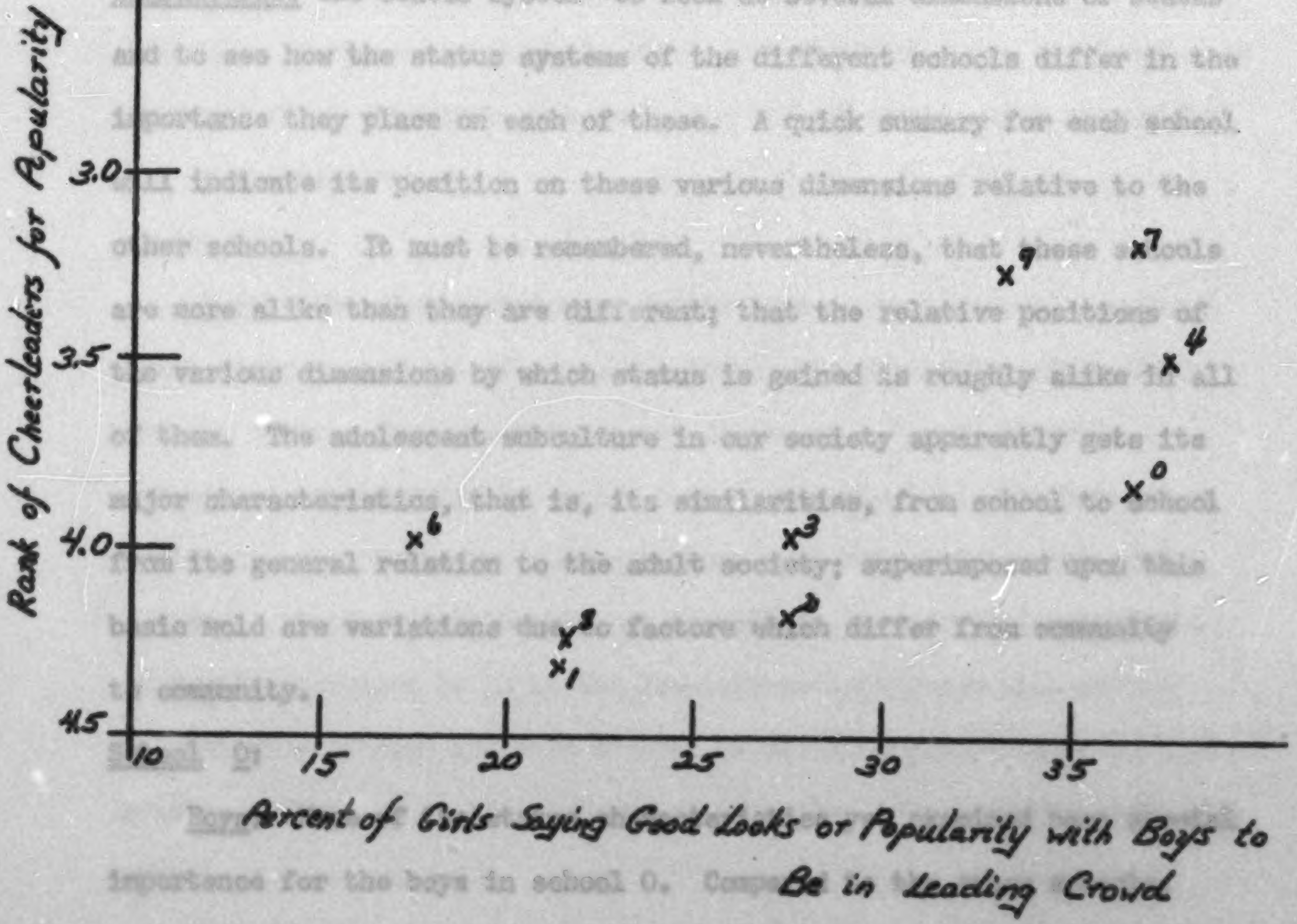
Conclusion:

The aim of this chapter has been almost the reverse of the preceding one. There the attempt was to look at the similarities in these adolescent cultures from school to school, and to begin to get a picture of the processes operative in the adolescent culture as a whole. The task in this one has been to look at these schools separately--not, as yet, to study the effects of the different status systems, but only to characterize the status system--to look at several dimensions of status and to see how the status systems of the different schools differ in the importance they place on each of these. A quick summary for each school will indicate its position on these various dimensions relative to the other schools. It must be remembered, nevertheless, that these schools are more alike than they are different; that the relative positions of the various dimensions by which status is gained is roughly alike in all of them. The adolescent subculture in our society apparently gets its major characteristics, that is, its similarities, from school to school from its general relation to the adult society; superimposed upon this basic mold are variations due to factors which differ from community to community.

School 0:

Boys: [illegible] importance for the boys in school 0. Compared [illegible] neither athletics, grades, nor parental background are as important as in most of the other schools. The one item which is mentioned more frequently

Figure 3.13



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School O:

Boys: None of the status characteristics yet examined have special importance for the boys in school O. Compared to the other schools, neither athletics, grades, nor parental background are as important as in most of the other schools. The one item which is mentioned more frequently by these boys than by those in any other school is cars. Cars, having a car, fixing it up, riding around, are of extreme importance to these boys. Their importance is so great that motor scooters are a current fad among sophomores and freshmen, who see these scooters as a way to gain independence of action and to recapture from the juniors and seniors the attentions of the freshman and sophomore girls.

Girls: The status system among the girls in school 0 seems, at this point in the analysis, complementary to that just discussed for the boys. The only dimension on which this status system was not quite low was good looks, and popularity with boys. A glance at Fig.   will show that this is the only school in which such attributes are mentioned more than any other category--even including the oft-mentioned "personality" and "reputation."

School 1:

Boys: The status system among the boys in this school presents a great contrast to that of school 0, though the populations from which the two schools draw are not greatly different. Though there is a strange reversal among the senior boys (see Table 3.1), the boys as a whole have one of the two status systems most oriented to scholastic success. It is one of the highest as well in the ascriptive criteria of family position; it is in the low-intermediate group with respect to athletics (though athletic success is still more important than good grades). Cars are of less importance here than in any of the small town schools.

Girls: These girls have a status system which emphasizes good grades even more than that of the boys. This emphasis is not coupled with a general activities orientation so much as it is in other schools, but places more emphasis on purely academic success. The system is one of the ones where the ascriptive criteria of family background are of most importance; and finally, it is not among those in which the cheerleader-popularity syndrome is strong. It is in fact, almost, the lowest in the number of times good looks and popularity with boys are mentioned as a way into the leading crowd.

School 2:

Boys: Somewhere between the status system of school 0 and that of school 1 lies this one. It is not high, but not among the lowest, in the importance of grades; ascriptive criteria are unimportant and it is not high, but again not lowest in the importance of athletic success. Cars, dates, and leisure pursuits are important, though not so much as in school 0.

Girls: The position of this girl's status system is much like that of the boys: it is low, but not lowest, in the importance it attaches to grades; ascriptive criteria are unimportant; and it is in the cluster of schools which are low on the cheerleader-popularity syndrome.

School 3:

Boys: Ascriptive criteria are important, as in school 1, but it is like school 2 in the importance attached to good grades: low, but not the lowest. Athletic success is not an important criterion for status, relative to its importance in other schools.

Girls: Like the boys, the status system here resembles that of school 1 in its use of family position; but it is like school 2 in the lesser importance it associates with good grades. Like both 1 and 2, it is not one of the schools high on the popularity-cheerleader syndrome.

School 4:

Boys: This system is distinctive in the emphsasis it places on athletic success--unadulterated by family-position criteria or by an interest in good grades.

Girls: Their pattern complements that of the boys: low in the importance it attaches to good grades; low in the use of ascriptive criteria, and high on the cheerleader-popularity dimension. The leading crowd itself, and its multifarious social activities, are of special importance here.

School 5:

Boys: On both the dimensions of scholastic and athletic achievement, this school stands high. Whether rewards are given for these achievements as separate avenues of success or as simultaneous ones is yet to be determined (in Chapter 7), but it is among the schools high in both these dimensions. Family status is unimportant.

School 6:

Boys: Not among the highest, but fairly high in the importance of athletic success; low in the importance of scholastic success; and family position is of no importance. Cars are of the same importance as in schools 0 and 2.

Girls: The girls' status system is in an intermediate position in the importance it attaches to good grades, though their importance is not great, their relative position is higher than is that of the boys' system. Ascriptive criteria are unimportant, but neither is the cheerleader-popularity syndrome strong.

School 7:

Boys: For both athletic and scholastic achievement, the status system in this school gives rewards. It is not among the highest in either dimension, but is in the second rank for both. Family position is unimportant. Cars, and the activities they entail give less status than in any of the schools so far mentioned other than 1 and 5.

Girls: Scholastic performance is of low importance, lower than it is for the boys; ascriptive criteria are not important, but among the "low" cluster of schools on this dimension, it is most often mentioned in this one. The cheerleader-popularity syndrome is strong here.

School 8:

Boys: Ascriptive criteria and good grades are quite important, relative to the other schools. This system is only approached by that of school 1 in the importance of both these criteria. The system is one of those lowest in the value of athletic achievement as a means of status.

Girls: Ascriptive criteria and good grades are quite important relative to all the other schools but 1, as among the boys. The cheerleader-popularity syndrome is not.

School 9:

Boys: The combination here is different from any yet examined. Though ascriptive criteria, such as one's neighborhood and one's elementary school are important, good grades is not. The system is high, though not highest, in the status it gives athletic achievement.

Girls: This combination too is new: it is one of those in which ascriptive criteria are important; it is in the second rank in the status it gives good grades; but it is one of the schools where the cheerleader-popularity syndrome is strong. As the earlier Fig. indicated, extra-curricular activities are a more important means of status here than in the other schools.

These "locations" of the separate subcultures are intended to serve two purposes: first, to serve as a guide in the developing picture of each of these social systems in the succeeding chapters; and second, as classifications which will allow the study of the differential effects of the different systems in Chapter 9, and the differential sources, in Chapter 10.

In closing the chapter, the position of each school on each school on each of the dimensions examined above is given below:

Boys

Good Grades	Hi 1,5,8	Int 2,3,7		Lo 0,4,6,9
Ascription	Hi 1,3,8,9			Lo 0,2,4,5,6,7
Athletics	Hi 4,5	Med Hi 6,7,9	Med Lo 1,2	Lo 0,3,8

Girls

Good Grades	Hi 1,8	Int 6,9	Lo 0,2,3,4,7
Ascription	Hi 1,3,8,9		Lo 0,2,4,6,7
Popularity-looks cheerleader	Hi 0,4,7,9		Lo 1,2,3,6,8

Chapter 4

Who Are the Popular Heroes and Leaders?

Another way of seeing further into the values which are prevalent in these adolescent subcultures is to look at the persons that boys and girls look up to most--the persons they most want to be like, the persons they would like to be friends with, the persons they see as members of the leading crowd, the persons they choose most often as friends. How are these people, who are held in special positions of esteem by their classmates, different from their less distinguished fellows?

Four questions were asked in the questionnaire to identify these informal elites:

I.45. Thinking of all the boys (girls) in this school, who would you most want to be like?

I.40b.iv. Of all the boys (girls) in your grade, which boy (girl) would you most like to be friends with?

I.51. If a girl came here to school and wanted to get in with the leading crowd, what girls should she get to be friends with? (up to four names were coded)

I.38. What boys (girls) here in school do you go around with most often? (up to ten names were coded)

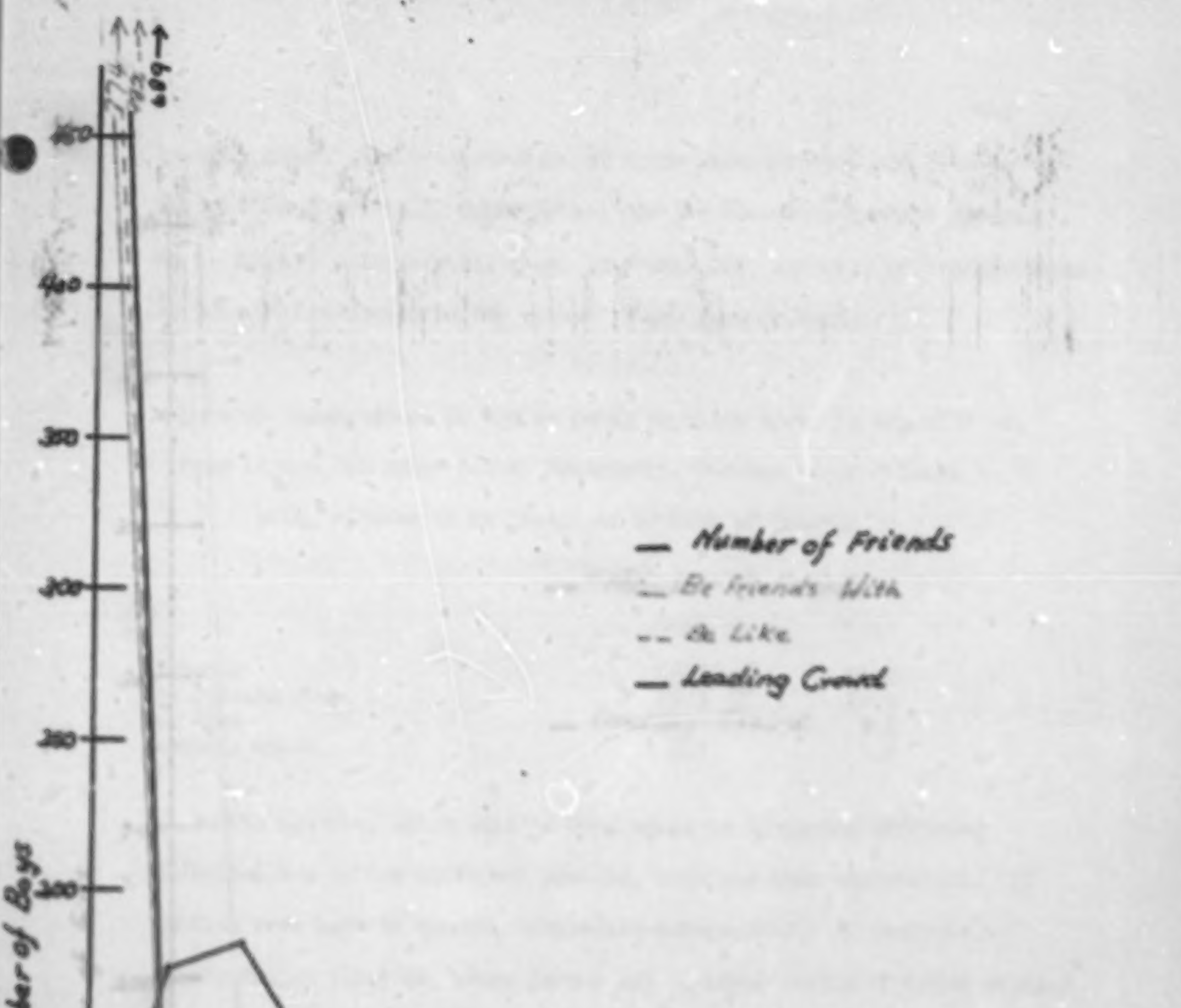
Boys and girls named most often in answer to these questions can be viewed as persons with special status, persons who exemplify, more than their fellows, the values current in the culture. Each of these questions gives a somewhat different perspective on the culture--the persons whom others want to be like are not necessarily the members of the leading crowd. By examining the cultures from these several perspectives, it will become easier to see the kinds of things these students hold as important, and to begin to get some idea of why certain things, rather than others, are important.

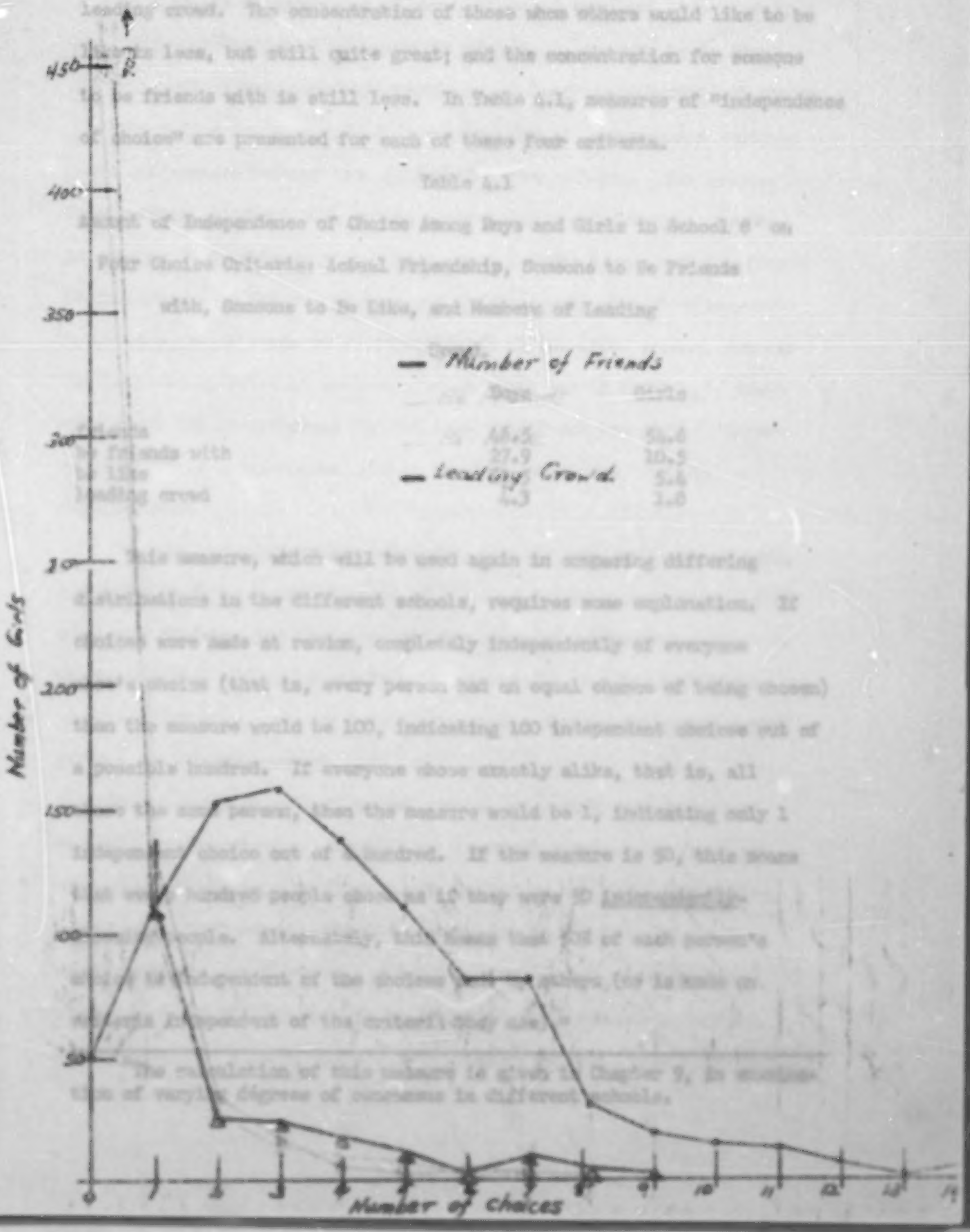
The distribution of elites:

The questions above produced somewhat different responses. Almost everyone gave names of several friends in answer to question 38a; the average number of names given was 3.21 for the boys (excluding school 5) and 4.13 for the girls. In answer to some of the other questions, some students did not respond. Only .38 of the boys and .57 of the girls named someone they'd like to be friends with, and only .42 of the boys and .57 of the girls named someone they'd like to be like. The average number of mentions of someone in the leading crowd was 1.44 for the boys and 2.54 for the girls. An additional difference in distribution is caused by the different form of the questions. Questions 40b and 45 asked for only one name, while 38a and 51 asked for several.

The resulting distribution of these choices among the students differed for the different elite criteria of leadership. On each criterion, there were some students who were named by no one--and at the other extreme, some who were named by many. But on the friendship criterion (question 38a), only a minority went unnamed, while on each of the other three questions, more truly indicative of leadership in the school as a whole, most students were never named, while a few students received most of the choices.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the distribution, in school 8, of each type of choice. (School 8 is chosen because its distributions are similar to those of most of the schools.) Most widely distributed, of course, is actual friendship; most narrowly concentrated is membership in the


774
783
689
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Number of Boys
— Number of Friends
— Be Friends With
-- Be Like
— Leading Crowd
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14+
Number of Choices



leading crowd. The concentration of those whom others would like to be like is less, but still quite great; and the concentration for someone to be friends with is still less. In Table 4.1, measures of "independence of choice" are presented for each of these four criteria.

Table 4.1

Extent of Independence of Choice Among Boys and Girls in School 8 on Four Choice Criteria: Actual Friendship, Someone to Be Friends with, Someone to Be Like, and Members of Leading Crowd.

	Boys	Girls
Friends	46.5	54.6
Be friends with	27.9	10.5
Be like	[illegible]	5.4
Leading crowd	4.3	1.8

This measure, which will be used again in comparing differing distributions in the different schools, requires some explanation. If choices were made at random, completely independently of everyone else's choice (that is, every person had an equal chance of being chosen) then the measure would be 100, indicating 100 independent choices out of a possible hundred. If everyone chose exactly alike, that is, all chose the same person, then the measure would be 1, indicating only 1 independent choice out of a hundred. If the measure is 50, this means that every hundred people chose as if they were 50 independently-choosing people. Alternatively, this means that 50% of each person's choice is independent of the choices made by others (or is made on criteria independent of the criteria they use).*

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*The calculation of this measure is given in Chapter 9, in examination of varying degrees of consensus in different schools.

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*The calculation of this measure is given in Chapter 9, in examination of varying degrees of consensus in different schools.

Thus as the distribution of choices becomes more and more skewed, indicating more and more consensus in choice, the measure tends from 100 to 1, with 1 being maximum consensus, or least independence of choice.

The values in Table 4.1 of these measures of independence indicate great differences between the different elite criteria. The greatest independence, of about 50%, exists in choosing one's friends. Second is someone to be friends with, which shows for the boys about one-fourth independence, and for the girls about 10% independence. Then someone to be like, which tends to be concentrated in the upper grades, and for the boys concentrated on athletes, as we shall see in Chapter 5, shows only about 10% independence for the boys and 5% for the girls. There is very little independence, almost complete consensus, for the leading crowd.

The boy-girl differences here are generally true in these schools, and indicate the greater strength of the social system for girls. They make more choices, and their choices are more interdependent with those of other girls. Though their friends are equally widely distributed, they tend far more than the boys to focus on a few exemplars and a few girls as the leading crowd.

Having these distributions of choices, who shall be called the elites? At the extremes, there is no question: those never named are obviously not elites, and those named most often are obviously elites, in the sense indicated by the questions. But the problem is not so easily answered for those in the middle, who received some choices. The answer seems to be that in such a situation of informal organization, people cannot be clearly divided into leaders and non-leaders, popular heroes and non-heroes. Instead, leadership resides in many people, in varying amounts. In other words, the distributions of choices shown in Figs. 4.1 and 4.2 are a more accurate expression of the state of affairs than any division we might make between leaders and non-leaders, popular heroes and non-heroes.

Nevertheless, in some of the analyses below, it will be convenient to classify people as non-elites and elites respectively, with respect to the various criteria of choice. The arbitrary division is, for "top elites" seven or more mentions (except for the leading crowd, where it is 10 or more); but because these are so few in number (particularly those whom others would like to be like or be friends with), a group of intermediate elites who received from 2 to 6 choices (or in the case of the leading crowd, 2-9) will often be considered as well.

It is well not to become fixed on the notion of "elite," forgetting the specific questions on which the choices are given. There are important differences in these four criteria, which will become evident as we examine their behavior and attitudes. The leading crowd and those popular as actual friends appear to constitute active leaders in a sense that the other two do not. The other two, in contrast, are desirable persons, either as someone to be friends with or as someone to be like. They may be thought of as "popular heroes," or "exemplars," or even "passive" leaders, exerting their influence by example rather than by active effort.

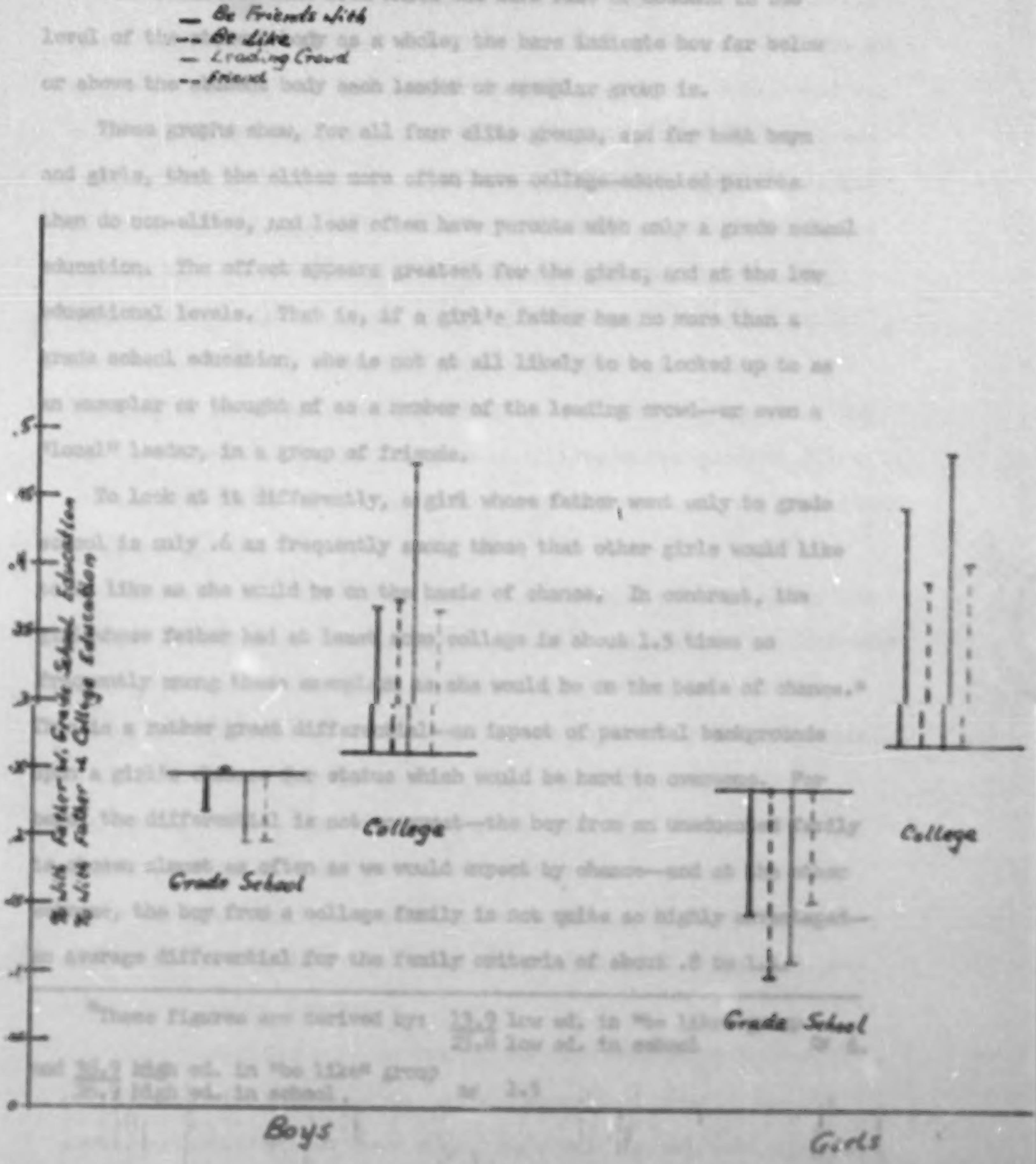
There are other differences: the person chosen as someone to be like was selected from the whole school, while the one to be friends with was selected from the chooser's own grade, and the friendship and leading crowd choices were also made almost entirely within the same grade. Consequently, the persons to "be like" were more concentrated in upper grades than in lower ones, while the other choices were evenly distributed among grades.

Finally, there is a difference between the "leading crowd" and the oft-chosen friends in another way. The "leading crowd" is a leading crowd for the school as a whole (or for the grade as a whole, since each grade has its leading crowd). Those most often chosen as friends, in contrast, may only be leaders of a subgroup within the grade, perhaps even a subgroup antagonistic to the leading crowd. Thus those often chosen as friends can be thought of as "local leaders," while those named as members of the leading crowd are leaders in the system as a whole.

Backgrounds of the leaders and exemplars:

How do the leaders and exemplars compare to the others in background? Do they all come from upper occupational and educational groups, or from the community as a whole? Fig. 4.3 shows the two ends of the educational continuum: those whose fathers had no more than a grade-school education, and those whose fathers had at least some college.

Figure 4.3



The horizontal line from which the bars rise or descend is the level of th[illegible]dy as a whole; the bars indicate how far below or above the [illegible] body each leader or exemplar group is.

These graphs show, for all four elite groups, and for both boys and girls, that the elites more often have college-educated parents than do non-elites, and less often have parents with only a grade school education. The effect appears greatest for the girls, and at the low educational levels. That is, if a girl's father has no more than a grade school education, she is not at all likely to be looked up to as an exemplar or thought of as a member of the leading crowd--or even a "local" leader, in a group of friends.

To look at it differently, a girl whose father went only to grade school is only .6 as frequently among those that other girls would like [illegible] like as she would be on the basis of chance. In contrast, the [illegible] whose father had at least some college is about 1.5 times as frequently among these exemplars as she would be on the basis of chance.* This is a rather great differential--an impact of parental backgrounds upon a girl's [illegible] status which would be hard to overcome. For boys, the differential is not so great--the boy from an uneducated family is chosen almost as often as we would expect by chance--and at the other extreme, the boy from a college family is not quite so highly advantaged--an average differential for the family criteria of about .8 to 1.2.

---

*These figures are derived by: $\frac{13.9 \text{ low ed. in "be like" group}}{23.8 \text{ low ed. in school}}$ = .6,

and $\frac{30.9 \text{ high ed. in "be like" group}}{20.[illegible] \text{ high ed. in school}}$ = 1.5

The horizontal line from which the bars rise or descend is the level of the student body as a whole; the bars indicate how far below or above the student body each leader or exemplar group is.

These graphs show, for all four elite groups, and for both boys and girls, that the elites more often have college-educated parents than do non-elites, and less often have parents with only a grade school education. The effect appears greatest for the girls, and at the low educational levels. That is, if a girl's father has no more than a grade school education, she is not at all likely to be looked up to as an exemplar or thought of as a member of the leading crowd--or even a "local" leader, in a group of friends.

To look at it differently, a girl whose father went only to grade school is only .6 as frequently among those that other girls would like to be like as she would be on the basis of chance. In contrast, the girl whose father had at least some college is about 1.5 times as frequently among these exemplars as she would be on the basis of chance.* This is a rather great differential--an impact of parental backgrounds upon a girl's chances for status which would be hard to overcome. For boys, the differential is not so great--the boy from an uneducated family is chosen almost as often as we would expect by chance--and at the other extreme, the boy from a college family is not quite so highly advantaged--an average differential for the family criteria of about .8 to 1.4.

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*These figures are derived by: $\frac{13.9 \text{ low ed. in "be like" group}}{23.8 \text{ low ed. in school}} \approx .6.$

and $\frac{38.9 \text{ high ed. in "be like" group}}{26.9 \text{ high ed. in school}} \approx 1.5$

A similar difference in a boy's or girl's chances occurs as a consequence of his or her father's occupation. White-collar occupations--and in particular, "upper" white-collar occupations--make it much easier for a girl or a boy to be a member of the leading crowd or be looked up to.

This point has been well made and well documented by other studies, particularly Hollingshead's study, in the 1940's, of one of the schools studied here (school 2). It is unnecessary to further document the effect of parental background on making a boy or girl looked up to or liked in school. It is enough here to point out that the effect is greater for girls than for boys, and greater for the leading crowd than for the other three groups. Chapter 10 will raise the question of whether this effect is greater or not as great as it once was--specifically in school 2.

Is this, then, all there is to the question of parental background and its influence on being a leader or exemplar in the school? Obviously not, for there are many ways in which the parents' position in the community influences the child's development in school--both intrinsically, in the kind of training the parent gives, and extrinsically, in the way the parent (and thus the child) is viewed by the rest of the community. Some of these matters will be discussed at length in Chapter 7; for the present, it is useful to examine a little more closely the implications of this relationship between parental backgrounds and school leadership or status.

The relationship shown so far implies that boys and girls tend to look "upward" for their elites, to those among them whose backgrounds are more privileged than their own. This result accords with experience, and as well with research on leadership in other areas. But there is another body of thought, and other research results, which suggest that people choose leaders who are like themselves, that is, leaders with the dominant characteristics of the group they lead. If this were so in these schools, then the predominantly working-class schools would have working-class leaders, while the predominantly white-collar schools would have leaders with white-collar and higher educational backgrounds. In other words, the leaders would exemplify in the extreme the characteristics of the dominant group in the population, and the minority, whichever social class it was, would be underrepresented. Adolescents in the working-class schools would less often turn to white-collar students as leaders and exemplars, while adolescents in upper-middle-class schools would very seldom look to the minority of working-class boys and girls in their midst. Taking all schools together, these effects would cancel out, and leaders would be roughly representative of the teen-agers as a whole. Fig. 4.3 showed that this was not so, but that boys, and especially girls, from a higher educational background are overrepresented. Yet what about the middle-class boy or girl in a lower-class school? Is he less likely to be among the elites, differing as he does from the population in the school? Consider the two schools, both fairly homogeneous suburbs, which are at the extremes in level of education: the working class suburb, 6, and the upper middle class suburb, 9. Are the teen-agers from highly educated families overrepresented among the leaders to the same degree in each? Fig. 4.4 (a) and (b) shows that they are not, among the boys and girls in the leading crowd. In school 9, with a high overall proportion of students whose fathers went to college, the

Figure 4.4a

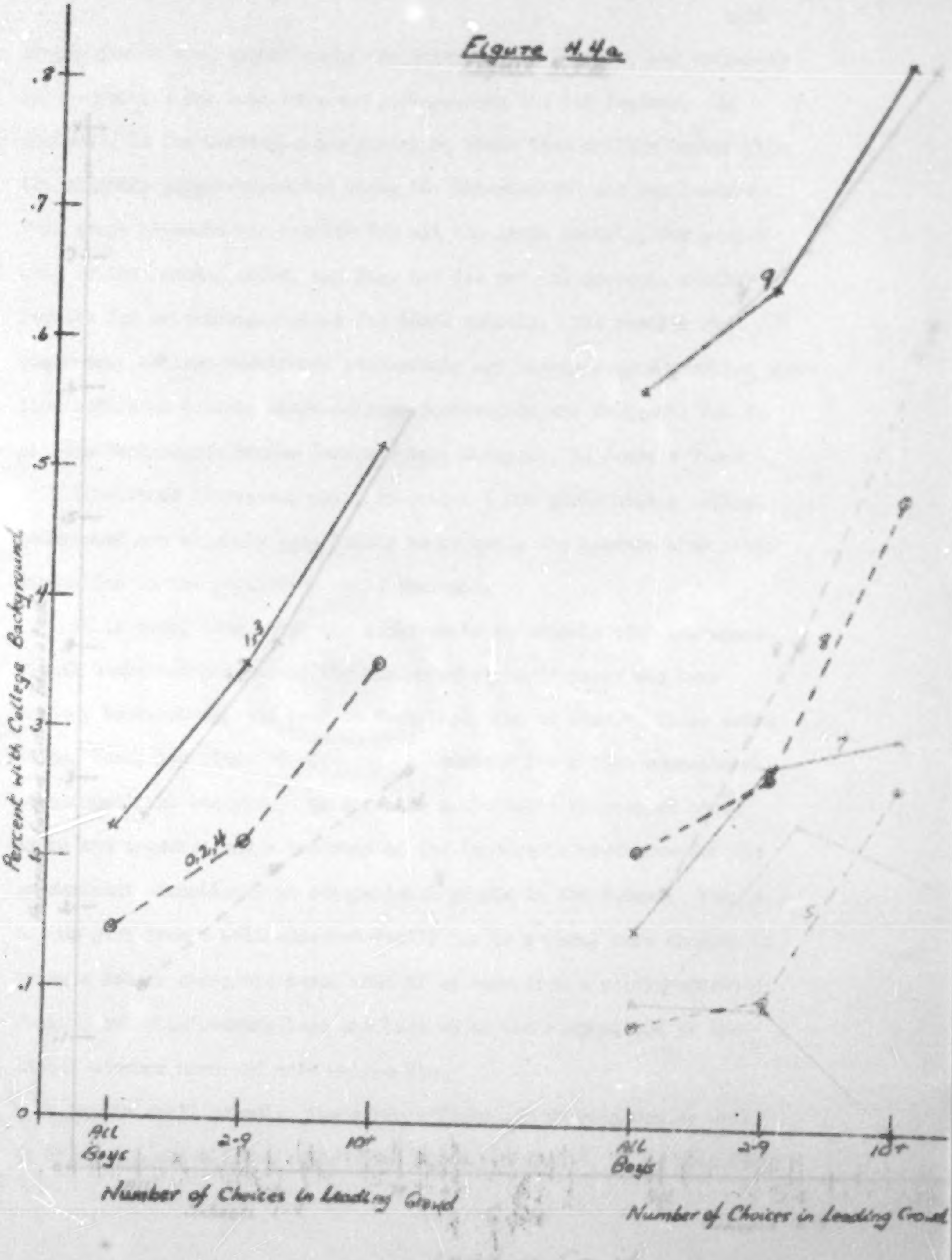
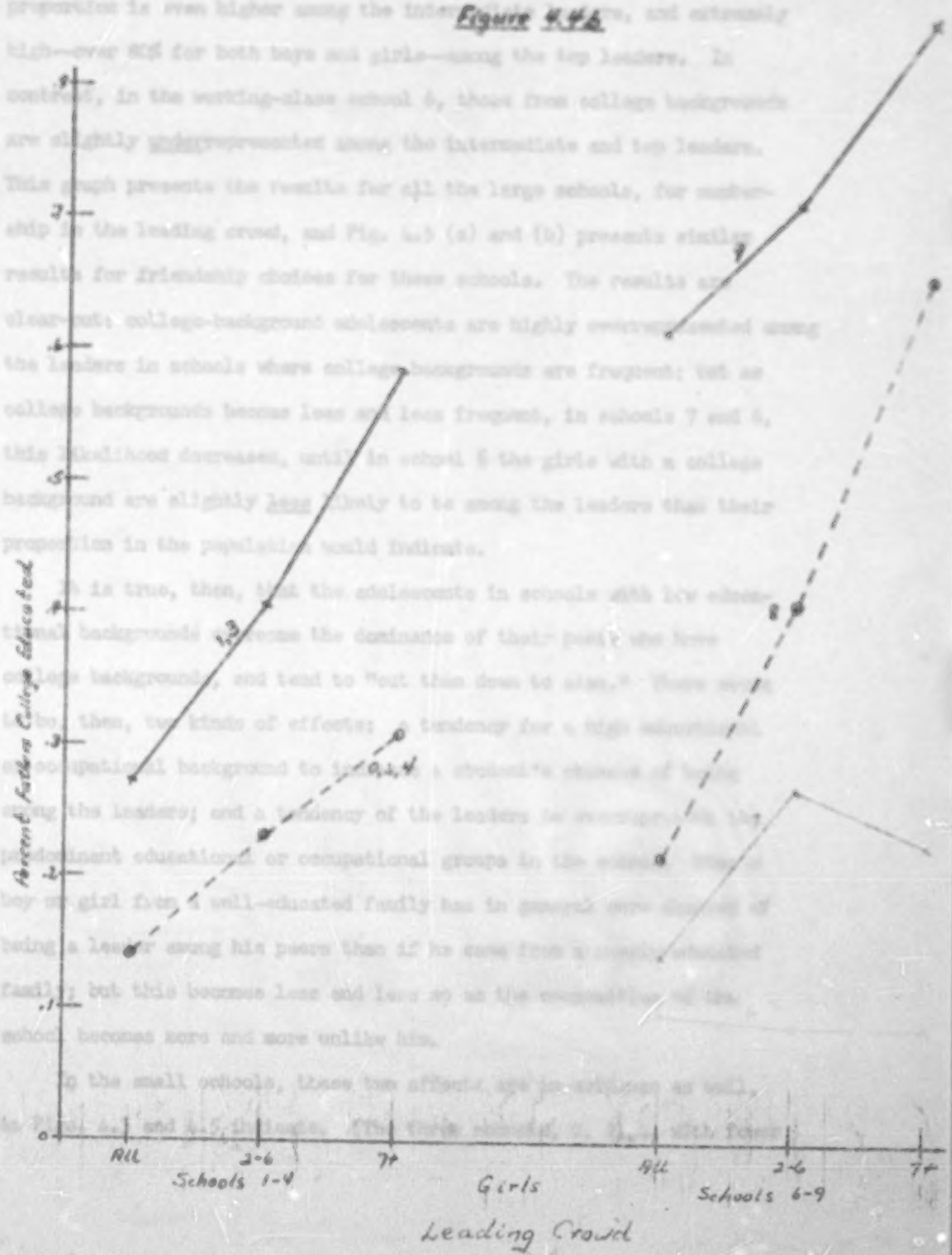

Percent with College Background
.8
.7
.6
.5
.4
.3
.2
.1
0
1,3
0,2,4
9
9
8
All Boys
2-9
10+
All Boys
2-9
10+
Number of Choices in Leading Group
Number of Choices in Leading Group

Figure 4.4b


.8
.7
.6
.5
.4
.3
.2
.1
0
Percent Fathers College Educated
1,3
0,2,4
9
8
All
2-6
7+
Schools 1-4
Girls
All
2-6
7+
Schools 6-9
Leading Crowd

proportion is even higher among the intermediate leaders, and extremely high—over 80% for both boys and girls—among the top leaders. In contrast, in the working-class school 6, those from college backgrounds are slightly underrepresented among the intermediate and top leaders. This graph presents the results for all the large schools, for membership in the leading crowd, and Fig. 4.5 (a) and (b) presents similar results for friendship choices for these schools. The results are clear-cut: college-background adolescents are highly overrepresented among the leaders in schools where college backgrounds are frequent; but as college backgrounds become less and less frequent, in schools 7 and 6, this likelihood decreases, until in school 6 the girls with a college background are slightly less likely to be among the leaders than their proportion in the population would indicate.

It is true, then, that the adolescents in schools with low educational backgrounds overcome the dominance of their peers who have college backgrounds, and tend to "cut them down to size." There seems to be, then, two kinds of effects: a tendency for a high educational or occupational background to increase a student's chances of being among the leaders; and a tendency of the leaders to overrepresent the predominant educational or occupational groups in the school. Thus a boy or girl from a well-educated family has in general more chances of being a leader among his peers than if he came from a poorly-educated family; but this becomes less and less so as the composition of the school becomes more and more unlike him.

In the small schools, these two effects are in evidence as well, as Figs. 4.3 and 4.5 indicate. (The three schools, 0, 2, 4, with fewer

Figure 4.5a
Boys

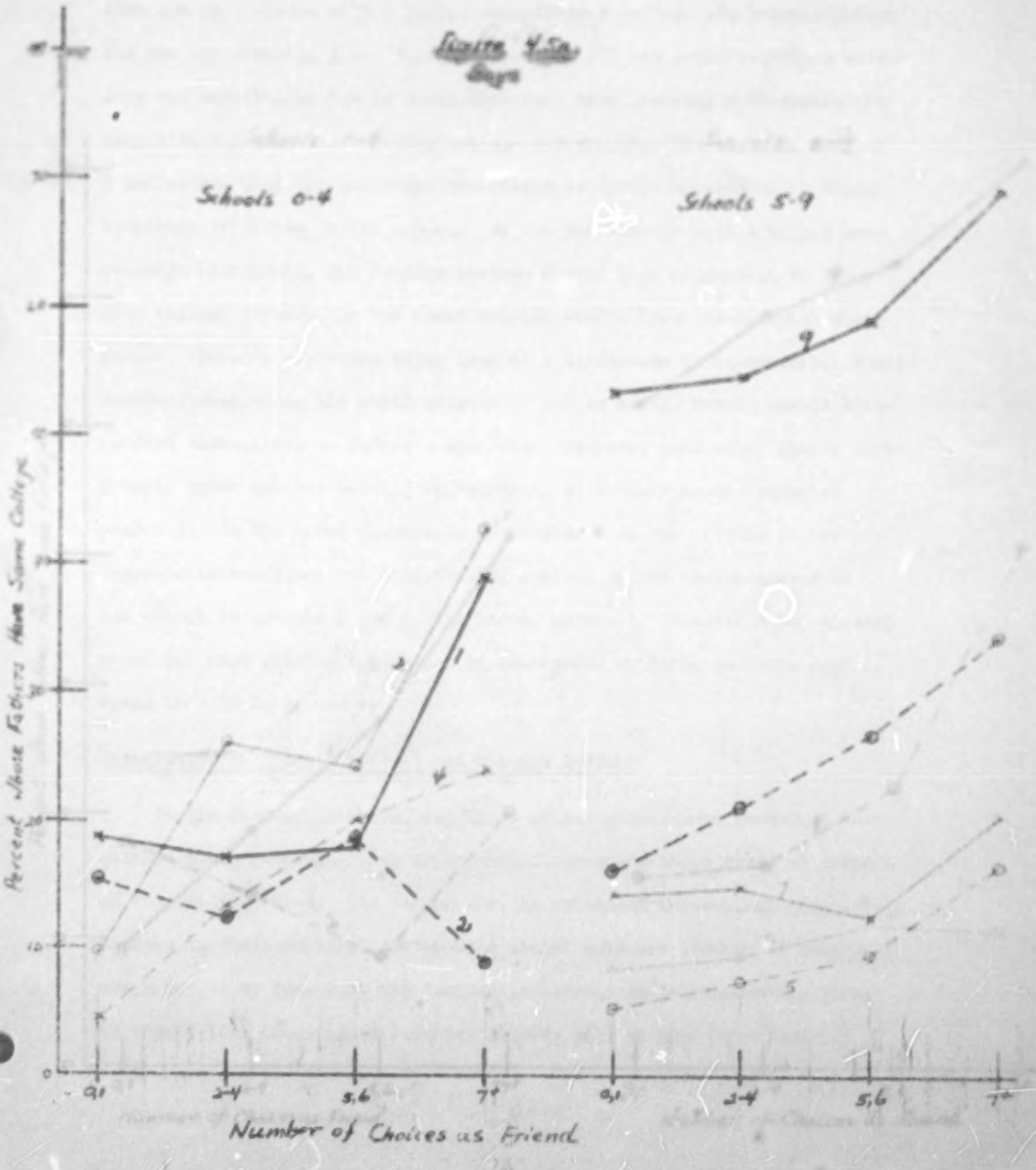
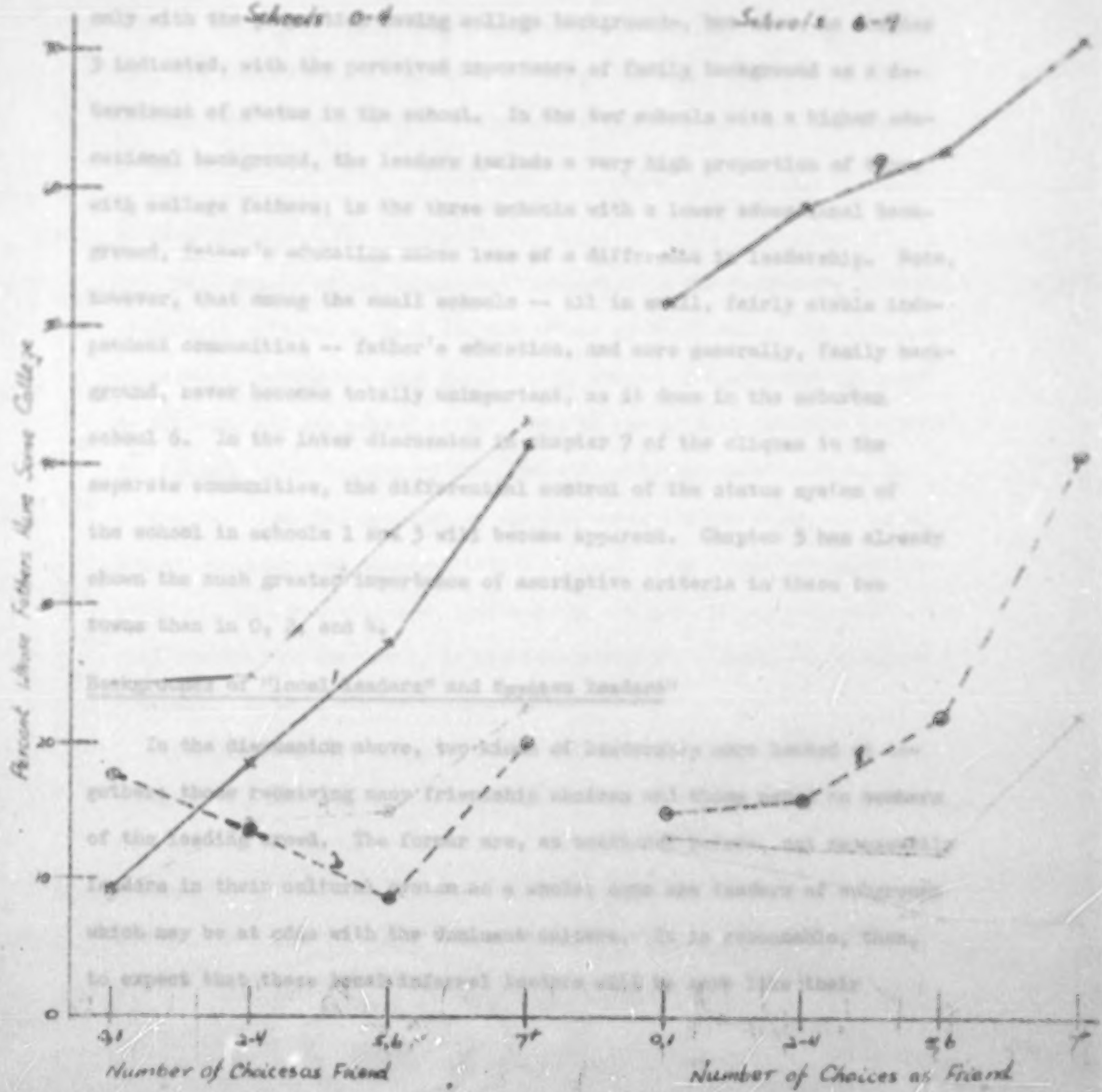


Figure 4-6

Girls



than 20% of students with a father who attended college are taken together, and the two schools, 1 and 3, with more than 20% are taken together, to reduce the variability due to small numbers. This grouping corresponds not only with the proportion having college backgrounds, but also, as chapter 3 indicated, with the perceived importance of family background as a determinant of status in the school. In the two schools with a higher educational background, the leaders include a very high proportion of those with college fathers; in the three schools with a lower educational background, father's education makes less of a difference in leadership. Note, however, that among the small schools -- all in small, fairly stable independent communities -- father's education, and more generally, family background, never becomes totally unimportant, as it does in the suburban school 6. In the later discussion in chapter 7 of the cliques in the separate communities, the differential control of the status system of the school in schools 1 and 3 will become apparent. Chapter 3 has already shown the much greater importance of ascriptive criteria in these two towns than in 0, 2, and 4.

Backgrounds of "local leaders" and "system leaders"

In the discussion above, two kinds of leadership were looked at together: those receiving many friendship choices and those named as members of the leading crowd. The former are, as mentioned before, not necessarily leaders in their cultural system as a whole; some are leaders of subgroups which may be at odds with the dominant culture. It is reasonable, then, to expect that these local informal leaders will be more like their "constituency" than are the members of the leading crowd, just as a Congressional Representative is more like his constituents than is a Senator or the President. In view of this, it is instructive to compare Figures 4.4 (a) and (b), the system leaders, with Figures 4.5 (a) and (b), the local leaders. In both the large and small schools, the local leaders tend to be more like their constituency -- that is, the curves do not rise so sharply.

Other background characteristics

This double effect of parents' education on the leadership of these adolescent cultures -- that is, the effect at the level of the individual student, making him more likely to be chosen if his father has gone to college, and the effect at the level of the school, making a tendency for leaders to overrepresent the predominant backgrounds found in the school -- raises the question of whether these effects might not occur for other background characteristics as well. For father's occupation, which is, like education, an indicator of the general economic and social standing of the family in the community, the effects are somewhat the same, and will not be presented here.

One might expect religion to be similar -- to show a tendency for those of the minority religion (Catholics in all schools but 5, and Jews as well in 9) to be underchosen among the elites -- and to be most underchosen when they are in the smallest minority. However, this is not so. Religion is simply not a relevant social structural variable in these schools, with the exception of school 9. In all the other schools, the effects shown above for father's education do not hold at all, and in fact, there is little tendency for in-choice among the religious groups.

Exemplars vs. active leaders

The effect of the school's composition on the kind of active leaders its teen-agers have is evident in the above discussion. Does this same effect occur for the exemplars, the students whom others want to be like or be friends with? Figure 4.3 showed earlier that a similar prevalence of college-background students occurs among these exemplars as among the active leaders; but does the tendency diminish as the school's population has a lower and lower educational background? Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show that in some cases it does and in some not. For the girls in the large schools, the effect of the school's composition is clear-cut, and like that for the active leaders: the overrepresentation increases from a very low amount in school 6 to a high amount in schools 8 and 9. For the boys as well, there seems some effect in the large schools -- though the overrepresentation in schools 8 and 9 is less great than it is for the girls in these schools. For the small schools, the effect disappears altogether for these exemplars: there is little difference between schools 0, 2, 4 and 1, 3 in overrepresentation of the college educated among these exemplars. The question of why and how this is so -- and why the difference between the small schools and

Figure 4.6a

Boys

Small Schools 0-4 Large Schools 5-9

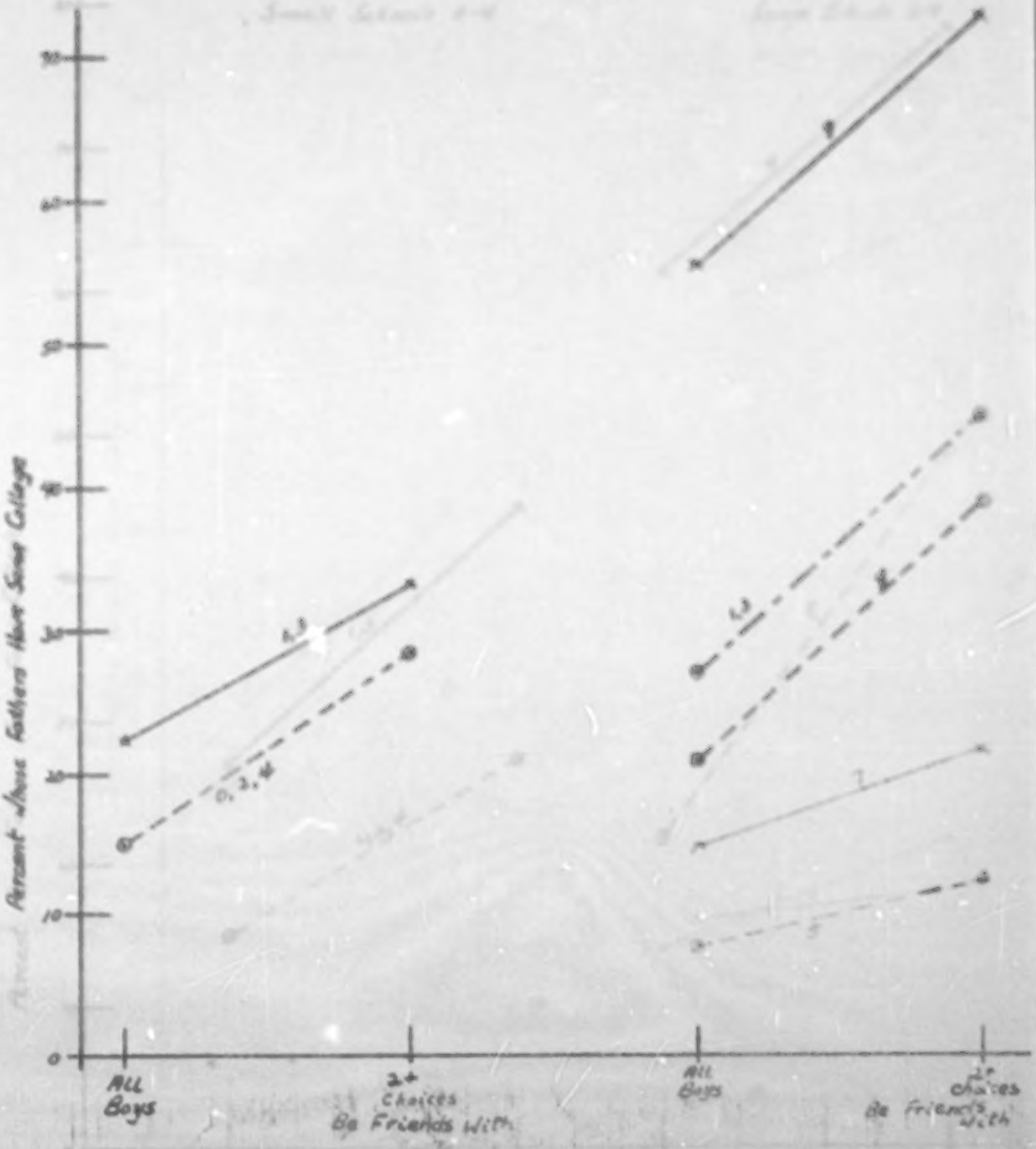


Figure 4.6.b

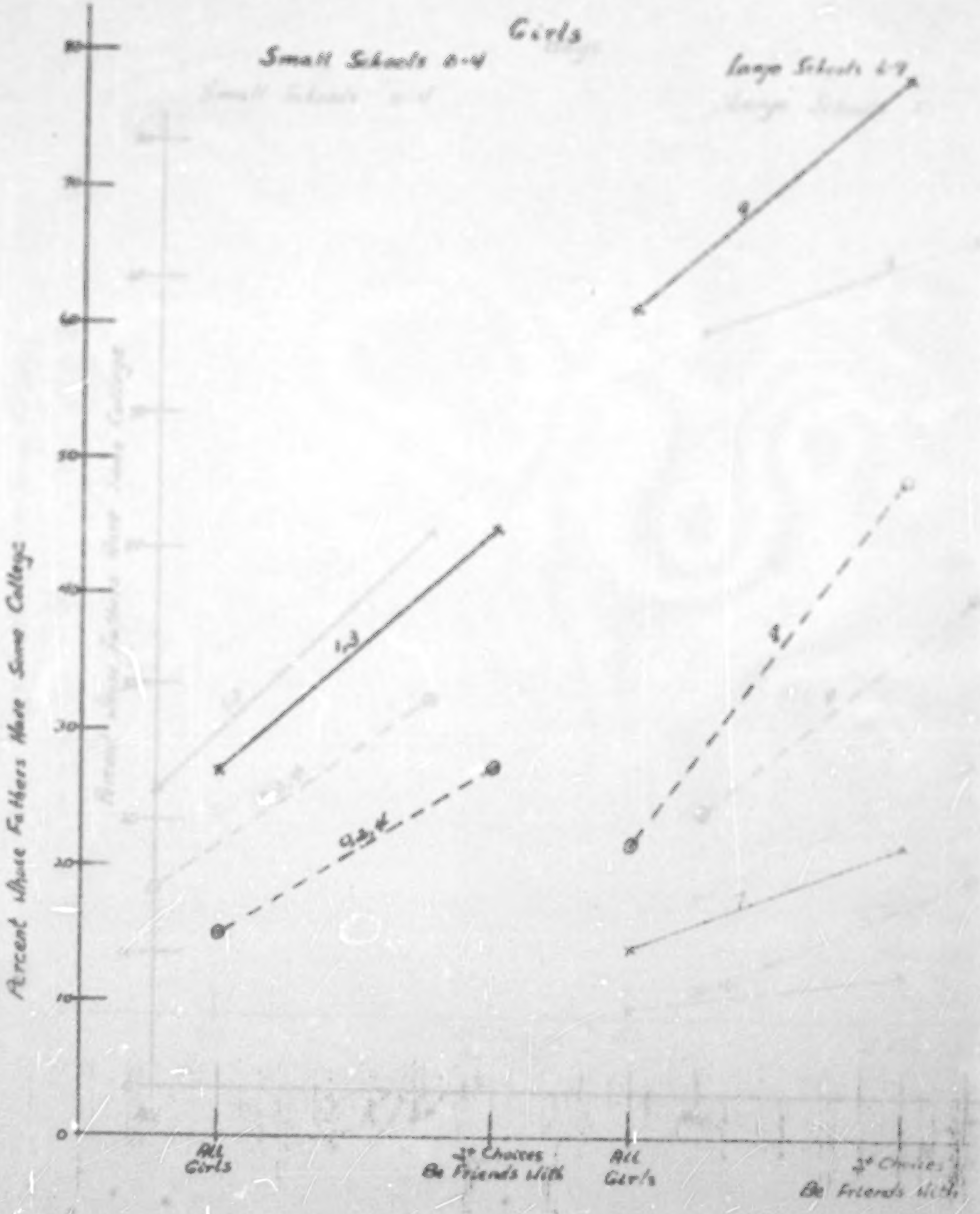

Girls
Small Schools 0-4
Large Schools 6-9
Percent Whose Fathers Have Some College
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
9
1,3
0,2,4
8
All Girls
2+ Choices Be Friends With
All Girls
2+ Choices Be Friends With

Figure 4.7a

Boys

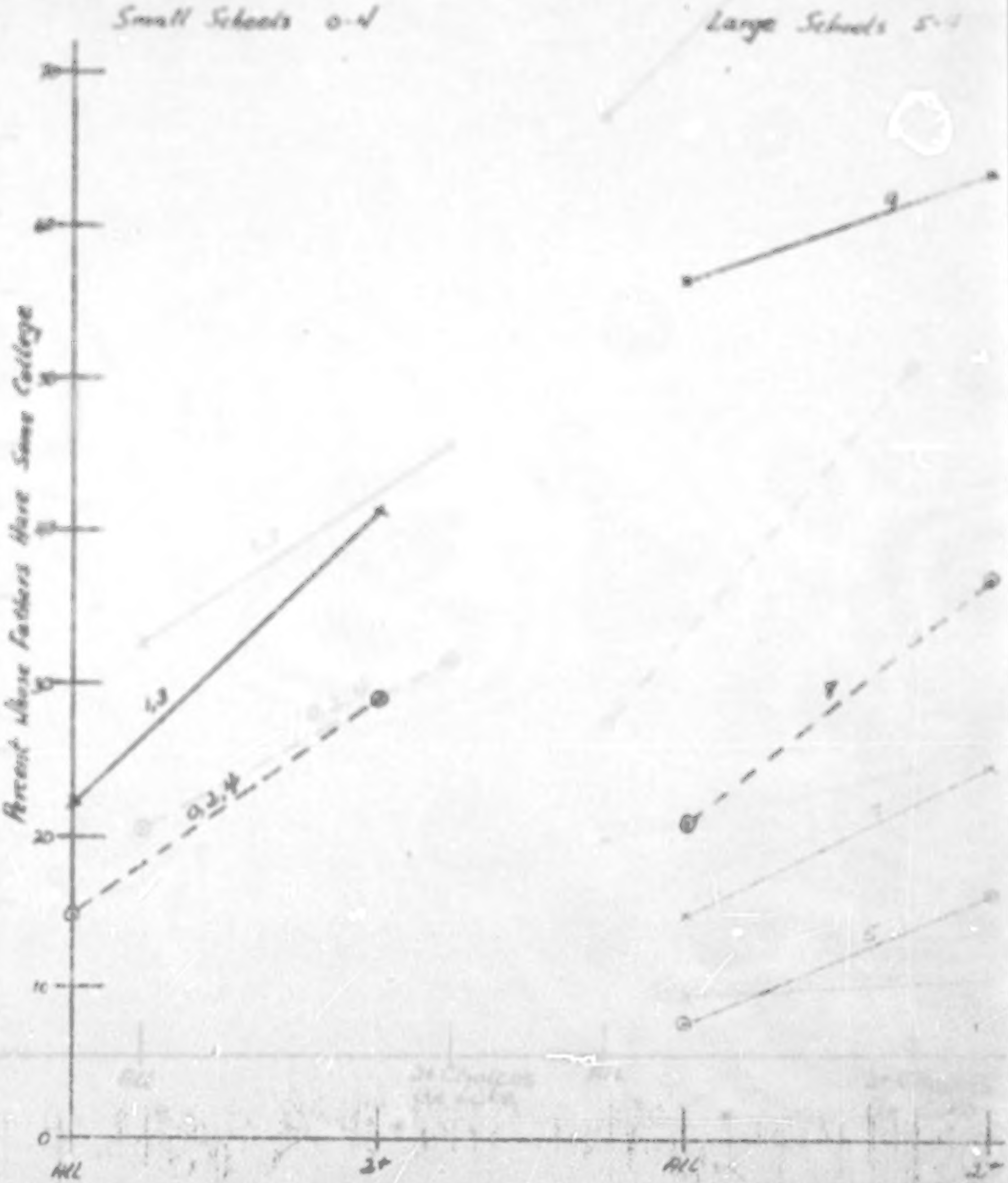
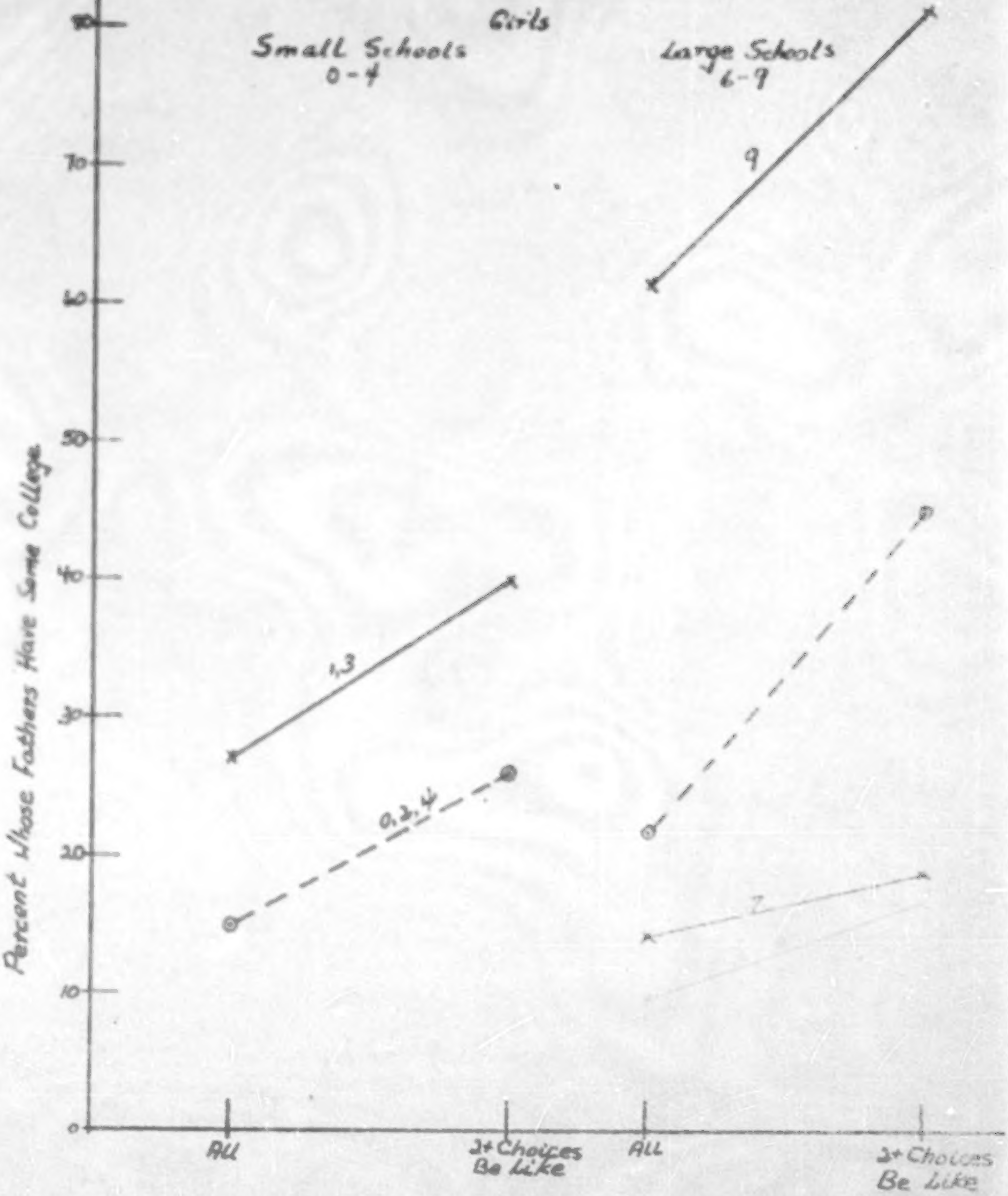


Figure 4.7b


Girls
Small Schools
0-4
Large Schools
6-9
Percent Whose Fathers Have Some College
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
1,3
0,2,4
9
7
All
2+ Choices
Be Like
All
2+ Choices
Be Like

the large -- will occupy our attention later, in the detailed examination of these schools. For the present, it is sufficient to note that the effect does occur in the large schools, and that it is greater for the girls than for the boys.

"Representativeness" of the leader groups, from the perspective of the system and from the perspective of the individual.

There are two perspectives from which the composition of these "elite" groups can be viewed: from the perspective of the school as a whole, in which case the absolute composition of the leader groups, and their composition relative to the student body, is important, and the perspective of the individual: how hard is it for him to get into these elite groups; what are his chances? Above, our perspective was that of the system, for we are interested in the character of these adolescent cultures; but even this requires another view. For the leaders have been viewed *relative to* the school's composition, not in absolute terms. Considering just one of the leader categories, those named as friends seven times or more, these different perspectives can be seen in Table 4.2. In absolute composition, only in school 9 is there a majority of college-background fathers among these local leaders. Yet in school 8 the overrepresentation is greatest -- that is, they differ most from the student body as a whole. From the perspective of the college-background girl, her chances are greatest in school 8: 1.88 times as great as would be expected from her numbers in the student body. In school 9, however, the girl without a college background is just as

Table 4.2

Absolute composition, representativeness, and an individual's chances, as a function of father's education, for girls in schools 6-9, being named as a friend 7 or more times.

		Schools			
		6	7	8	9
In school: college background		9.7% [528]	14.1% [767]	21.7% [969]	61.6% [898]
Absolute composition: college background		7.3% [55]	22.3% [121]	40.8% [174]	71.7% [191]
Relative composition					
% over- or under-representation of college background		-2.4%	+8.2%	+19.1%	+10.1%
A girl's chances: by virtue of her father's education, she is x times as likely to be oft-chosen as would be expected on basis of school composition.	college x =	0.75	1.58	1.88	1.16
	non-college x =	1.03	0.91	0.75	0.74

---

badly off: her chances are only .74 of what they should be, compared with .75 in school 8. Because such girls are few in number in school 9, an underrepresentation which is only 10.1% puts her at just as great a disadvantage as does an underrepresentation of 19.1% in school 8. Conversely, the small number of college-background girls in school 7 puts them at a relatively great advantage. Their chances are 1.58 what one would expect, though their overrepresentation is only 8.7%, and in absolute composition of the local leaders they are outnumbered 22.3% to 77.7%.

Altogether, then the matter is not so simple as any one set of statistics would suggest. For some purposes, such as comparing the behavior or attitudes or aspirations of the leaders in two schools, their absolute composition is important; for other purposes, such as comparing their behavior, attitudes, or aspirations with the student body as a whole, their composition relative to that of the student body is important; and finally, for seeing just how a boy or girl's chances are affected by the father's education, a third set of statistics, which takes into account not only the overrepresentation, but also the prevalence or rarity of college backgrounds in the school, is necessary.

In the remainder of this chapter, which will examine the leaders' behavior and attitudes relative to the others in school, it will be important to keep in mind the variations in absolute composition of these elite groups from school to school, and their variations in composition relative to the non-elites. For despite these variations, there will be some striking attitudinal similarities among the leaders from school to school, and some striking similarities from school to school in the way the elites differ from the non-elites. When such similarities occur, it will be in spite of these background differences, and will force us to raise the question of just what it is in the adolescent culture which makes it so.

Their post-high school intentions

As the preceding sections have indicated, there is overrepresentation among the elites of boys -- and even more of girls -- with high educational backgrounds. This overrepresentation is greatest where the proportion white collar is highest (and, consistent with the preceding chapter, especially great in schools 1, 3, and 8), and it vanishes in the working class suburban school 6. However, given these absolute and relative differences in educational background among the elites, what is the educational future of the elites in each school?

Figure 4.8 shows, for each school, and for all schools together, the college intentions of boys in the four elites. (The form of this graph is like that of Figure 4.3, in which the proportion in the student body as a whole is the base line, from which each of the elite groups rises or falls, depending on whether its members have a higher or lower proportion than the student body as a whole. For each school separately, only the intermediate elites are shown; but for all schools together, the top members of the leading crowd [10+ choices] and those named 7+ times as friends are used, comparable with Fig. 4.3).

In all the schools, the elites are intending to go to college more than the student body as a whole. What is more relevant, they are much farther above their respective student bodies in college intentions than in college backgrounds. The relevant comparison is the graph for all schools as a whole, at the right of Figure 4.8, with the comparable part of Figure 4.3. Though the elites tend to come from higher educational backgrounds more often than chance; the background difference is not sufficient to account for their difference in intentions from their respective student bodies. There is evidently something over and above background differences which leads these elites to be more college-bound. It should be noted that here and in subsequent graphs for all schools together, the apparently higher deviation of the leading crowd from the others than of the two exemplar elites is due to the fact that only the top elites among the former are included, while all, including the intermediate elites, are used for the exemplar groups.

Figure 4.9 shows the comparable result for the girls. Here too the elite groups are higher than the student body. But there is an interesting difference between this and the background chart, Figure 4.5. There, the girls deviated more from the student body than did the boys in having high educational backgrounds. That is consistent with the results of chapter 3, which showed the greater importance of family background among the girls for being in the leading crowd. Here however, when it comes to college intentions, the elites among the boys deviate more from the student body as a whole, even though, on the average, the girl elites come from higher [illegible]

It appears, then, first that being among the elites has something to do with going to college quite apart from one's background; but, furthermore, this relationship [illegible] for boys than for girls among the elites, more than overcoming the background differential which favors the girl elites.

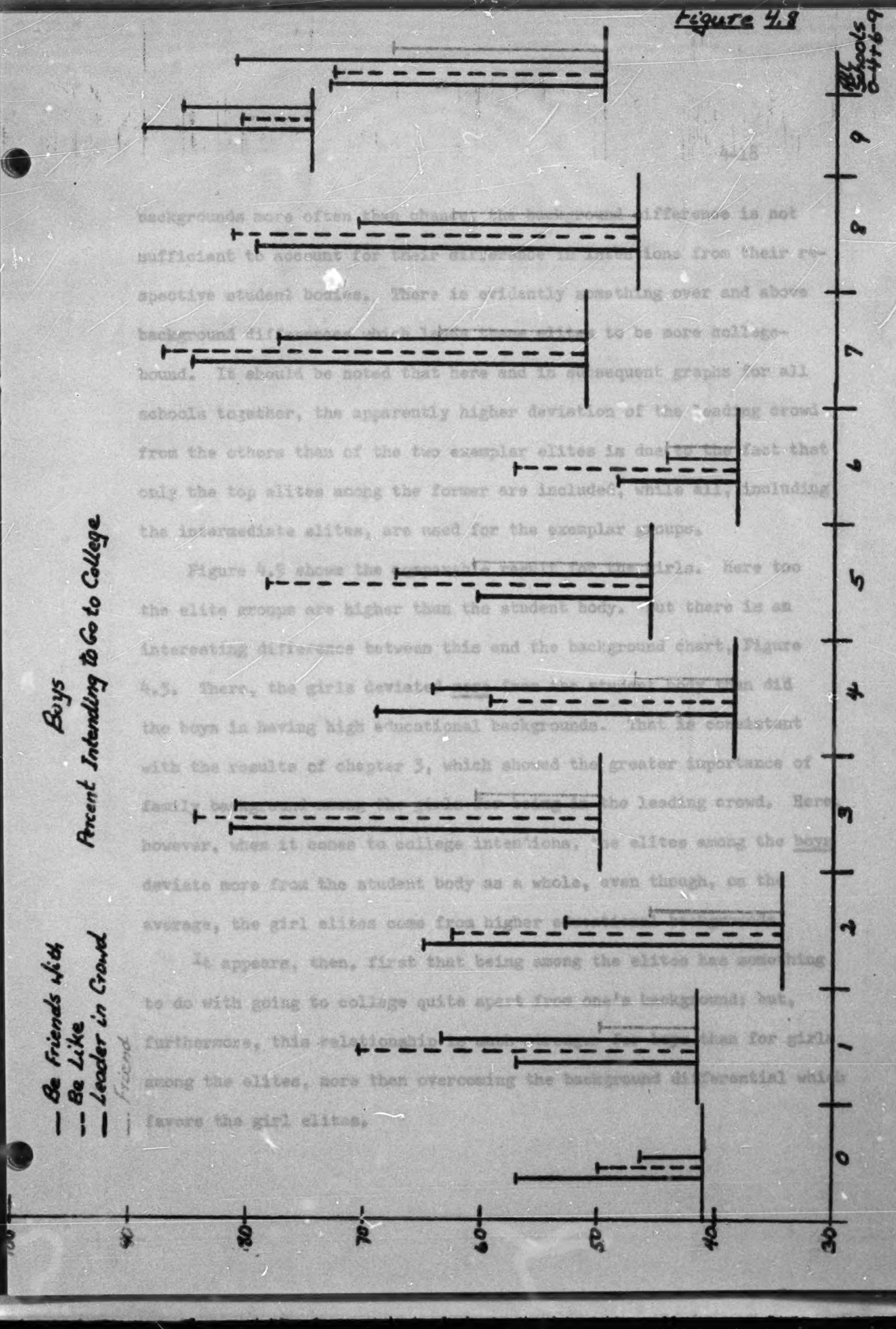


Figure 4.8

backgrounds more often than chance, the background difference is not sufficient to account for their difference in intentions from their respective student bodies. There is evidently something over and above background differences which leads these elites to be more college-bound. It should be noted that here and in subsequent graphs for all schools together, the apparently higher deviation of the leading crowd from the others than of the two exemplar elites is due to the fact that only the top elites among the former are included, while all, including the intermediate elites, are used for the exemplar groups.

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It appears, then, first that being among the elites has something to do with going to college quite apart from one's background; but, furthermore, this relationship is much stronger for boys than for girls among the elites, more than overcoming the background differential which favors the girl elites.

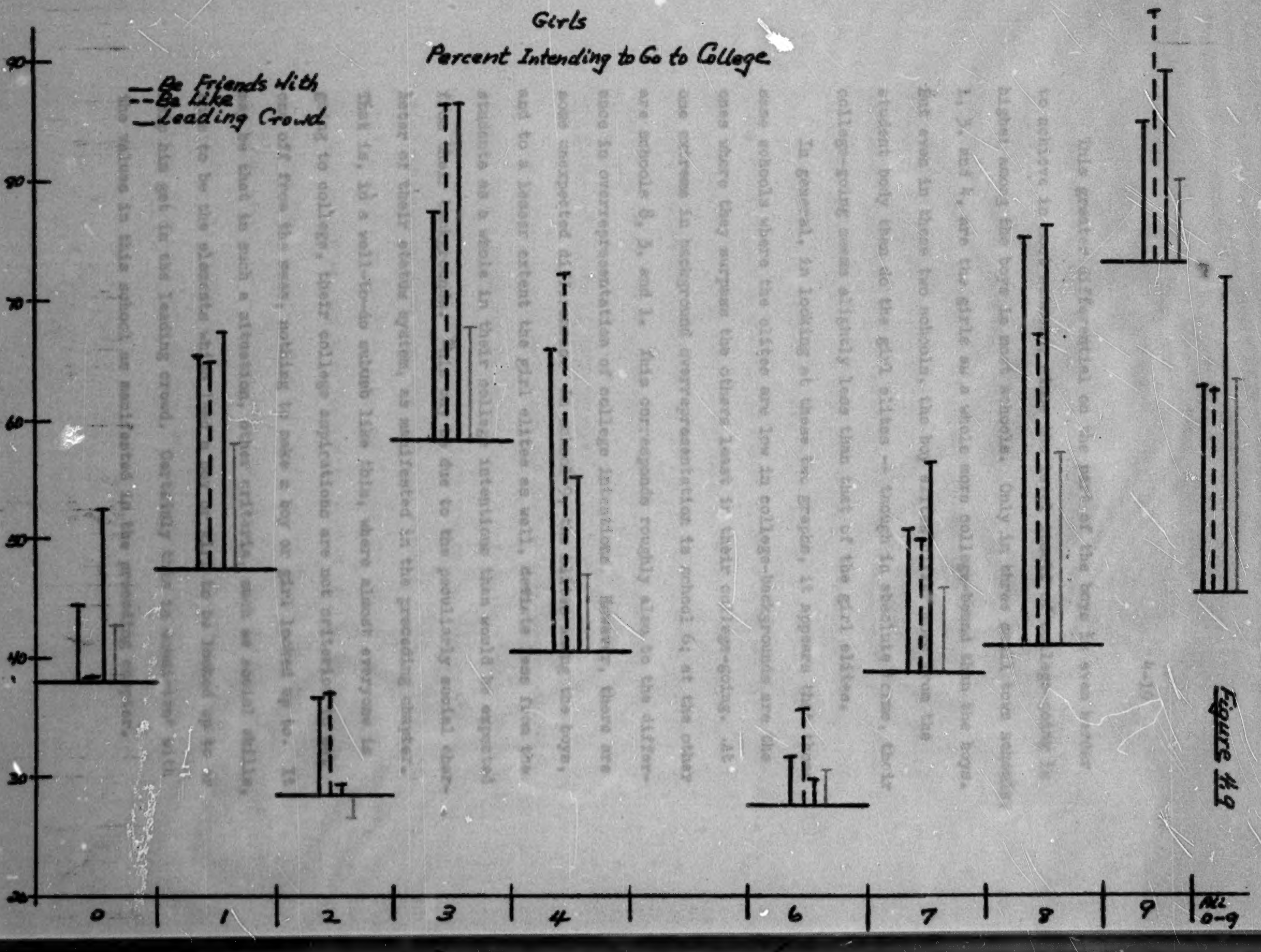

Girls
Percent Intending to Go to College
— Be Friends With
-- Be Like
— Leading Crowd
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
0
1
2
3
4
6
7
8
9
All 0-9

Figure 4.9

This greater differential on the part of the boys is even harder to achieve in most schools, since the level itself of college-going is higher among the boys in most schools. Only in three small town schools, 1, 3, and 4, are the girls as a whole more college-bound than the boys. But even in these two schools, the boy elites differ more from the student body than do the girl elites -- though in absolute terms, their college-going seems slightly less than that of the girl elites.

In general, in looking at these two graphs, it appears that those same schools where the elites are low in college-backgrounds are the ones where they surpass the others least in their college-going. At one extreme in background overrepresentation is school 6; at the other are schools 8, 3, and 1. This corresponds roughly also to the difference in overrepresentation of college intentions. However, there are some unexpected differences. In school 9, the elites among the boys, and to a lesser extent the girl elites as well, deviate less from the students as a whole in their college intentions than would be expected from their backgrounds. This may be due to the peculiarly social character of their status system, as manifested in the preceding chapter. That is, in a well-to-do suburb like this, where almost everyone is going to college, their college aspirations are not criterion to set one off from the mass, nothing to make a boy or girl looked up to. It may be that in such a situation, other criteria, such as social skills, come to be the elements which lead a boy or girl to be looked up to or help him get in the leading crowd. Certainly this is consistent with the values in this school as manifested in the preceding chapter.

Two schools show special differences between the boy elites and girl elites: schools 2 and 7, where the boy elites are strikingly higher in the degree to which they rise above the student body than are the girls. A glance at Figure 3.3 in the preceding chapter will show that school 7 is the one school in which the status system among the boys emphasizes good grades considerably more than does than of the girls. In school 2, good grades are also mentioned more often by the boys; but this is not such a clear-cut case. This general difference in college-going among the girls and boys in school 2, as well as the lower deviation of the elite girls than of the elite boys from the others is a peculiar phenomenon manifested by none of the other small schools. In chapter 9, we will have cause again to turn to this difference.

The norms and values of their groups

The differences in background and college intentions examined above provide only a beginning in looking at the informal elites of these cultures. By looking at the values held by the groups they go around with, a clearer view of what they are like will emerge.

In answer to question I.40, which asks the things that are important in their own crowd, the most frequently checked item by both boys and girls was "have a good reputation," with about 70% of the boys, and almost 90% of the girls, giving this response. It is notable that "a good reputation" is evidently of considerably greater concern to girls than to boys; this is consistent with the great frequency with which they mentioned a good reputation in listing what it takes to get into the leading crowd. The leaders turn out to mention a good reputation even more, as Figures 4.10 and 4.11 indicate (looking first at the results for all schools, at the right). This is true most of all for those named as desired friends and as someone to be like. The difference is less for those named as members of the leading crowd, and even less for those named often as friends. It is true both for boys and girls; of the elite groups, it is least apparant for the boys named often as friends, the local leaders. For the girl exemplars, there was almost complete consistency in mentioning a good reputation. Of 111 girls in the two top exemplar categories (not represented in Figure 4.11, which is all with 2+ choices) only one failed to indicate that a good reputation was important among the girls in her group.

It appears that the "exemplars," those named as desired friends and as someone to be like, most strongly exhibit this norm, while the acting leaders, those named as friends and members of the leading crowd, travel in groups whose norms are nearer to those of the rest of the student body.

In all the schools, the general tendency was evident for the girls: having a good reputation was extremely important for the elite groups. Figures 4.10 and 4.11 show this: that although the backgrounds of the elites relative to the others differed from school to school, this norm of "a good reputation" among the elites was always stronger than among the non-elites. Why is this so -- not only among the exemplars, but among the active leaders as well? The question is particularly relevant because it is not as consistently so among the boys, as Figure 4.10

Figure 4.10

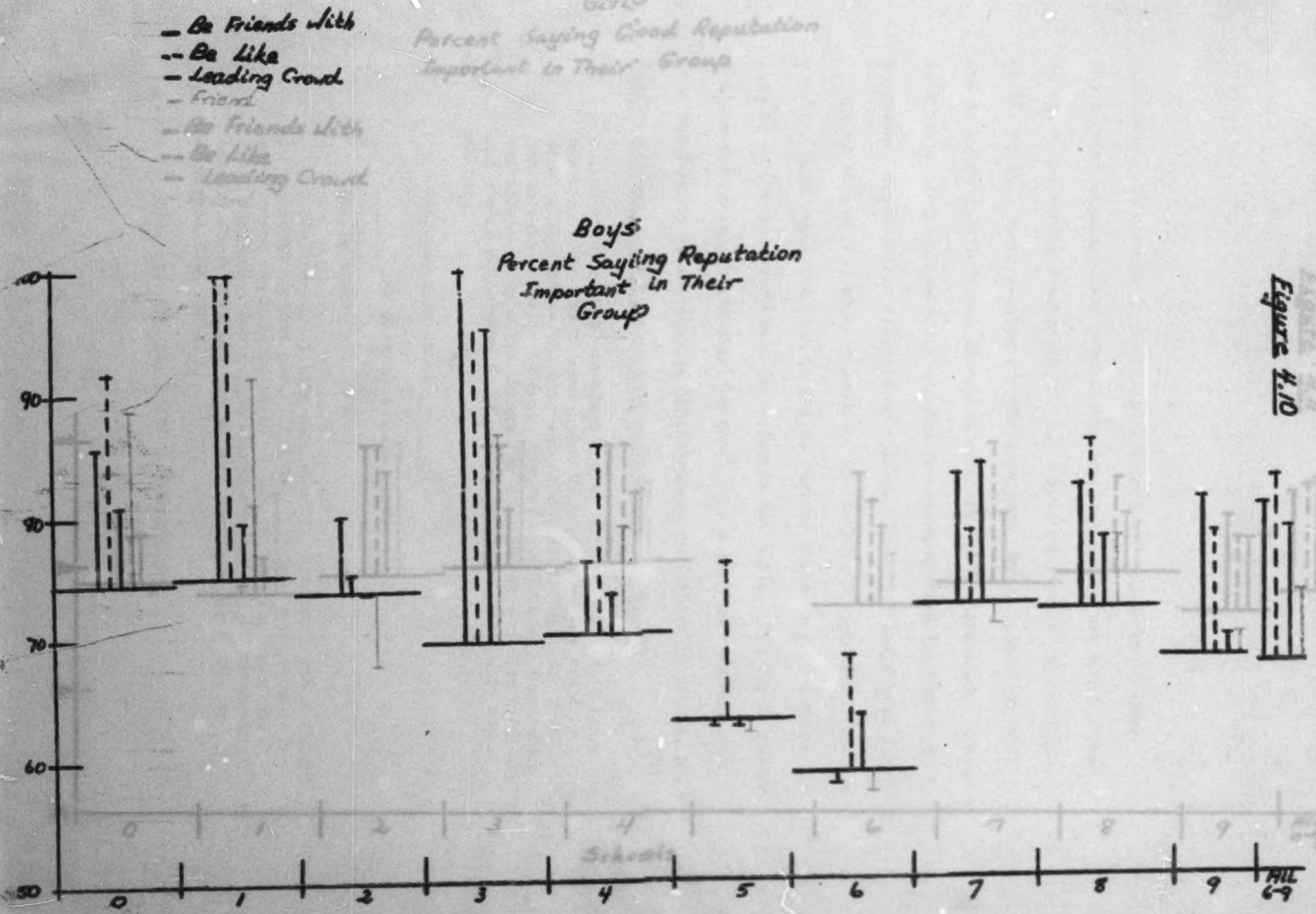
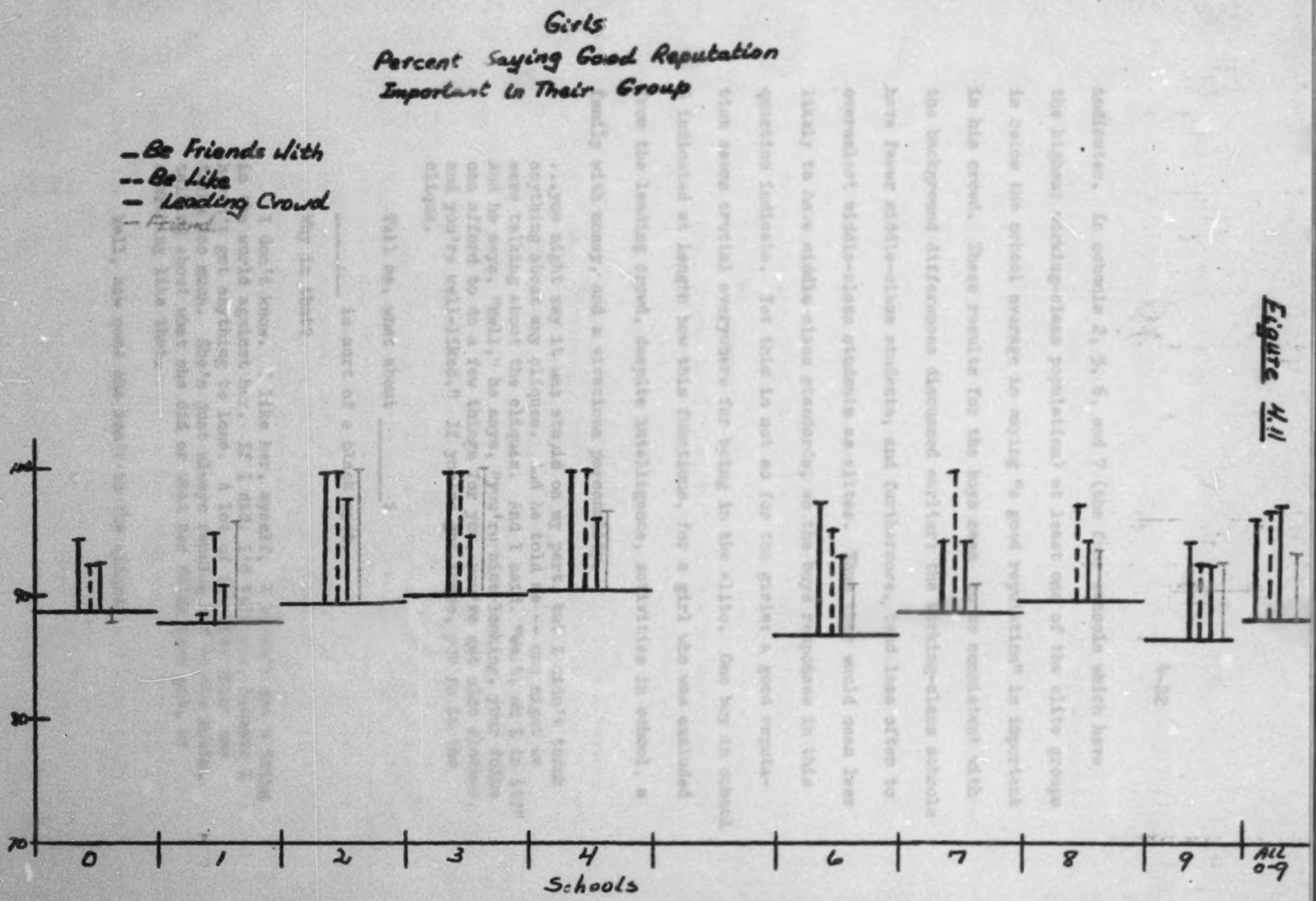

Be Friends With
Be Like
Leading Crowd
Boys
Percent Saying Reputation Important in Their Group
100
90
80
70
60
50
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
All 6-9

Figure 4.11


Girls
Percent Saying Good Reputation Important in Their Group
— Be Friends With
-- Be Like
— Leading Crowd
— Friend
100
90
80
70
0
1
2
3
4
6
7
8
9
All 0-9
Schools

indicates. In schools 2, 5, 6, and 7 (the four schools which have the highest working-class population) at least one of the elite groups is below the school average in saying "a good reputation" is important in his crowd. These results for the boys seem to be consistent with the background differences discussed earlier: the working-class schools have fewer middle-class students, and furthermore, tend less often to overselect middle-class students as elites. Thus they would seem less likely to have middle-class standards, as the boys responses in this question indicate. Yet this is not so for the girls: a good reputation seems crucial everywhere for being in the elite. One boy in school 3 indicated at length how this functions, for a girl who was excluded from the leading crowd, despite intelligence, activities in school, a family with money, and a vivacious personality.

> ...you might say it was stupid on my part, but I didn't think anything about any cliques. And he told me -- one night we were talking about the cliques. And I said, "Well, am I in it?" And he says, "Well," he says, "you're nice-looking, your folks can afford to do a few things for you, you've got nice clothes, and you're well-liked." If you've got those, you're in the clique.
>
> Tell me, what about ______?
>
> ______ is sort of a black spot.
>
> Why is that?
>
> I don't know. I like her, myself, I haven't got a thing in the world against her. If I did, I'd tell you, because I haven't got anything to lose. A lot of the kids think she talks too much. She's just always running off at the mouth, talking about what she did or what her folks have got, or something like that.
>
> Well, how come she isn't in the clique?

They just didn't accept her, is all I can tell you. I don't know how they work. I don't even try and pay any attention to it.

Is she snobbish?

No, she's not. But she's a little wild, I'll tell you that.

How do you mean?

Well -- sex. She's wild as far as that's concerned.

Well, your clique is very much against this?

Yeah, that's about it. Maybe for the boys it's pretty free. For the girls, boy, you've got to stay straight.

How come ______ --

She's a real intelligent girl. I know you know that from her records.

But how come she's wild about sex?

I don't know, because she fixed -- this is just between you and I, because she fixed me up with one of her girl friends from ---. Now this is not my girl, _____, this is a girl from ---. All this is on the sly, you might say. But this ________ turned out to be -- well, I'll tell you what we did. We went to the drive-in--.

Was this a double date?

Yeah, double date. And we stopped and got half a case of beer. Then we went to the drive-in, and then we came back from the drive-in. So we went down to a cabin. I was in one room and ___ was in another. And you could just hear by the sounds -- I know what happened. And I know what happened in mine. That would probably be one of the things -- because I think the girls probably have a pretty good idea that she's like that.

The girl who is too free with herself, whatever her social background, is excluded -- evidently first by the girls, with the boys concurring. It may be that such a girl is excluded because she "debases the currency" -- just as a man of unlimited wealth who threw money away would be looked at askance by his fellows, because he was debasing the currency. That is, it appears evident that in adolescent dating patterns, a girl's favors (at the level of kisses when dating starts, at the level of sex play of greater or lesser degree in later adolescence) and her hints of favors, in coquettish talk and gesture, are something to be used in exchange for dates, and in order to keep the boy at least partly at her bidding. This has probably long been so -- witness the wise mother's admonition: "Do not sell thyself too cheaply, child."

Some girls fail to learn this, have their reputations ruined or tarnished, and can no longer use these favors in return for control -- the favors are no longer "worth so much" as they were, and a girl must dispense more and more of them if she is to receive the attention she wants. In very early adolescence, before the courtship system has begun in earnest, kisses flow freely at party games. They have not yet become currency in the competition for status and control. Later, the girls who once played post office with abandon now dispense their kisses much more wisely.

The crucial importance of the girl's reputation is indicated by the following incident, which involved one of the girls in this same school whose reputation was untarnished, one of the girls who excluded the first girl from the "clique."

> ...I think ______ had a lot to do with it (breaking up dating between a boy and girl in the clique). She's got a lot to do with everything. She's a pretty big wheel. It's been backfiring on her lately. She's losing out fast. A lot of kids don't like

> her. See, she's supposed to be a real nice girl. Well, I had her out about six months ago, took her out on the sly. And she proved to be not a very nice girl at all. See, she went with this kid -- when he was a senior, she was a freshman -- he graduated. And she'd been stepping out on him with different guys. So I took her out, and she didn't turn out to be so nice at all. She's pretty free with herself. And so I guess the next day, she thought that, well, here I went ahead and did that with him, and everything, and I shouldn't have done that, because I'm a big wheel. So she wouldn't speak to me the next day. So this kid come up to me, and she must have said something to him, because he said, "Say, I see you were out with ______." And I said, "That's right," and he said, "Well, how'd you do with her?" And I said, "Well, I did pretty good," I says, "I'm not going to say -- so he runs right to her and tells her just what I said. She thought that I just wouldn't tell anybody. And the only thing I said was that I did all right with her, I didn't imply that I did anything to her, or anything like that. And so she come back and she got real mad at me. But I didn't say nothing to her, and I said, "Well, I didn't say one thing about you. They asked me about that, I said I was out with her, and I did all right, I had a good time. And you can take that any way you want." And so I told her, if you can find anybody that wants to go back on that -- oh, she got mad. So she was mad about that for a while. Boy, I'm telling you, she sure surprised me, I thought she would be a girl that was really on the ball, and that was really something. And when I got her out, I was so disappointed, because it was just -- very simple. And I come home that night, and I went in to wash my face and brush my teeth. And you know that makeup they wear, that pancake makeup? I had that makeup in the corner of my mouth, and everything -- That did it with me -- I've never had any interest in her ever since then. But like I said, she is slowly fading out of the picture, because they are really starting to catch up with her.

When this girl's reputation was in jeopardy, simply by her freedom with this boy, she did everything to maintain it: first not speaking to him the next day, in an attempt to re-establish over him the power she had before being too free the night before; and then reacting angrily when this was made public. His reaction was one of lessened interest, lessened because the fruits which he had seen as inaccessible were too easily obtained.

This is an example of the double standard at work in clear-cut terms. The boy is the pursuer, the girl is the pursued. If she fails to withhold anything he seeks, the cause for pursuit is gone. Thus it becomes crucial for her status personally and for the maintenance of the system itself, for her to be selective, and to dispense favors with extreme care. If not, the culture is threatened by her philanthopy, and punishes her by "ruining her reputation" and taking away her status. A boy's sexual behavior, however, is not threatening to the culture, because he is the pursuer. His sexual exploits are conquests, and thus something which gains him status rather than loses it. It is this pursuer-pursued asymmetry of the relationship between the sexes which seems, more than anything else, to maintain the double standard. If this were reversed, by something like a reduction in the number of males in society, we might expect the double standard to be reversed as well: males would have a desired commodity, and it would be important to the courtship system that they used this commodity to gain them the girl they wanted, and did not give it away with no strings attached. But so long as the pursuer-pursued relationship stands as it is, the double standard will very likely remain as well.

This is perhaps a cynical view of courtship and marriage, but it nevertheless seems true that those girls who have best learned how to use their attractiveness in the great bargaining table of courtship are those who are most successful in getting the man they want. Whether the learning of such skills is the best way for an adolescent girl to use her time in view of her later life is a different question. The "love of the chase" may in fact linger after marriage for both male and female, making a married life less content. Or it may not. This is a matter on which we know little or nothing systematically. It is safe to say, however, that the norms of adolescent groups -- particularly those of high status in the system -- are highly oriented to the boy-girl relations in school, and reflect the great amount of energy expended on these relationships. Again, it may be questioned whether this expenditure of energy is beneficial from the point of view of the individual and the society. This study can say little about this matter, because the amount of attention given to matters of dating and relations with the opposite sex varied little in these schools. What little we can say about this will be in Chapter 9, where the consequences of emphasis on social matters in the adolescent culture will be examined.

Other norms of the elite groups

Another item from the same list in I, q. 40, raises something of a paradox. For the students as a whole, 36.6% of boys and 24.1% of girls checked the item "stirring up a little excitement," as something that is important in their crowd. Table 4.3 shows that the boys in the leading crowd, those often named as friends, and those named as someone to be like, check this item considerably more often than do the other boys -- though this is not so true for those named as a desired friend. In other words, not only is "a good reputation" more important among these informal elites; stirring up excitement, which would seem to be at the opposite extreme, is as well.

This apparent paradox was evident in responses to the question which asks what it takes to get into the leading crowd. Some of the responses indicate how this is seen by the students themselves:

> "Money, cars and the right connections and a good personality."
>
> "A good reputation, good sense of humor, good discretion, sincerity, care for others, interest in what's going on, and not be a follower."
>
> "A good personality and reputation. Good appearance. And a little excitement but not too much. In other words not too loud."

In other words, a good reputation is required to be in the leading group; but it takes far more than a good reputation to be there. Starting some excitement, or stirring things up a little, are the ways to capture the energy of the group and become in effect, its leader, or the focus of attention. Schools are filled with boys and girls who have an excellent reputation, but who are just "filling up space," as one boy put it, and who never become the center of attention. Now these adolescent cultures of course differ from school to school (and from grade to grade as well), so that it would be incorrect to suggest that the same mixture of hedonism and propriety is found in all. Yet a mixture is there, in each of the schools. Table 4.3 shows the increased importance of "stirring up a little excitement" among the elites holds for boys in the small schools and the large schools separately. It apparently reflects something which is common to adolescent boys in all these schools, from the upper middle class suburb to the working class one, from the city school to the small town one. At the moment, it is enough to note that the mixture is there; evidence will be directed later toward answering why it is there.

The pattern among the girls is a little different, as Table 4.3 indicates. In the small schools, the importance of stirring up a little excitement increases for members of the leading crowd and for the highly-chosen friends, again the active leaders. It decreases, however, for the exemplars, that is, the desired friends and the girls that others want to be like. It appears that the mixture of hedonism and propriety is a little more weighted on the side of propriety for these small-school girls than for the boys. Yet the difference remains for the girls between the active leaders, who embody more of the hedonism, and the exemplars, embodying more of the propriety.

Table 4.3

The freqency of mentioning "stirring up excitement" (I, q.36) by members of the elites in large and small schools

	All students	Be friends	Be like	Leading Crowd	Frequent friend
Small schools (0-4)					
% of boys mentioning "stirring up excitement"	40.7%	40.9%	50.6%	49.3%	49.2%
Number	[1028]	[93]	[91]	[67]	[136]
Large schools (6-9)					
% of boys mentioning "stirring up excitement"	35.2%	38.0%	43.0%	38.3%	43.2%
Number	[2992]	[189]	[172]	[106]	[308]

Continuation of Table 4.3

	All students	Be friends	Be like	Leading Crowd	Frequent friend
Small schools (0-4)					
% of girls mentioning "stirring up excitement"	24.9%	16.0%	16.4%	26.9%	29.1%
Number	[972]	[144]	[104]	[104]	[172]
Large schools (6-9)					
% of girls mentioning "stirring up excitement"	24.0	30.9	28.8	30.6	31.1
Number	[3162]	[278]	[215]	[169]	[541]

The large-school leaders among the girls are more uniformly in the direction of stirring up excitement. This is most true for the active leaders -- the leading crowd and the frequently-named friends -- but it is true in lesser degree for the exemplars as well. It appears that in the large schools, the girls' leaders are those among them who are further removed from parental constraints, freer to "have fun," while in the small schools this is less true, particularly for the ones they look up too -- the exemplars.

There are these suggestions, then, that all the elites among the girls in the large schools, and the active leaders in the small schools, are more liberated from the home, more focussed upon the group itself in their interests and attitudes, than are the followers. Another indication in this direction is given by their responses to the question of joining a club in school which their parents did not favor, to be examined in a later section of this chapter.

One is led to ask why the boys' leadership structure seems to be more nearly alike in the small and large towns -- why the leaders among the boys in the small schools have an independence from adults, an orientation to "stirring up excitement" approximately like that of the large-school leaders, while the small-school leading girls are less free from the adult community. The answer may lie to a large degree in the matters examined in Chapter 2, in the ways a boy can get to be popular, and the ways a girl gets to be popular. Because the boys gain popularity and attention more nearly through specific achievements (usually athletics) than do girls, the boys' elites can remain more independent of the attempts of parents (attempts which seem to be more successful in small schools) to fix the composition and behavior of the leading groups in school. It must be constantly kept in mind, however, that the stronger influence of the adult structure upon the adolescent society in small schools is not universilly true, even among these ten schools. The status systems of some small schools (such as schools 2 and 4) are less subject to such parental constraints than the status systems of some large schools (such as school 8), so that other factors besides size have important effects.

The mixture of hedonism and propriety which these elites show seems in some ways to characterize the whole adolescent culture. The hedonism of popular music, for example, is found nowhere to such a degree as among adolescents. One might suppose, then, that the leaders of the adolescent culture would be most oriented to popular music, most attuned to the mass-produced popular culture which provides its heroes like Elvis Presley and its own form of music, rock and roll.

But this is not true, as Table 4.4 indicates. The figure includes all schools together, but in none of these schools do the elites check more often than the other students that it is important in their crowd to "know what's going on in the world of popular music and movie stars." The importance of this item is less for the leading crowd, for those who are named as friends, for those named as someone to be like, and for those named as desired friends.

Table 4.4

	All students	Be friends	Be like	Leading Crowd	Frequent friend
% of boys mentioning "popular music and movie stars"	19.2%	11.4%	10.7%	6.9%	14.6%
Number	[4020]	[282]	[263]	[173]	[444]
% of girls mentioning "popular music and movie stars"	26.3%	19.0%	16.3%	11.7%	18.5%
Number	[4134]	[422]	[319]	[274]	[713]

The lesser importance of popular music in general, and rock and roll in particular, among these elites is evident in other ways. The proportion favoring rock and roll is less, and the proportion liking Elvis Presley best among the singers which were listed in the questionnaire (I, q.24) is less for each type of elite. The difference is greatest for girls — and it is for girls that the whole phenomenon of popular music and mass media stars is of most importance. (This great importance of popular music for girls is evidenced by the fact that 33.2% of the boys, but only 15.3% of the girls, had no favorite song when asked in the questionnaire (I, q.22).

This is the first bit of evidence on a matter which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9 -- the odd role that popular music seems to play for some teen-agers, serving for the least popular among them as a substitute for the social interaction with their fellows which they lack.

There is a peculiar difference in the behavior of elites in the two matters we have labeled hedonism -- that is, "stirring up a little excitement," which they mention more often than the non-elites, and "keeping up with the world of popular music and movie stars," which they mention less often than the non-elites. What accounts for this difference? It is difficult to say from these data alone; but there is a fundamental difference in the two matters which we have arbitrarily labeled hedonism. With popular music, and even more, movie stars, attention is directed externally, away from the group of adolescents itself and toward radio, television, and movies. Stirring up excitement among the group, however, is a matter of internal significance -- it does something for, or to, the group of adolescents itself. Thus it might be that attention to the mass media acts in some part as an alternative to, or perhaps even a withdrawal from, performance upon the real-life stage of these adolescent societies themselves. Later evidence will show this more clearly -- that the girls, and groups of girls, who pay most attention to the mass media, the external popular culture, are on the fringes of the social system of teen-agers, while those in the center of things are apparently busier doing things that keep them in the center of things. Popular music, of course, is not so externally-directed as are movies and television, for it serves as the medium for group activities, that is, dancing. Yet for the real fans, popular music is less an instrument than it is an object of attention in itself, thus drawing them away from the activities of the crowd.

Cars among the elites

Chapter 2 indicated that cars were an important element in the teen-age culture. There is no question of the impact of cars on the strength and character of the adolescent culture of today. Without them, teen-agers would be much more nearly children, much more subject to parental dictates. Does this importance of cars in the culture mean that the elites are especially proficient with cars and especially interested in cars? Table 4.5 shows with car ownership of elites compared to non-elites, in large and small schools separately.[1]

---

[1] This figure includes all grades, and therefore far understates the car ownership by the elites and non-elites among the upper-classmen; but except for the "be like" criterion, the choices are quite evenly distributed over the four grades, so that the figures are comparable, except for the "be like" criterion, which overrepresents upperclassmen.

Table 4.5*

Car ownership of elites in large and small schools (all grades)

	All students	2+ Be friends	2+ Be Like	10+ Leading crowd
Small schools 0-4				
% owning a car	23.7%	23.2%	32.5%	42.7%
Number	[944]	[86]	[83]	[61]
Large schools 6-9				
% owning a car	19.7%	24.2%	24.3%	27.4%
Number	[2501]	[106]	[151]	[95]

---

* No-answers have been subtracted.
Results are not tabulated for those chosen 7 or more times as a friend.

As this table shows, the elites in general own cars somewhat more often than the non-elites. This is especially true for the active leaders, those in the leading crowd and chosen often as friends. It appears that being an active leader, which involves activity with others, and not just being an example, is considerably aided by owning a car, while being looked up to is only slightly so. It seems, then, that among the active leaders of these cultures cars play a larger part than among the non-leaders. Before concluding this, however, it is instructive to examine in Table 4.6 the leaders' responses to the item, "being up on cars," as something which is important in their crowd. This is different from owning a car; it indicates the degree to which cars are an object of attention, and the degree to which a boy's knowledge about cars increases his status among his friends.

Table 4.6

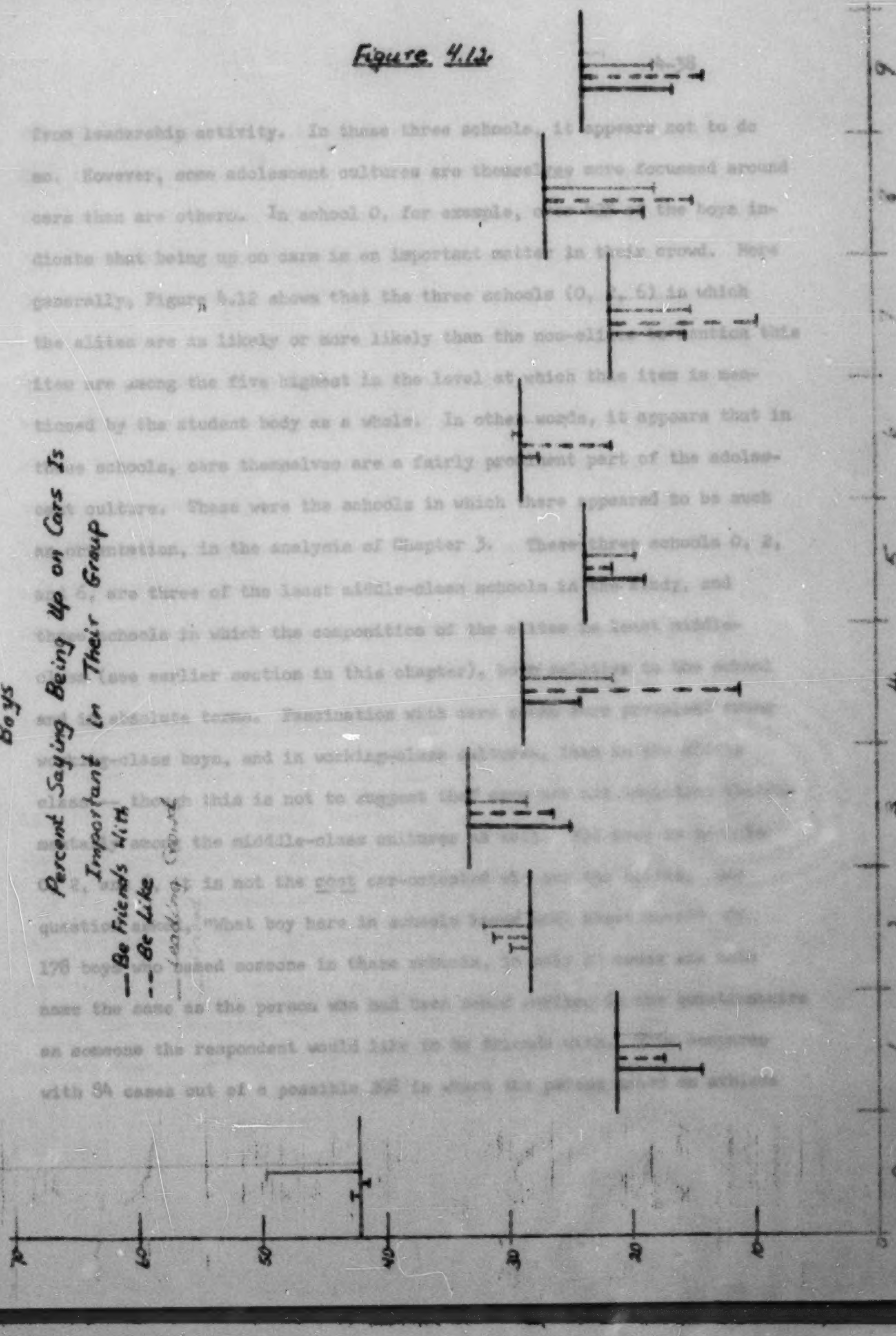
"Being up on cars" as an item of importance among the groups in which all boys and elites find themselves

	All students	2+ Be friends	2+ Be like	10+ Leading Crowd	7+ Friends
Small schools 0-4					
% checking "Being up on cars"	29.2%	26.9%	23.1%	26.9%	30.9%
Number	[1028]	[93]	[91]	[67]	[136]
Large schools 6-9					
% checking "Being up on cars"	25.6%	18.5%	14.5%	16.0%	21.8%
Number	[2992]	[189]	[172]	[106]	[308]

Paradoxically, the elites are below the rest of the school in the importance of "being up on cars" in their crowds, not only in the large schools, where cars are less frequently owned, but in the small ones as well — through the differences are smaller in these latter schools. This seems oddly inconsistent with the fact that the elites own cars more often than do the non-elites. Why should the elites own cars as often or more often than the others, yet say less often that being up on cars is important in their groups?

It seems that involvement with cars for boys is similar to involvement with popular music for girls: the elites use cars and popular music in their participation in the adolescent culture; but the strange phenomenon of extra-ordinary attachment to popular music and its stars or to cars, appears seldom among the leaders compared to the others. The suggestion is, to be examined more closely in Chapter 9, that extreme attachment to popular music and to cars is in some respects a substitute for status and for activity within the adolescent group itself. Both popular music and cars are important elements in the culture; but when they become all-absorbing they are either an individual matter between the girl and her singing star or the boy and his car, or else a matter which engages the attention of a small, tightly-knit clique: the fan clubs and the hot-rod clubs. Whether it is purely individual, or in the context of a small clique, fixation on cars or popular music has no articulation with the students as a whole, nor with school activities, and thus tends to segregate its devotees off into small, tightly-knit cliques whose attention is directed away from the school, and ordinarily away from the larger community of adolescents. Nevertheless, there are three schools among those in this study in which the elites are not unambiguously less attached to cars than are the non-elites. As Figure 4.12 shows, the elites in schools 0, 2, and 6 tend to say about as often as do the non-elites that being up on cars is important in their crowd. This seems somewhat contradictory to the idea stated above that an extra-ordinary devotion to cars focusses a boy's attention away from the larger crowd, and in this way removes him

Figure 4.12



Boys
Percent Saying Being Up on Cars Is Important in Their Group
— Be Friends With
-- Be Like
Leading Crowd
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

from leadership activity. In these three schools, it appears not to do so. However, some adolescent cultures are themselves more focussed around cars than are others. In school 0, for example, over 42% of the boys indicate that being up on cars is an important matter in their crowd. More generally, Figure 4.12 shows that the three schools (0, 2, 6) in which the elites are as likely or more likely than the non-elites to mention this item are among the five highest in the level at which this item is mentioned by the student body as a whole. In other words, it appears that in these schools, cars themselves are a fairly prominent part of the adolescent culture. These were the schools in which there appeared to be such an orientation, in the analysis of Chapter 3. These three schools 0, 2, and 6, are three of the least middle-class schools in the study, and three schools in which the composition of the elites is least middle-class (see earlier section in this chapter), both relative to the school and in absolute terms. Fascination with cars seems more prevalent among working-class boys, and in working-class cultures, than in the middle class -- though this is not to suggest that cars are not important instrumentally among the midddle-class cultures as well. Yet even in schools 0, 2, and 6, it is not the *most* car-oriented who are the elites. One question asked, "What boy here in schools knows most about cars?" Of 178 boys who named someone in these schools, in only 10 cases was this name the same as the person who had been named earlier in the questionnaire as someone the respondent would like to be friends with. This compares with 84 cases out of a possible 208 in which the person named as athlete was also named as someone the respondent would like to be friends with. This is a clear indication that even in these schools, the boys really fascinated with cars were not often among the elites. The comparison is made here only with the "be friends with" elites. The comparable figure for the "be like" elites is 16 out of a possible 289 cases. The comparison is not made with those often named as friends or members of the leading crowd, simply because of technical difficulties in doing so, and because it appeared clear from the lack of relationship with the exemplar elites that negative results would be forthcoming if the technical difficulties were overcome.

Thus some adolescent cultures are more oriented to cars than others, and in consequence their elites show interest and knowledge about cars, but in all schools the boys most fascinated with cars are not among the elites.

Athletics and activities among the elites

Among the elites are not found those who show an uncommon interest in cars nor in popular music, though they do have cars and records somewhat more frequently than the non-elites. Is it the same way with those boys who show an uncommon interest in athletics? There are a number of ways to find out. First, all students were asked if they went out for football in the fall -- only a single one of several sports in each school, but an important sport in each (except in school O, which had no football team), and a crude indicator of whether the boy was regarded as an athlete or not in the school. Figure 4.13 shows the responses for each school separately. The relationship is striking: more than family background, more than any other variable.in this study, being out for football was related to being a member of the various elites. None of the background variables examined earlier, combined in whatever way, show such a relationship with membership in the elites, and show it so consistently. The over-representation of football players among the elites is greatest in the small schools, but it is almost as strong in the large ones.

This result contrasts sharply with the interest in cars among the elite boys, which in nearly every school was somewhat below that for the school as a whole. Here the interest in athletics is extremely high among the elites in every school -- and even more among the system leaders and the exemplars than among the local leaders, the oft-named friends.

But does this activity represent the uncommon interest, the fascination with sports which, for popular music and cars, was missing among the elites? The boys were asked: (I, q. 68)

> If you could be any of these things you wanted, which would you most want to be?
>
> ____ jet pilot
> ____ nationally famous athlete
> ____ missionary
> ____ atomic scientist

The most frequent response overall was "Nationally famous athlete," which was checked by 36% of the boys. Among the elites, however, this response was far greater, as Figure 4.14, for the small schools and large

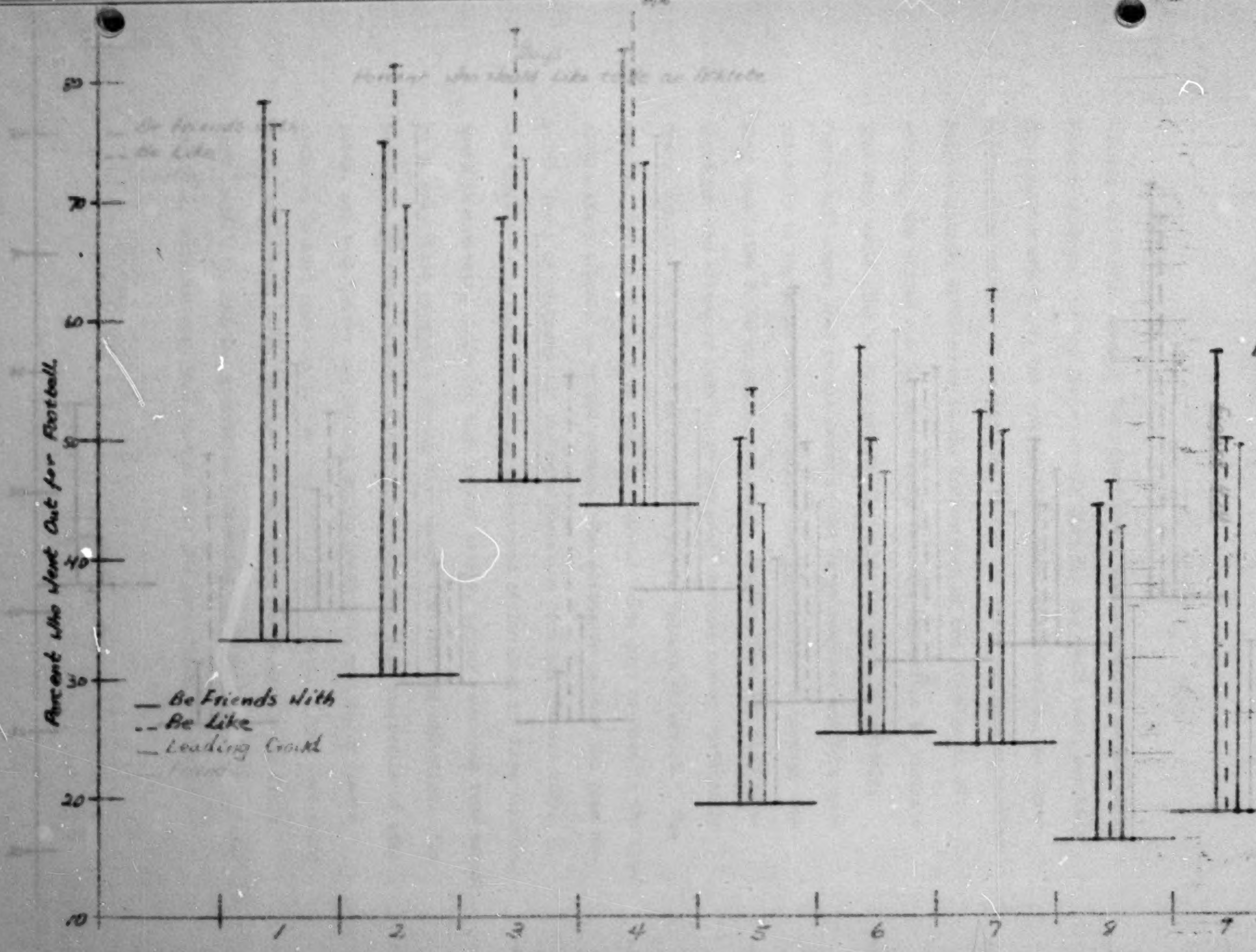
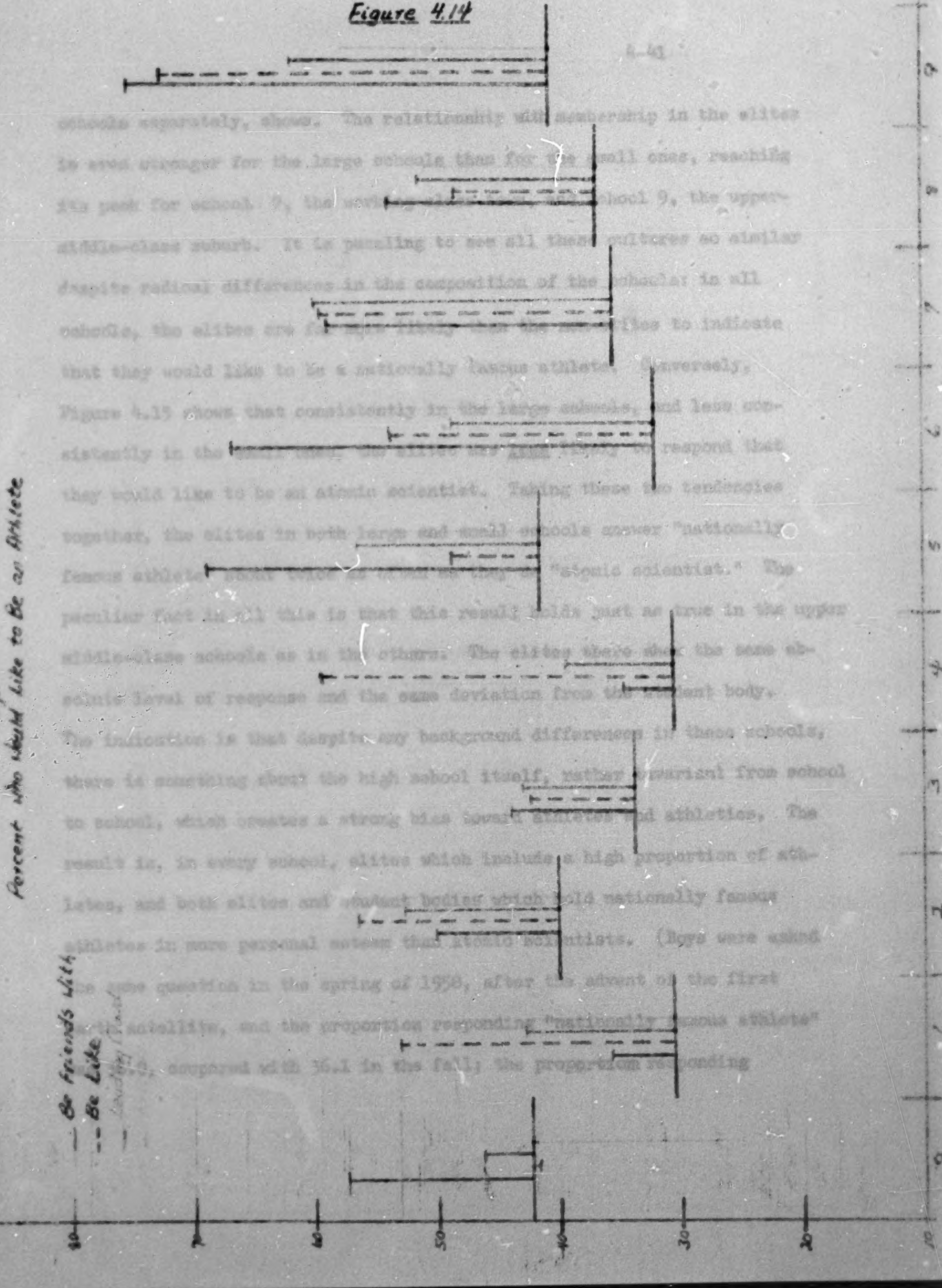

80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
Percent who Went Out for Football
— Be Friends With
-- Be Like
— Leading Crowd
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

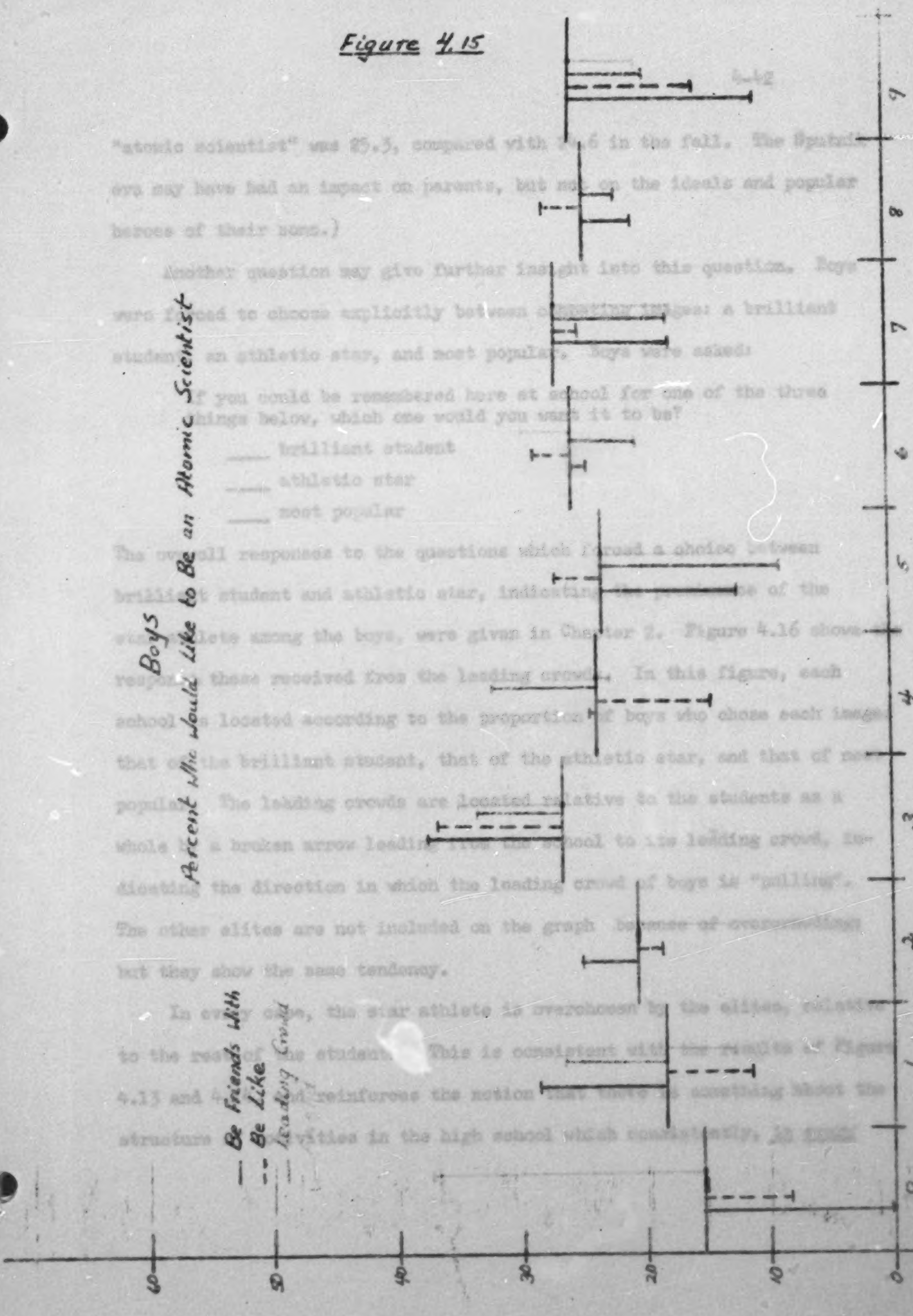
Figure 4.13

Figure 4.14



schools separately, shows. The relationship with membership in the elites is even stronger for the large schools than for the small ones, reaching its peak for school 7, the working-class [illegible] and school 9, the upper-middle-class suburb. It is puzzling to see all these cultures so similar despite radical differences in the composition of the schools: in all schools, the elites are far more likely than the nonelites to indicate that they would like to be a nationally famous athlete. Conversely, Figure 4.15 shows that consistently in the large schools, and less consistently in the small ones, the elites are less likely to respond that they would like to be an atomic scientist. Taking these two tendencies together, the elites in both large and small schools answer "nationally famous athlete" about twice as often as they do "atomic scientist." The peculiar fact in all this is that this result holds just as true in the upper middle-class schools as in the others. The elites there show the same athletic level of response and the same deviation from the student body. The indication is that despite any background differences in these schools, there is something about the high school itself, rather invariant from school to school, which creates a strong bias toward athletes and athletics. The result is, in every school, elites which include a high proportion of athletes, and both elites and student bodies which hold nationally famous athletes in more personal esteem than atomic scientists. (Boys were asked the same question in the spring of 1958, after the advent of the first earth satellite, and the proportion responding "nationally famous athlete" was [illegible], compared with 36.1 in the fall; the proportion responding schools separately, shows. The relationship with membership in the elites is even stronger for the large schools than for the small ones, reaching its peak for school 7, the working-class town, and school 9, the upper-middle-class suburb. It is puzzling to see all these cultures so similar despite radical differences in the composition of the schools: in all schools, the elites are far more likely than the non-elites to indicate that they would like to be a nationally famous athlete. Conversely, Figure 4.15 shows that consistently in the large schools, and less consistently in the small ones, the elites are less likely to respond that they would like to be an atomic scientist. Taking these two tendencies together, the elites in both large and small schools answer "nationally famous athlete" about twice as often as they do "atomic scientist." The peculiar fact in all this is that this result holds just as true in the upper middle-class schools as in the others. The elites there show the same absolute level of response and the same deviation from the student body. The indication is that despite any background differences in these schools, there is something about the high school itself, rather invariant from school to school, which creates a strong bias toward athletes and athletics. The result is, in every school, elites which include a high proportion of athletes, and both elites and student bodies which hold nationally famous athletes in more personal esteem than atomic scientists. (Boys were asked the same question in the spring of 1958, after the advent of the first earth satellite, and the proportion responding "nationally famous athlete" was 36.0, compared with 36.1 in the fall; the proportion responding

Figure 4.15



Boys
Percent who would Like to Be an Atomic Scientist
— Be Friends with
-- Be Like
— Leading Crowd
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

"atomic scientist" was 25.3, compared with 24.6 in the fall. The Sputnik era may have had an impact on parents, but not on the ideals and popular heroes of their sons.)

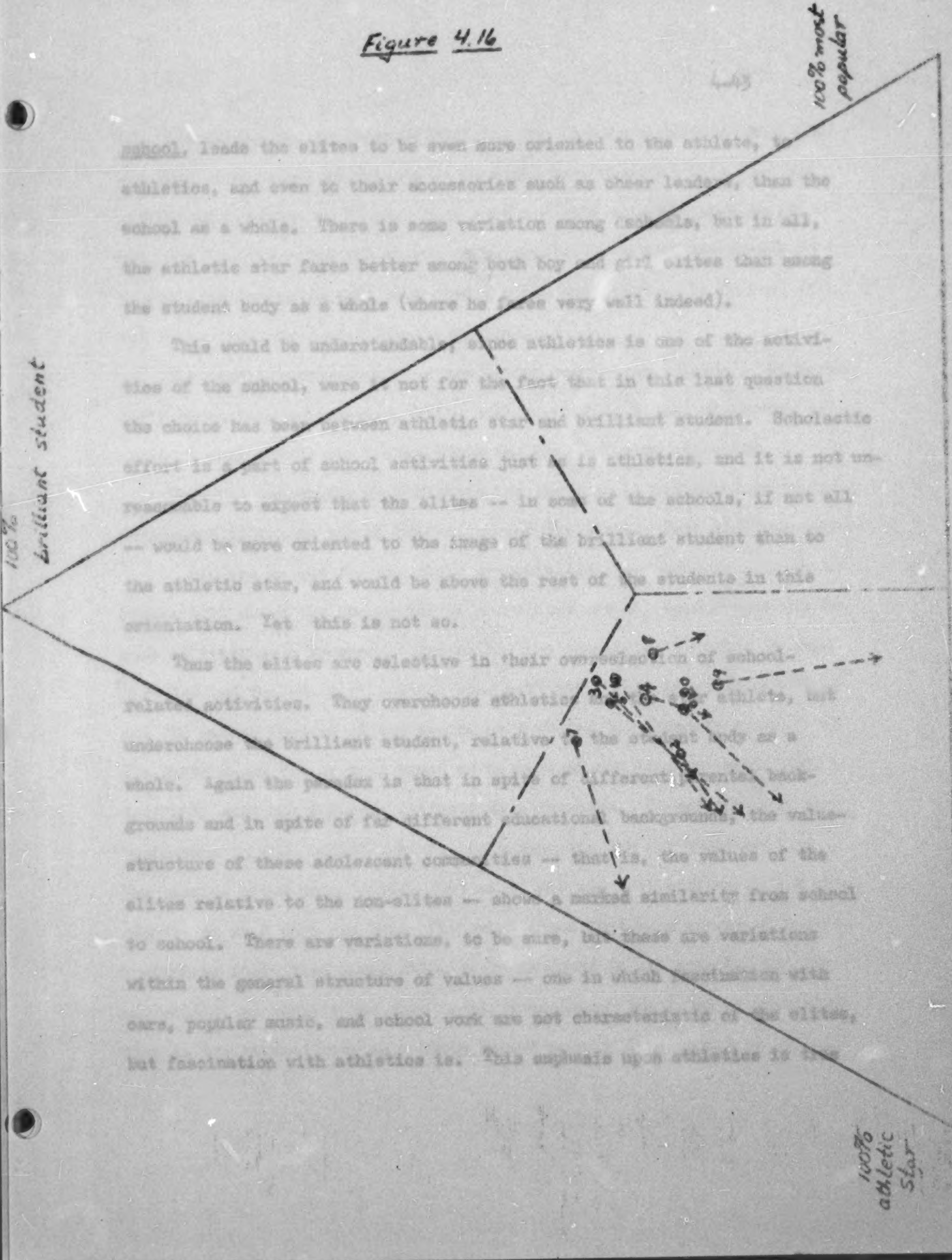
Another question may give further insight into this question. Boys were forced to choose explicitly between competing images: a brilliant student, an athletic star, and most popular. Boys were asked:

> If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would you want it to be?
>
> ____ brilliant student
>
> ____ athletic star
>
> ____ most popular

The overall responses to the questions which forced a choice between brilliant student and athletic star, indicating the prominence of the star athlete among the boys, were given in Chapter 2. Figure 4.16 shows the responses these received from the leading crowds. In this figure, each school is located according to the proportion of boys who chose each image: that of the brilliant student, that of the athletic star, and that of most popular. The leading crowds are located relative to the students as a whole by a broken arrow leading from the school to its leading crowd, indicating the direction in which the leading crowd of boys is "pulling". The other elites are not included on the graph because of overcrowding; but they show the same tendency.

In every case, the star athlete is overchosen by the elites, relative to the rest of the students. This is consistent with the results of Figure 4.13 and 4.14, and reinforces the notion that there is something about the structure of activities in the high school which consistently, in every

Figure 4.16



school, leads the elites to be even more oriented to the athlete, to athletics, and even to their accessories such as cheer leaders, than the school as a whole. There is some variation among schools, but in all, the athletic star fares better among both boy and girl elites than among the student body as a whole (where he fares very well indeed).

This would be understandable, since athletics is one of the activities of the school, were it not for the fact that in this last question the choice has been between athletic star and brilliant student. Scholastic effort is a part of school activities just as is athletics, and it is not unreasonable to expect that the elites -- in some of the schools, if not all -- would be more oriented to the image of the brilliant student than to the athletic star, and would be above the rest of the students in this orientation. Yet this is not so.

Thus the elites are selective in their overselection of school-related activities. They overchoose athletics and the star athlete, but underchoose the brilliant student, relative to the student body as a whole. Again the paradox is that in spite of different parental backgrounds and in spite of far different educational backgrounds, the value-structure of these adolescent communities -- that is, the values of the elites relative to the non-elites -- shows a marked similarity from school to school. There are variations, to be sure, but these are variations within the general structure of values -- one in which fascination with cars, popular music, and school work are not characteristic of the elites, but fascination with athletics is. This emphasis upon athletics is true school, leads the elites to be even more oriented to the athlete, to athletics, and even to their accessories such as cheer leaders, than the school as a whole. There is some variation among schools, but in all, the athletic star fares better among both boy and girl elites than among the student body as a whole (where he fares very well indeed).

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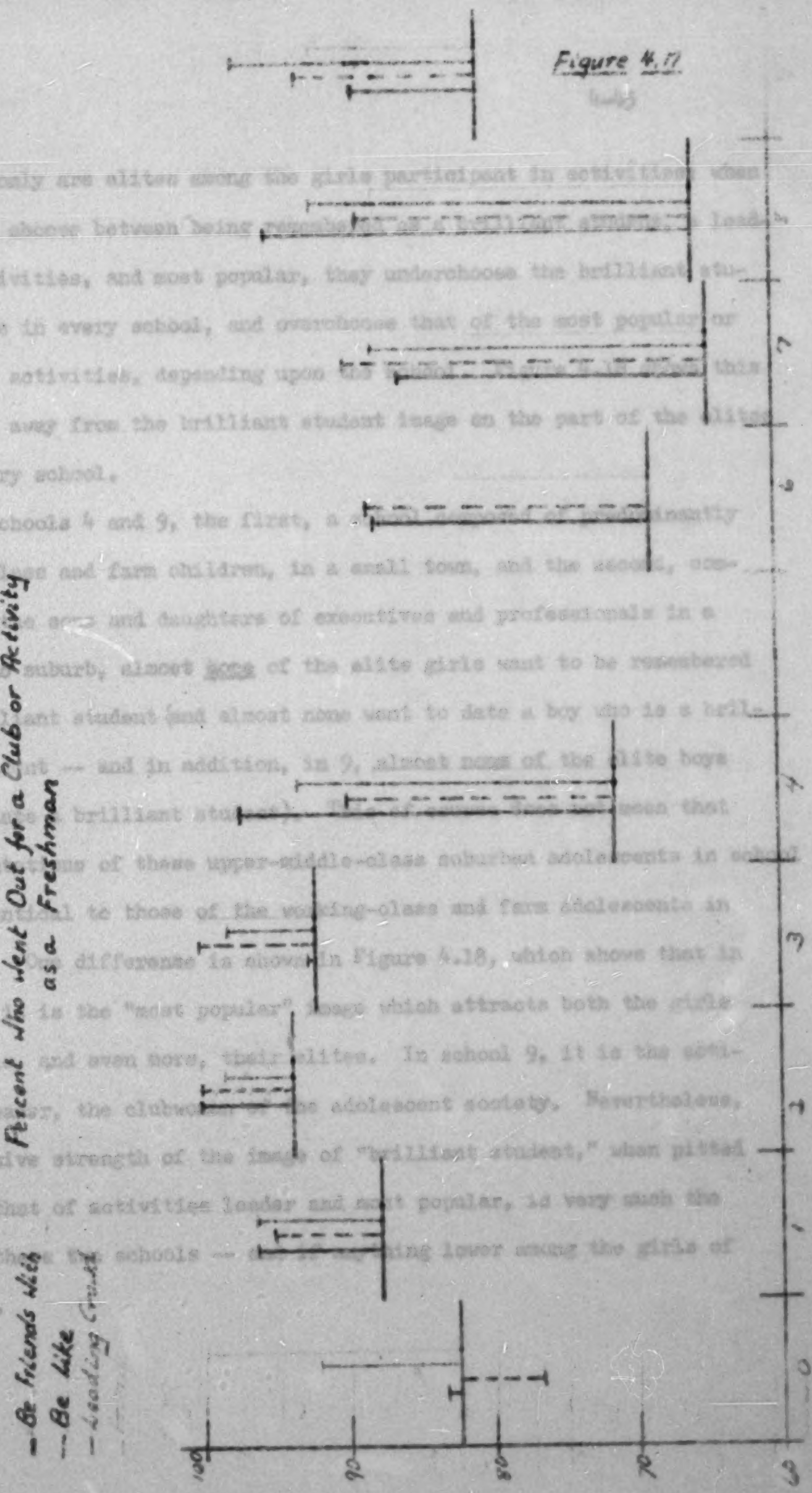
The peculiar selectivity of the elites remains unexplained. Whatever their background composition, white collar, working class, or farmer, educated or uneducated, the elites among the boys focus on athletics.

Somewhat comparable to athletics for the boys in its relation to the adolescent elites is school activities for the girls. Each girl was asked:

Did you go out for any clubs or activities in school as a freshman? Figure 4.17 shows the proportion of non-elites and elites who went out for some activity as a freshman. The elites are considerable higher in this; very few had failed to go out for some activity. This is particularly so for the active leaders of the system as a whole, the "leading crowd." Of 274 girls named ten or more times as members of the leading crowd, 268, or 97.8%, went out for some activity as a freshman. It appears that participation in some school activity is a sine qua non for membership in the leading crowd among girls, just as it was apparent earlier that a good reputation is a sine qua non. The graph shows that this excess of participation in activities among elite girls is found in all schools, and for all elites, at roughly the same level, even though the level of participation in the student body as a whole varied greatly from school to school.

Figure 4.17



Not only are elites among the girls participant in activities; when forced to choose between being remembered as a brilliant student, a leader in activities, and most popular, they underchoose the brilliant student image in every school, and overchoose that of the most popular or leader in activities, depending upon the school. Figure 4.17 shows this "pulling" away from the brilliant student image on the part of the elites -- in every school.

In schools 4 and 9, the first, a school composed of predominantly working-class and farm children, in a small town, and the second, composed of the sons and daughters of executives and professionals in a well-to-do suburb, almost none of the elite girls want to be remembered as a brilliant student (and almost none want to date a boy who is a brilliant student -- and in addition, in 9, almost none of the elite boys want to date a brilliant student). This of course does not mean that the orientations of these upper-middle-class suburban adolescents in school 9 are identical to those of the working-class and farm adolescents in school 4. One difference is shown in Figure 4.18, which shows that in school 4 it is the "most popular" image which attracts both the girls as a whole and even more, their elites. In school 9, it is the activities leader, the clubwoman of the adolescent society. Nevertheless, the relative strength of the image of "brilliant student," when pitted against that of activities leader and most popular, is very much the same in these two schools -- and if anything lower among the girls of school 9.

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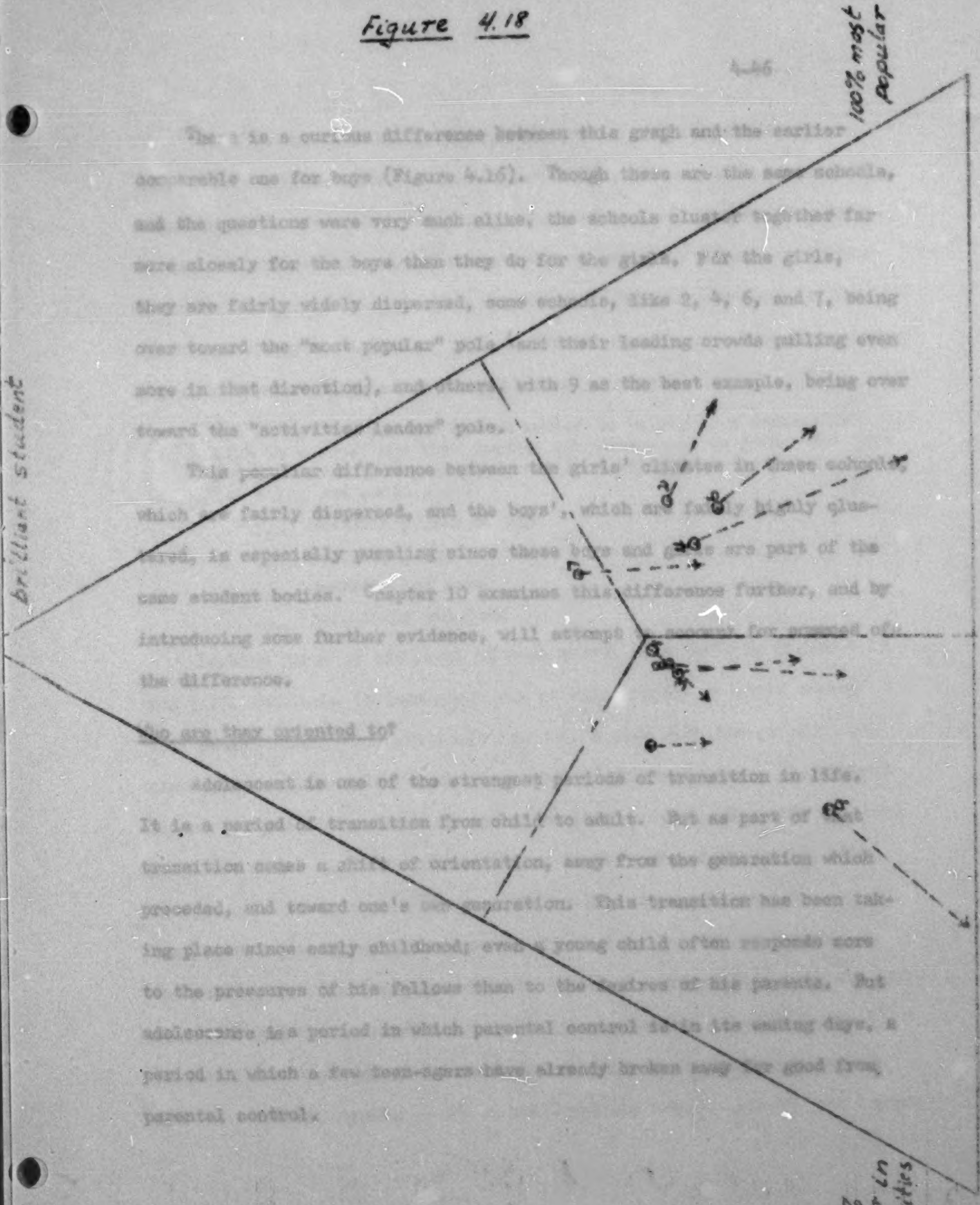
Figure 4.18



There is a curious difference between this graph and the earlier comparable one for boys (Figure 4.16). Though these are the same schools, and the questions were very much alike, the schools cluster together far more closely for the boys than they do for the girls. For the girls, they are fairly widely dispersed, some schools, like 2, 4, 6, and 7, being over toward the "most popular" pole (and their leading crowds pulling even more in that direction), and others, with 9 as the best example, being over toward the "activities leader" pole.

This peculiar difference between the girls' climates in these schools, which are fairly dispersed, and the boys', which are fairly highly clustered, is especially puzzling since these boys and girls are part of the same student bodies. Chapter 10 examines this difference further, and by introducing some further evidence, will attempt to account for some of the difference.

Who are they oriented to?

Adolescence is one of the strongest periods of transition in life. It is a period of transition from child to adult. But as part of that transition comes a shift of orientation, away from the generation which preceded, and toward one's own generation. This transition has been taking place since early childhood; even a young child often responds more to the pressures of his fellows than to the desires of his parents. But adolescence is a period in which parental control is in its waning days, a period in which a few teen-agers have already broken away for good from parental control.

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Who are they oriented to?

Adolescent is one of the strangest periods of transition in life. It is a period of transition from child to adult. But as part of that transition comes a shift of orientation, away from the generation which preceded, and toward one's own generation. This transition has been taking place since early childhood; even a young child often responds more to the pressures of his fellows than to the desires of his parents. But adolescence is a period in which parental control is in its waning days, a period in which a few teen-agers have already broken away for good from parental control.

It is in this peculiarly ambivalent period of life that the teenage culture exists. What kind of elites, then, do they look up to during this period -- elites which are *more* oriented to parents than they themselves, or elites which are less oriented to parental demands, more oriented to the group of teen-agers themselves? Several questions in the questionnaire gave the boy or girl a choice between these two alternatives; the most appropriate here is the following question:

> Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and then finally you were asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think you would . . .
>
> ____ definitely join anyway
>
> ____ probably join
>
> ____ probably not join
>
> ____ definitely not join

Looking first at the level of each school as a whole in Figure 4.19 and 4.20, the range is from about 80% of boys and 85% of girls saying they would probably or definitely not join a club upon the parents' request down to about 50% for the boys and 60% for the girls. The highest regard for parents' demands is in the smallest school, where the boys and girls are least "liberated," least wise in the ways of the world. The four schools in which the boys are 70% or higher in adherence to parents (school 0, 1, 4, 7) and the three in which girls are 80% or higher (schools 0, 1, 7) are schools outside any large metropolitan area and still somewhat held in the traditions of the past. The two schools (6 and 9) in which both boys and girls are least willing to go along with parents are the suburban schools -- #6, a working-class suburb, and #9, the lowest

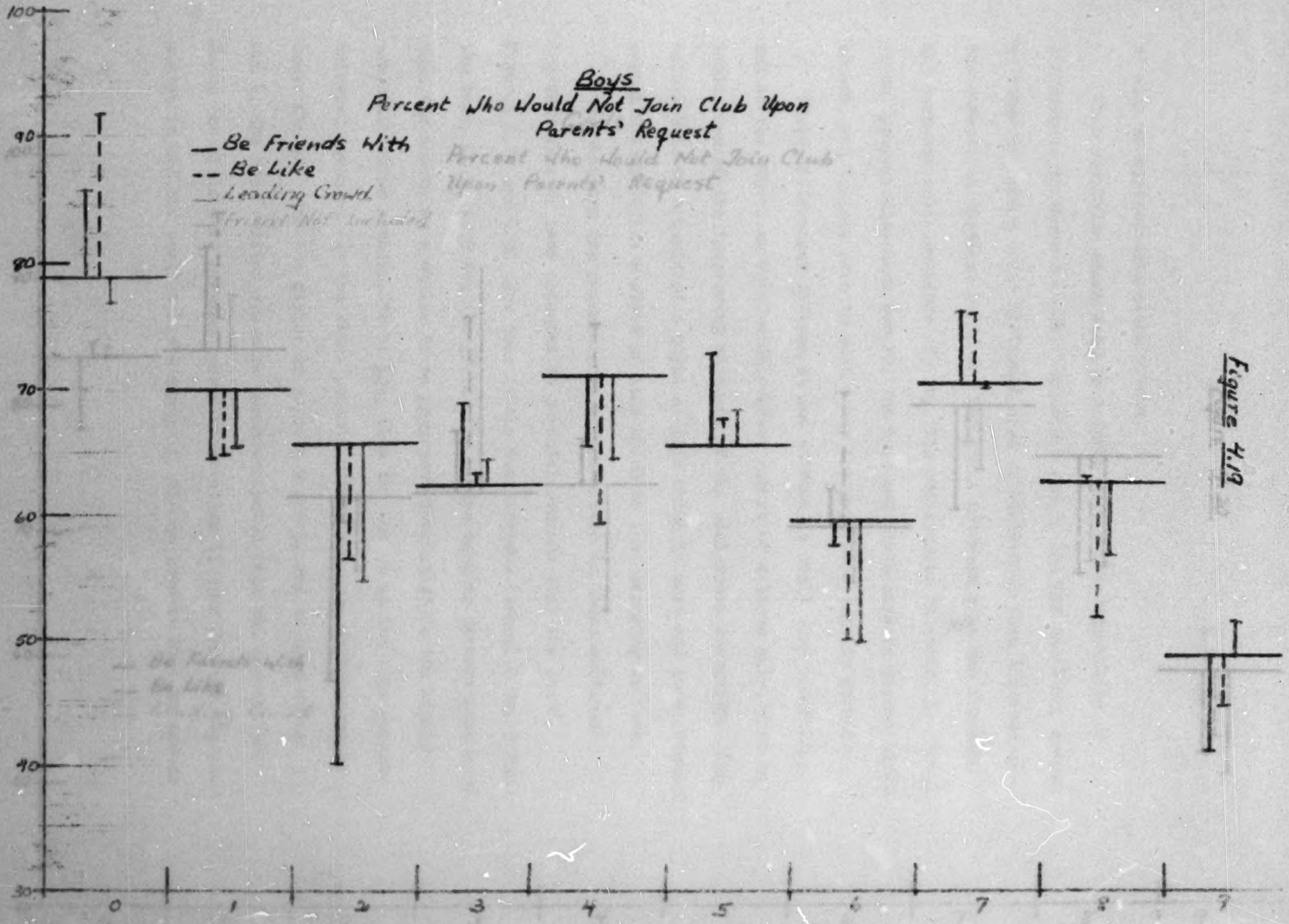
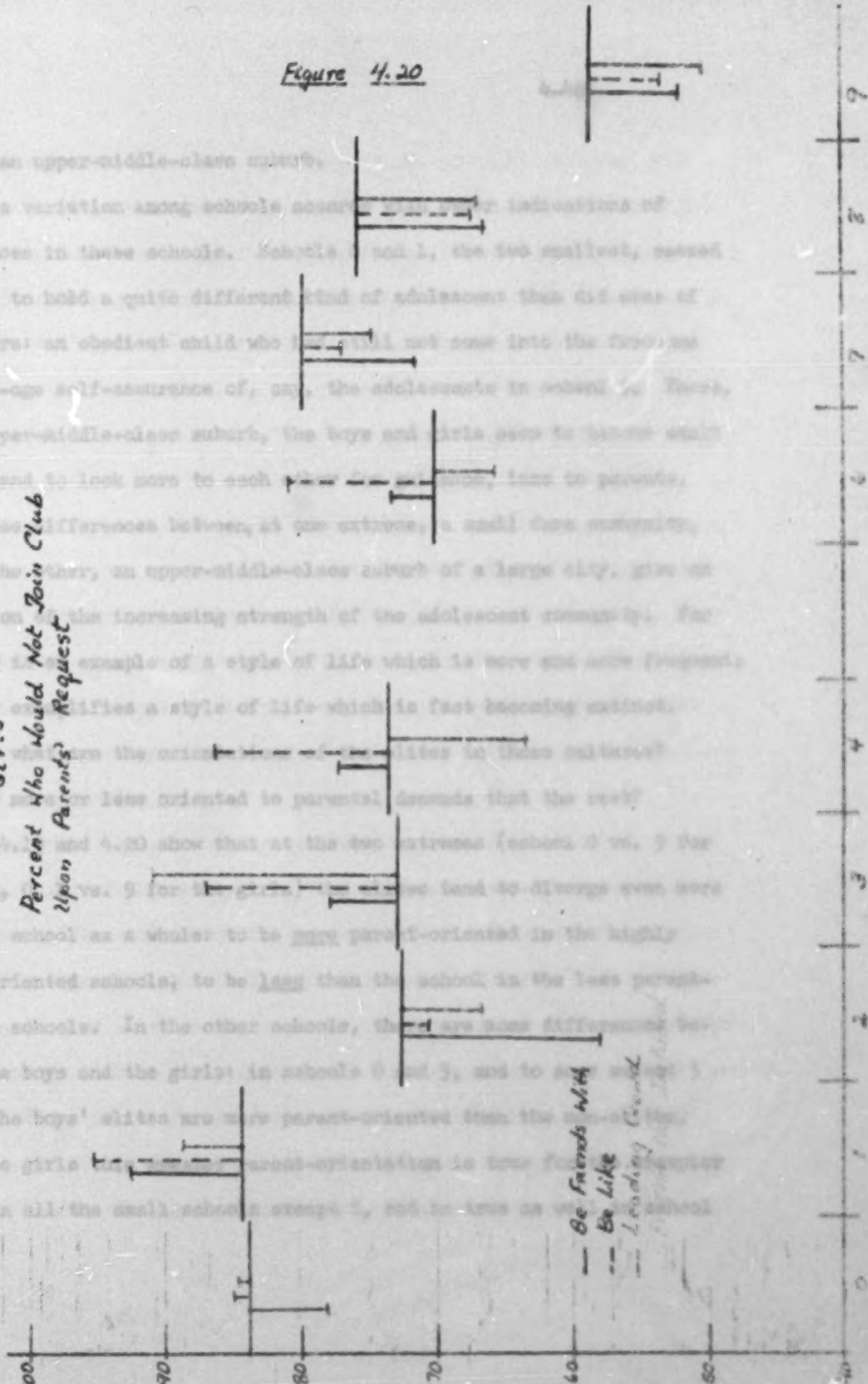

Boys
Percent Who Would Not Join Club Upon Parents' Request
Be Friends With
Be Like
Leading Crowd
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

Figure 4.19

Figure 4.20


Girls
Percent Who Would Not Join Club Upon Parents' Request
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
0
1
2
3
4
6
7
8
9
— Be Friends With
-- Be Like
== Leading Crowd

of all, an upper-middle-class suburb.

This variation among schools accords with other indications of differences in these schools. Schools 0 and 1, the two smallest, seemed at times to hold a quite different kind of adolescent than did some of the others: an obedient child who had still not come into the freedoms and teen-age self-assurance of, say, the adolescents in school 9. There, in an upper-middle-class suburb, the boys and girls seem to become adult sooner, and to look more to each other for guidance, less to parents.

These differences between, at one extreme, a small farm community, and at the other, an upper-middle-class suburb of a large city, give an indication of the increasing strength of the adolescent community. For school 9 is an example of a style of life which is more and more frequent; school 0 exemplifies a style of life which is fast becoming extinct.

How what are the orientations of the elites in these cultures? Are they more or less oriented to parental demands that the rest? Figures 4.19 and 4.20 show that at the two extremes (school 0 vs. 9 for the boys, 0, 1 vs. 9 for the girls) the elites tend to diverge even more than the school as a whole: to be more parent-oriented in the highly parent-oriented schools, to be less than the school in the less parent-oriented schools. In the other schools, there are some differences between the boys and the girls: in schools 0 and 5, and to some extent 3 and 7, the boys' elites are more parent-oriented than the non-elites. Among the girls this greater parent-orientation is true for the exemplar elites in all the small schools except 2, and is true as well in school

6. Among the active leaders as well in three of these schools, 0, 1, and 3, there is higher parent-orientation than in the school as a whole. The girls in the three largest schools, and in school 2, have elites which tend to be less parent-oriented, more oriented to the club, than the student body as a whole. It is relevant to note that the active leaders among the girls tend to be less parent-oriented than the exemplars -- an indication of the active leaders' greater participation in the world of adolescents.

Taking all the small schools (0-4) together and all the large (6-9) together, the elites are less parent-oriented than the non-elites, for both large and small, for the boys; and are less parent-oriented in the large schools, but more so in the small ones, for the girls. The difference between the exemplars and active leaders is again apparent -- the active leaders more oriented to joining the club than the exemplars, less oriented to parents.

In general, then, the adolescent elites tend to be less oriented to parental demands than are their followers -- particularly in those schools where the liberation from parental constraint has progressed farthest. But there are several directions in which these elites' orientations could turn: to teachers, to immediate friends, to the larger adolescent community. Where do they turn? In answer to a question similar to the one for parents above, less than 30% of the boys in any school, and less than 40% of the girls indicated that they would comply with the teacher's wishes. The general level of compliance among all students with the favorite teacher's desires is quite low, both for boys and girls. Only in one school (#1) are there nearly 40% of the girls (but only 25% of the boys) who would probably or definitely not join if the teacher said no.[1]

In general, the elites are even lower, the only consistent exception being the girl that other girls would like to be like, who is somewhat more teacher-oriented.

These data indicate clearly that the teachers are not an intermediate step between a child's orientation to his parents and his orientation to peers. Neither the elites nor their followers indicate that they would pay much attention to a teacher's wishes outside the classroom -- even if it is their favorite teacher. In a question following these, in fact, (I, q. 137), which forced a choice between best friend, favorite teacher, and parents, almost no one chose teacher, while the choices were about equally split between friend and parents.

Where, then, does the elite's allegiance lie? With their friends? With the school, somehow apart from teachers? One question, which forced a choice between going to a school athletic rally and going riding with friends, should give some insight into this.

> Suppose school was dismissed an hour early one day for a pep rally down at the athletic field, and the principal urged everyone to go to the rally, although it wasn't compulsory. On the way some of your friends asked you to go riding instead of to the

---

[1] It is interesting that in school 1 the difference between boys and girls is greatest in their teacher-orientation, a difference of 16%. Among the persons chosen two or more times in the leading crowd, this difference is magnified to 31%, by far the largest boy-girl differences in any school's leading crowd. This seems related to the fact that several of the most outstanding teachers in this school are women, and they pay most attention to the girls.

pep rally. What do you think you would do?

____ definitely go to the rally
____ probably go to the rally
____ probably go with friends
____ definitely go with friends

Table 4.7

Going to a rally vs. going with friends, for all students and elite groups in small and large schools.*

	All students	Be friends	Be like	Leading crowd	7+ friends
				Boys	
Small schools (0-4)					
% of boys who would go to rally	61.2%	62.2%	65.5%	65.6%	59.1%
Number	[987]	[90]	[87]	[64]	[132]
Large schools (6-9)					
% of boys who would go to rally	53.7	77.1	77.3	83.5	64.0
Number	[2756]	[179]	[163]	[103]	[294]
				Girls	
Small schools (0-4)					
% of girls who would go to rally	71.5	81.8	86.5	79.8	71.3
Number	[962]	[143]	[104]	[104]	[171]
Large schools (6-9)					
% of girls who would go to rally	73.6	84.6	85.3	88.9	80.8
Number	[3031]	[267]	[211]	[162]	[514]

---

* Because this item was late in the questionnaire, and a few did not finish the questionnaire, the no-answers have been subtracted to give the totals.

The responses of the student bodies and the elites tended to be in the direction of the rally. There were interesting differences, however, as Table 4.7 indicates. The boys were in general less oriented to the rally than the girls, in both small and large schools, among both elites and student body. The least oriented to the rally were the large-school boys, with only slightly more than half attending. But the elites among the boys in these large schools were far above their followers, and above the elites among the small-school boys. The small-school elite boys, in contrast, were hardly more oriented to the rally than was the student body as a whole.

In short, several inferences can be drawn from this table: First, the elites are in general more oriented to such school activities as rallies for athletic events than are the non-elites -- but this is not true for the boys in small schools. Secondly, it appears that among the large-school boys this orientation to school activities most sharply differentiates the elites from the non-elites. For boys in the large schools, orientation to school activities is apparently at its lowest ebb for those who are not in the center of things, and most clearly distinguishes those who are in the center of things from the rest of the boys.

Cjapter 5

Athletics and Scholastics as Paths to Success with one's Peers

Status in any social system is, by its very definition, in scarce supply. This is no less true in a high school than in society at large. The fundamental competition in a high school is not a competition for grades or for athletic achievements, or any other such activity. It is a competition for status in the eyes of one's fellows, and in the eyes of the opposite sex. Competition for scholastic honors, for athletic honors, and in other activities, is important to the competitors not on its own account, but because it helps win status in the eyes of other teen-agers. To be sure, winning recognition and respect—the elements of which status is composed—in the eyes of parents is important too to most teen-agers, but preceding chapters have indicated its decreasing importance, and its increasing replacement, in the adolescent's scheme of things, by recognition and respect from his peers.

Status in a social system is partly gained from activities carried on within the system, and partly ascribed from without. If status were completely ascribed in a high school, then a girl's or boy's position in the teen-age culture would derive completely from his parents' position in the community. As Chapter 3 has shown, this external ascription of status occur to varying extents in all these schools, and it occurs more for girls than for boys.

But status in these systems is far from completely determined by the social position of an adolescent's family, as Chapter 3 has made abundantly clear. Other matters, some of them correlated with family position, but others not, are far more important. These include, as discussed in the two preceding chapters, athletic achievement, good looks and dressing well, doing well in school, maintaining a good reputation while still being willing to have fun, having a car but not being a fanatic about cars, knowing popular songs without being addicted to popular music, and other less important attributes. Some of these are attributes of achievement, something a boy or girl can do to gain recognition, respect, and attention from his peers. Two in particular are most interesting to examine for boys, athletic achievement and scholastic achievement: the first because it is so pervasively important in gaining status for a boy in high schools, and the second because of its ambiguous position in the status structure, and because it is the activity which schools are supposed to be about.

Because of the analytical importance of athletic achievement and scholastic achievement, it is useful to carry out an extended examination in each school of those boys who were seen, by their fellows, to be the best students in their grade and those who were seen to be the best athletes. Here are two dimensions of achievement in these social systems, and it is important to see how much status—that is, recognition and respect from their fellows—is conferred upon those who achieve highly in these two areas.

Those boys mentioned two or more times by their classmates in answer to the questions,

I. 40B. Of all the boys in your grade, which boy...

i. is the best athlete?

ii. is the best student?

iii. do girls go for most?

iv. would you most like to be friends with?

are considered, respectively, the "best athletes" and the "best students"

Whether these boys are in fact the best athletes and best students is another question, but irrelevant here, for these are the boys *seen by their contemporaries* to be best athletes and best students respectively. What we want to investigate is how such a reputation affects a boy's status in the system—how it affects the tendency of other boys to want to be like him or be friends with him, how it affects his chances to be in the leading crowd, how it affects the number of friends he has—in other words, how it affects his membership in the various elites discussed in the preceding chapter.

Each of these elites is important for somewhat different reasons. The tendency of other boys to want to be friends with him or want to be like him indicates who are the "models" in this system which boys try to emulate, the popular heroes whose success leads other boys to work and strive in the same direction. They indicate, in a sense, the direction that the *energy* of the system is flowing.

Such questions are important in any society in which achievement in some fields can gain recognition and respect. The question is always, *what* fields. In 1942, an extremely revealing study was made of popular biographies in mass-circulation magazines in this country, at two time periods, 1901-14 and 1940-41. The study was done with one purpose in mind: to examine the characteristics of the "popular heroes" who were being held up as exemplars at these two time periods.* In 1901-14, the popular heroes were predominantly "heroes of production," that is, men who were leaders in industry, men who were industrial giants of the period. In 1940-41, the popular heroes were "heroes of consumption," primarily men whose success was achieved in the entertainment world, in the movies, radio, and other entertainment media.

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*Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines" in *Radio Research 1942-43* edited by P.F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1944) pp 507-548.

These different types of achievements of the popular heroes of these two periods suggested that differing "models for success" were dominant in the two periods. But just as the larger adult society has models of success, so does the adolescent culture—perhaps to an even greater extent, since it is a system in greater flux. Its models of immediate success are other boys within the adolescent culture, and may include boys who have achieved in various fields—in particular, athletics and scholastics.

This, then, is the importance of examining best students and best athletes as persons whom others want to be like and be friends with. It gives us an idea of who the models are for the less successful, and for the freshmen just entering the system, an idea of the directions that energy will be exerted by the not-yet-successful.

The question of how these achievements help toward membership in the "leading crowd" is slightly different. Insofar as the leading crowd has gained its position by achievement and is thus open to all who can achieve in the right directions, it stands as a concrete reward for such achievement. In exactly the same way, a man's membership in the local Kiwanis Club or the town's most exclusive country club stands as a reward for achieving in those directions the adult community approves. Thus just as the efficacy of various kinds of achievement differ in gaining a man entry into the country club, according to the values of the community, the relative efficacy of athletic and scholastic achievement may differ in gaining a member entry into the leading crowd in the school.

But leading crowds in schools sometimes are determined externally, according to parents' position in the community. Chapters 2 and 3 have shown how this is so in the schools as a whole, and how it is so in quite varying degrees in the different schools. It is particularly great in schools 1, 3, and 8, which are stable communities composed of all social strata, but fairly well dominated by upper middle class, and it is least strong, in fact almost absent, in schools 5 and 6. Because this is so, membership in the leading crowd is only in part an indicator of rewards for achievement. Thus the membership of a "best student" or "best athlete" membership in the leading crowd may be due to having come from the right parental background, rather than as a reward for this achievement. This is particularly true for best students, who more often come from higher social strata.

Finally, the leading crowd differs in another way from the exemplars as an indicator of the direction a system's energy takes. Because the leading crowd is in fact a crowd that behaves in a particular way, and because it is exclusive, negative as well as positive attitudes develop toward it. Thus, in all schools as a whole, 19.8% of the boys and 28.9% of the girls said they did not want to be a member of the leading crowd (in the spring), and 26.3% of the boys and 20.7% of the girls said they didn't care whether or not they were in it. Consequently, the leading crowd represents an effective reward, and thus a measure of how the energy of the system is being channeled, only insofar as it is not purely ascribed and insofar as its behavior leads many people to want to be members.

The importance of examining the number of friends a best student or best athlete has lies in a different area. By looking at the number of boys who name him as someone they go around with, we see the degree to which the system centers around him socially—or, in contrast, isolates him. Some boys and girls wouldn't like to be in the leading crowd, as indicated above. As long as he or she has his own circle of friends, he is not totally deprived of recognition and respect from his peers. To be sure, not many may look up to him or emulate him, but at least he is secure in his own group of friends.

But if he is devoid of even this, then the problem is more serious; not only does the system not reward him with status and membership in the elite as a result of his achievement, but it deprives him of a circle of friends from which he can gain his rewards. As we shall see, these different adolescent systems vary considerably in the degree to which they surround a best athlete and best student with friends.

All schools together: the social rewards to best athletes and best students.

The best athletes and best students, defined as such by the nominations of their peers, fared as indicated in Figure 5.1 and in 5.2 and 5.3 in being mentioned as a person to be friends with, a person to be like, a member of the leading crowd, and a friend. These results are presented in two ways: in Figure 5.2 and 5.8, they are presented as in the preceding chapter, for each school separately. This shows the extreme overrepresentation in all the elites and in each school, for the best athletes. The best students are also overrepresented in the elites in all schools; but in none of the schools does this overrepresentation begin to match that of the best athletes.

Looking separately at the different schools, there are some results which run contrary to the picture of the different climates developed in earlier chapters. In school 3, the athlete appear to be most overrepresented; yet earlier chapters showed that being an athlete is not

Figure 5.1

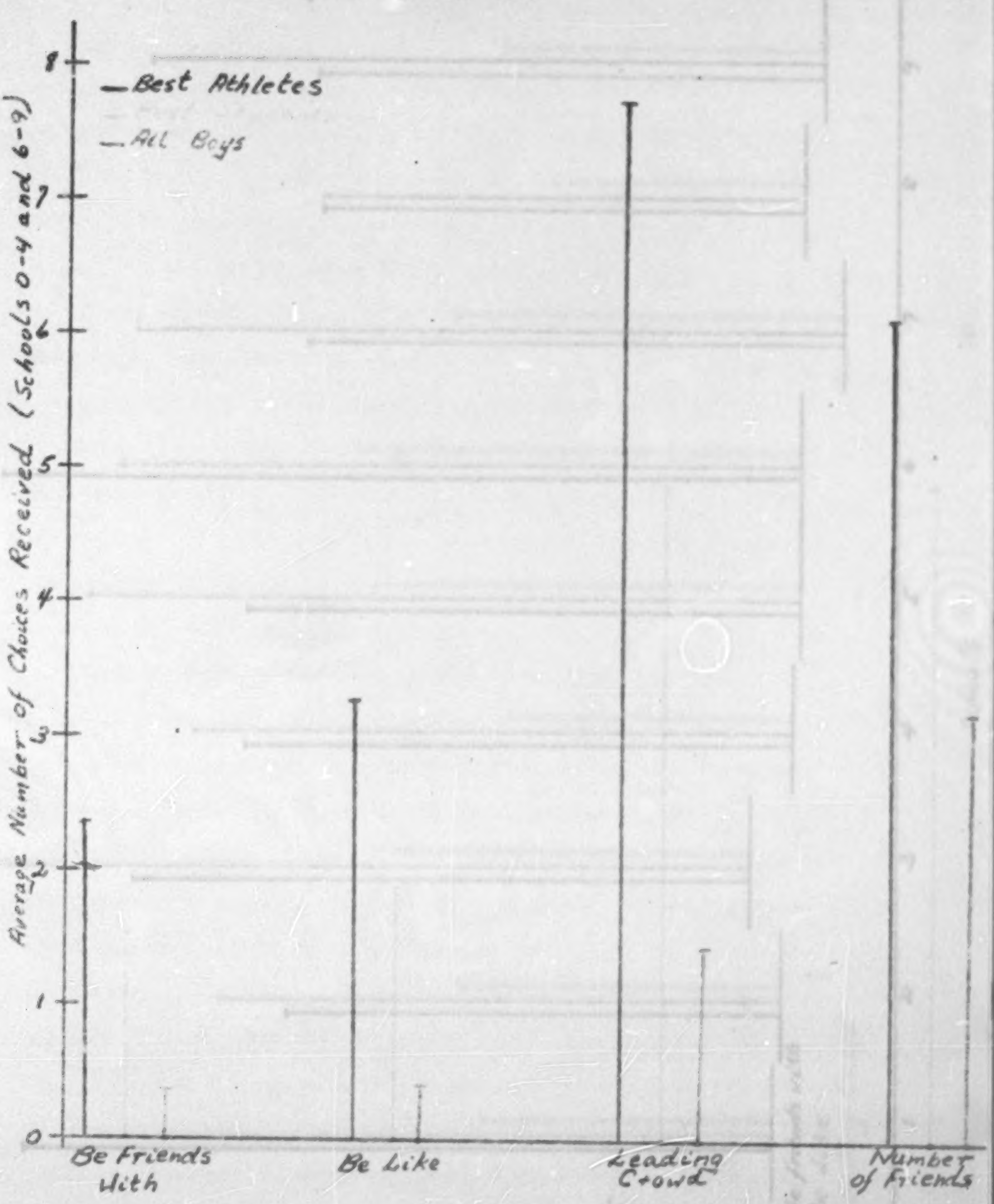

Average Number of Choices Received (Schools 0-4 and 6-9)
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
— Best Athletes
— All Boys
Be Friends With
Be Like
Leading Crowd
Number of Friends

Figure 5.2

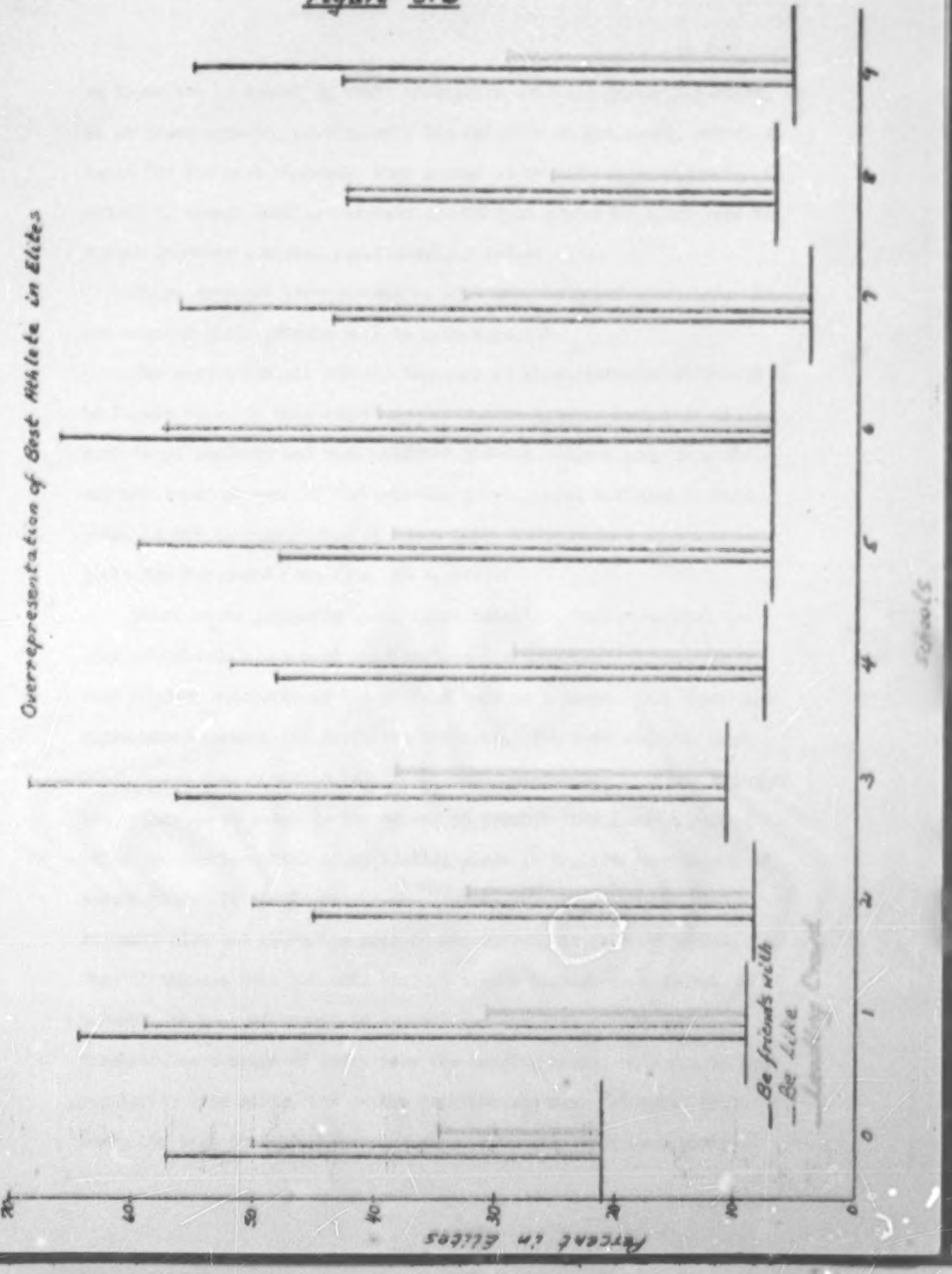
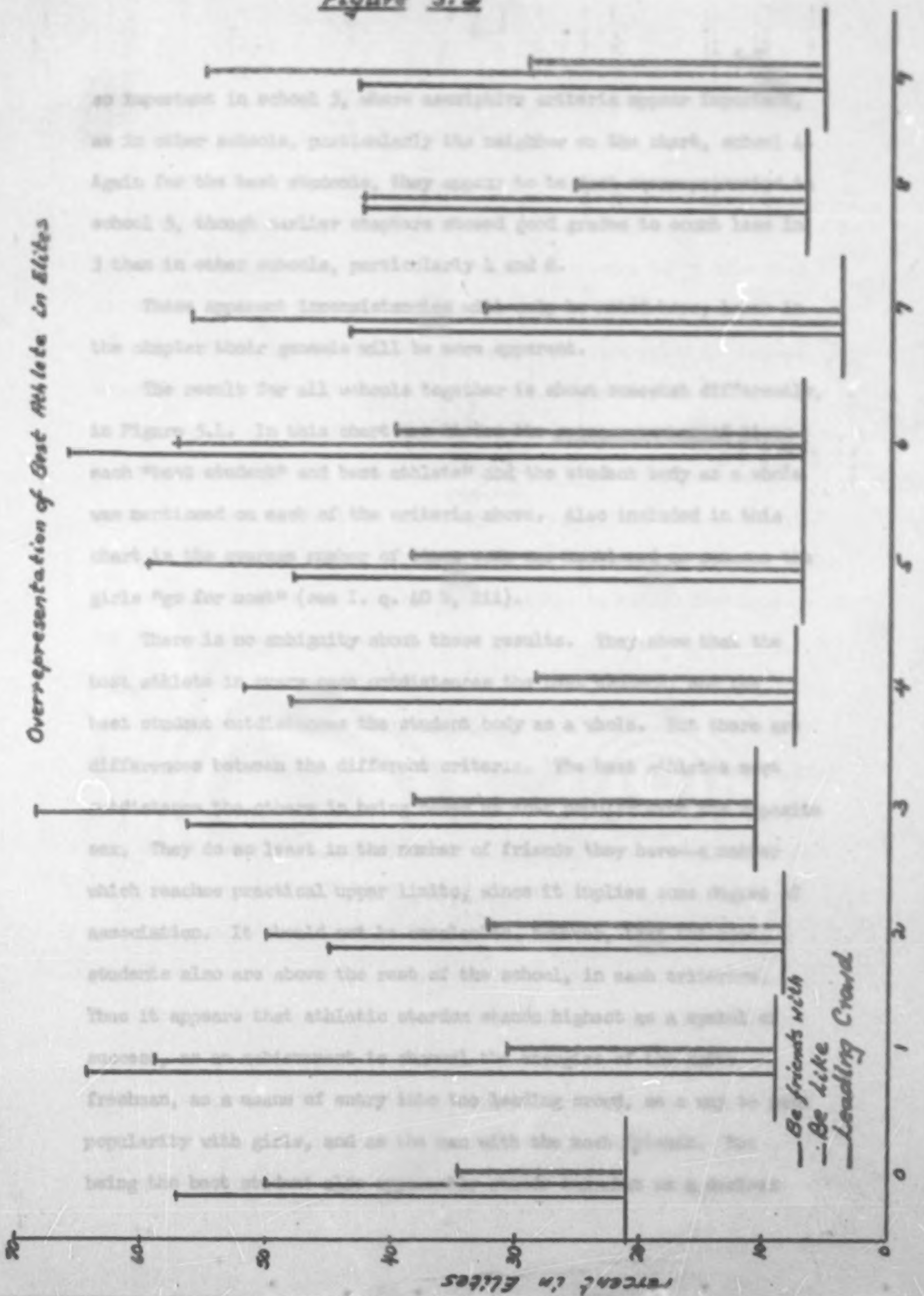

Overrepresentation of Best Athlete in Elites
Percent in Elites
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
Schools
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
— Be friends with
— Be Like
— Leading Crowd

Figure 5.2


Overrepresentation of Best Athlete in Elites
Percent in Elites
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
Schools
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
Be friends with
Be Like
Leading Crowd

as important in school 3, where ascriptive criteria appear important, as in other schools, particularly its neighbor on the chart, school 4. Again for the best students, they appear to be most overrepresented in school 3, though earlier chapters showed good grades to count less in 3 than in other schools, particularly 1 and 8.

These apparent inconsistencies will only be noted here; later in the chapter their genesis will be more apparent.

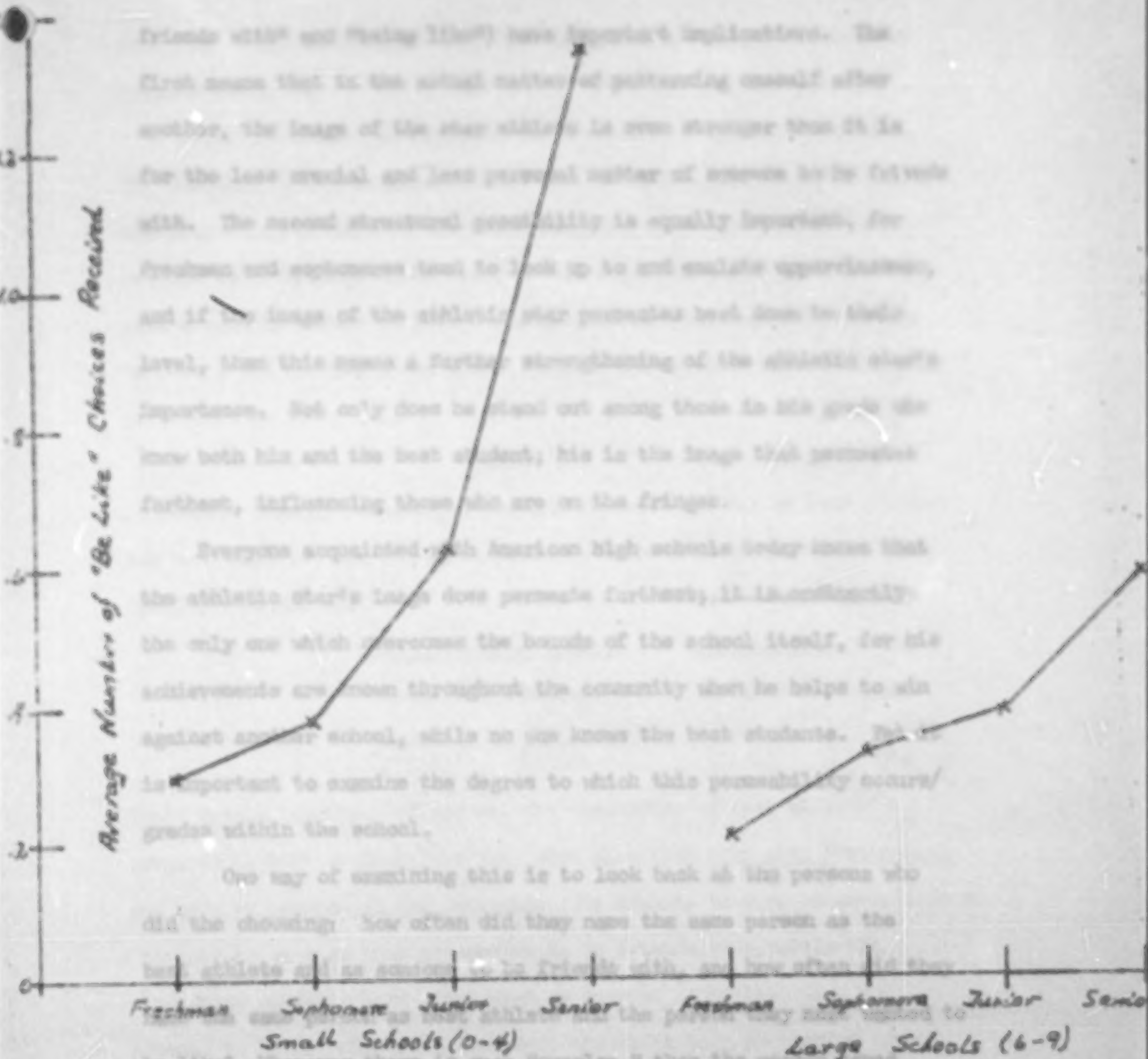
The result for all schools together is shown somewhat differently, in Figure 5.1. In this chart are listed the average number of times each "best student" and best athlete" and the student body as a whole was mentioned on each of the criteria above. Also included in this chart is the average number of times each was mentioned as someone the girls "go for most" (see I. q. 40 b, iii).

There is no ambiguity about these results. They show that the best athlete in every case outdistances the best student, and the best student outdistances the student body as a whole. But there are differences between the different criteria. The best athletes most outdistance the others in being named as most popular with the opposite sex. They do so least in the number of friends they have—a matter which reaches practical upper limits, since it implies some degree of association. It should not be overlooked, however, that the best students also are above the rest of the school, in each criterion. Thus it appears that athletic stardom stands highest as a symbol of success, as an achievement to channel the energies of the naive freshman, as a means of entry into the leading crowd, as a way to gain popularity with girls, and as the man with the most friends. But being the best student also apparently stands somewhat as a desired achievement, for he is above average on all criteria. Most important for the psychological equilibrium of the boy so named, he apparently has a full share of friends, though not so many as the athlete.

It is interesting that although the athletes far surpass all the rest in every criterion, they are stronger as someone to be like than as someone to be friends with. This may be a result of either of two differences between the two criteria: the difference in content, between wanting to be friends with a person and wanting to be like him; or it could be the result of a structural difference. The "be friends with" question asks for someone in the same grade. The "be like" question refers to the whole school. Thus it might be that when boys—particularly lowerclassmen—look outside their grade, it is the athletes who are most visible, and who come most quickly to mind. That choices for someone to be like were made outside one's grade is evident from Figure 5.4, which shows the average number of choices received on this criterion by freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors, in the small and large schools separately. Although nearly equal proportions of boys in each grade gave a choice, the upperclassmen received many more than did those in earlier years. This is particularly true in the small schools. In a small school, boys far more often pick an upperclassman to emulate, to want to be like than do boys in a large school. The grade boundaries in a small school constitute less barrier to the kind of visibility that makes possible such emulation of upperclassmen.

It is clear, then, that many choices were made outside a boy's grade. The question is, was it these out-of-grade choices which account for the athlete's better standing as someone to be like? Both this and the other possibility (the content difference between "being

Figure 3.4



Average Number of "Be Like" Choices Received
1.4
1.2
1.0
.8
.6
.4
.2
0
Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior
Small Schools (0-4)
Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senio
Large Schools (6-9)

friends with" and "being like") have important implications. The first means that in the actual matter of patterning oneself after another, the image of the star athlete is even stronger than it is for the less crucial and less personal matter of someone to be friends with. The second structural possibility is equally important, for freshmen and sophomores tend to look up to and emulate upperclassmen, and if the image of the athletic star permeates best down to their level, then this means a further strengthening of the athletic star's importance. Not only does he stand out among those in his grade who know both him and the best student; his is the image that permeates farthest, influencing those who are on the fringes.

Everyone acquainted with American high schools today knows that the athletic star's image does permeate furthest; it is ordinarily the only one which overcomes the bounds of the school itself, for his achievements are known throughout the community when he helps to win against another school, while no one knows the best students. Yet it is important to examine the degree to which this permeability occurs/ grades within the school.

One way of examining this is to look back at the persons who did the choosing: how often did they name the same person as the best athlete and as someone to be friends with, and how often did they name the same person as best athlete and the person they most wanted to be like? Whenever there is such "overlap," then the person named must be in the same grade as the chooser, because the person named as best athlete was restricted to his grade. Thus we may find that even when the choices are made within the chooser's own grade, the athlete does better as someone to be like than someone to be friends with; or it may be that the athlete only gains as someone to be like outside his grade.

Table 5.1 shows the "overlap" at the level of the person doing the choosing, for best athletes and best students. In the table is the proportion of persons who named the *same* person as best athlete and someone to be friends with, based on the total number of persons who gave a name in answer to both these questions. All such overlap must be within the chooser's own grade, because the athlete and student were restricted to his grade.

Table 5.1

Proportion overlap between (a) the achievement criteria of best student and best athlete, and (b) elite criteria of be friends with a be like (includes school 5).

Overlap with be friends		Overlap with be like	
Athlete	Student	Athlete	Student
.270 (1620)	.166 (1536)	.289 (1652)	.157 (1536)

These results confirm, of course, the overchoice of best athlete compared to best student; but they show also that *even when the choices are made by persons in his own grade*, the athlete is seen slightly more as a someone to be like than as someone to be friends with, while the student is slightly less often seen as someone to be like than as someone to be friends with. However, the difference is reduced compared to that of Figure 5.1, which includes all choices both within and between grades. Furthermore, a repeat of the same questions in the spring shows this difference between being friends with and being like a person to be reunced or nonexistent (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2

Proportion overlap between (a) the achievement criteria of best student and best athlete, and (b) elite criteria of be friends with and be like (includes school 5): spring.

Overlap with be friends		Overlap with be like	
Athlete	Student	Athlete	Student
.248 (1808)	.132 (1782)	.270 (1837)	.161 (1764)

These results may be interpreted as follows: both as a person to be friends with and as someone to be like, boys name the person they see as star athlete roughly twice as often as they name the boy they see as best student. The differential prominence of the star athlete within one's grade is about the same for both of these desires. But as Figure 5.1 showed from the receiver's end, star athletes outdistance the best student for more on the criteria not restricted to grade ("be like") than on the one restricted to grade ("be friends with"). These extra choices apparently came from boys outside one's grade.

This suggests that the larger the school, the greater relative prominence of the athlete, even within his grade, for the larger the school, the smaller proportion of one's classmates does a bo know personally, and the less likely is he to know a fellow classmate's achievements unless the achievements are highly visible. This may be tested by looking at the frequency with which best athletes and best students are named in large and small schools. For if the image of the best student is less visible than that of the athlete within his own grade, then classmates should be less often able to name a "best student;"

and if this visibility decreases as the school becomes larger, then the students in the large schools should be even less able to name a best student. Table 5.3 below shows the frequency with which names were given in answer to the best athlete and best student questions in both large and small schools. Both athletes and students are less frequently named in large schools, indicating the lesser visibility of both images in the larger schools. In both large and small schools, a best student is named slightly less often than a best athlete, suggesting that independent of size, the student's image is slightly less visible than that of the athlete. But there is no differential decrease in visibility: relative to the athlete, the student is named as frequently in large as in small schools. Thus we must conclude from this evidence that while both images decrease in visibility as the school size increases, and while the best student is everywhere less visible than the best athlete, the athlete makes no relative gains in visibility in the large schools.

Table 5.3

Proportion of boys who named best athletes and best students in large and small schools.

	Small schools (0-4)	Large schools (6-9)
Best athlete	.779	.556
Best student	.718	.514
	(1032)	(3062)

However, another question is of importance when we ask about the impact of the student's image and that of the athlete upon the other students in these schools. How visible is the athlete and the student to the incoming freshman? How quickly does a boy learn who is the best student and who is the best athlete? The fall questionnaire was administered only a few weeks after school started, so that the incoming freshmen were new to the system, having come from different grade schools, and were just in the process of "shaking down" into some sort of status order.

Figure 5.5 shows for large and small schools separately the degree to which the freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors named a best athlete and student in their grade. In both large and small schools, and for both athletes and students, the proportion increases from the freshman to the senior year. The visibility of both best athletes and best students to their classmates increases with the length of time they have been together. But in both large and small schools, the visibility of the best student starts out considerably lower than that of the athlete. It rises more rapidly, finally becoming about equal at the senior year. Thus to the incoming freshmen the image of the star athlete, not merely within the school as a whole, but the star athlete in his own grade, is considerably more visible, and thus more available as someone to emulate, as a model after which he can pattern himself. It is only toward the end of his high school career that the best student is as well known, as available to his classmates as a model. Although figures for each school are not shown separately, the results are as indicated above in all schools, working-class and upper-middle-class, small town and city. In all of these schools, the teachers and administration of the school are not able to make the best student as visible for other students to model themselves after, as is the best athlete. Only time and experience makes him visible.

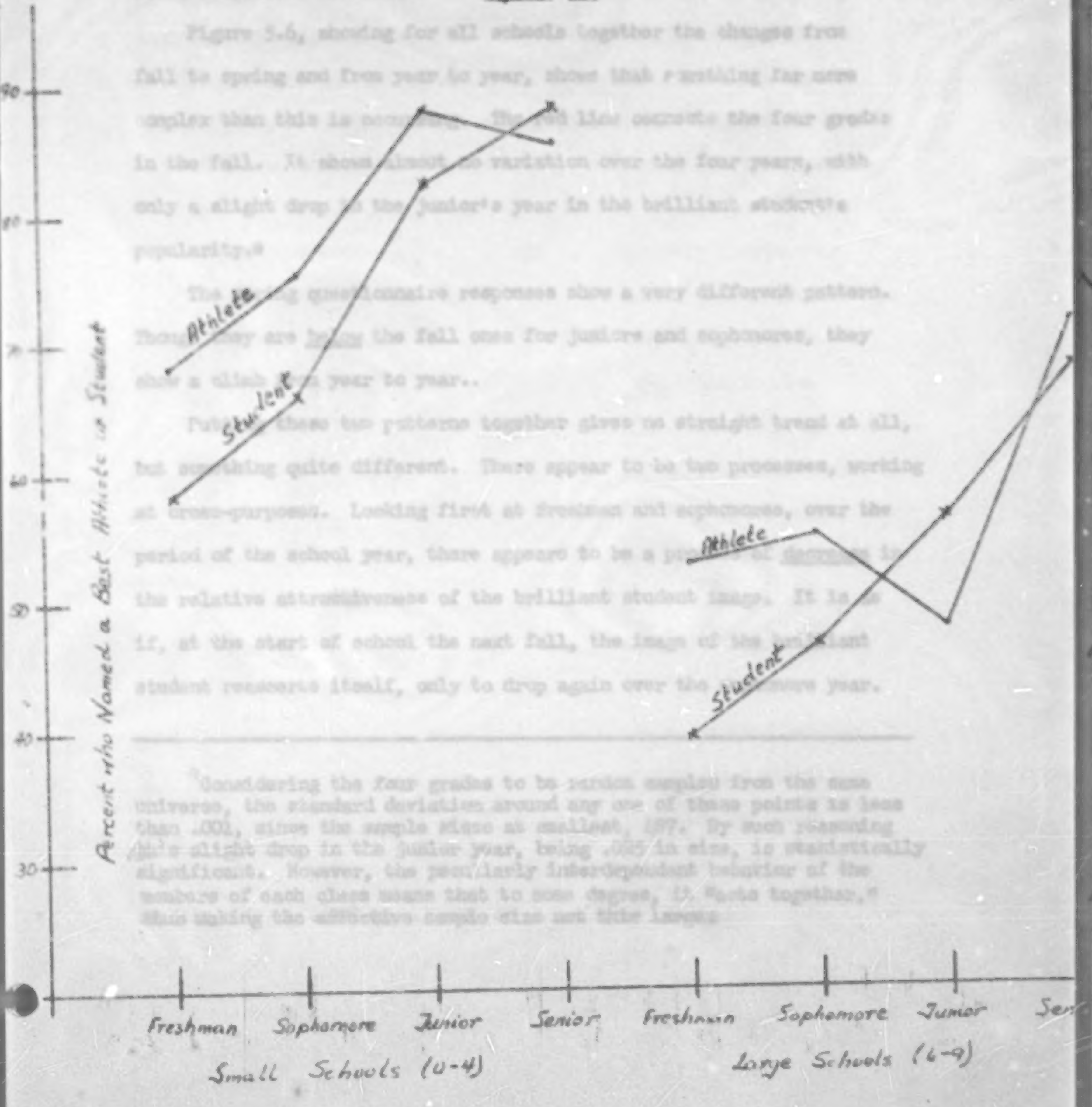
These results might seem to imply that the popularity of the best student as someone to pattern oneself after would increase over the four years of school relative to the star athlete's popularity. As his image became more visible, then more students would want to model themselves after him.

Figure 5.6, showing for all schools together the changes from fall to spring and from year to year, shows that something far more complex than this is occurring. The red line connects the four grades in the fall. It shows almost no variation over the four years, with only a slight drop in the junior's year in the brilliant student's popularity.*

The spring questionnaire responses show a very different pattern. Though they are below the fall ones for juniors and sophomores, they show a climb from year to year..

Putting these two patterns together gives no straight trend at all, but something quite different. There appear to be two processes, working at cross-purposes. Looking first at freshmen and sophomores, over the period of the school year, there appears to be a process of decrease in the relative attractiveness of the brilliant student image. It is as if, at the start of school the next fall, the image of the brilliant student reasserts itself, only to drop again over the sophomore year.

Figure 5.5



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*Considering the four grades to be random samples from the same universe, the standard deviation around any one of these points is less than .001, since the sample sizes at smallest, 187. By such reasoning this slight drop in the junior year, being .005 in size, is statistically significant. However, the peculiarly interdependent behavior of the members of each class means that to some degree, it "acts together," thus making the effective sample size not this large.

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*Considering the four grades to be random samples from the same universe, the standard deviation around any one of these points is less than .001, since the sample sizes at smallest, 487. By such reasoning this slight drop in the junior year, being .025 in size, is statistically significant. However, the peculiarly interdependent behavior of the members of each class means that to some degree, it "acts together," thus making the effective sample size not this large.

Then again at the beginning of the senior year, the brilliant student figure is back where it started.

But then over the junior year, and even more for the senior, the same process does not occur. It is as if there is another process, counteracting this over the last two years to pull the image of the brilliant student up. It is as if, in these last two years, boys begin slightly to anticipate the end of athletics, to anticipate leaving this special world with its peculiar values, and its special emphasis on athletics.

Thus far more than changes in relative visibility is occuring here. What seems to be happening is that the school year provides an intensification of the elements which make a brilliant student a less attractive image than that of a star athlete. That is, the school year intensifies this until late in a boy's high school career, the culture of the high school begins to lose its grip in him, as he anticipates post-high school life. This corresponds to the feeling one gets in talking to high school seniors. They seem to be looking back on high school days with a kind of wishfulness, yet at the same time a wonderment that they could ever have been so deeply embedded within it, so much in "another world."

The relative importance of the formal school curriculum and the values of the adolescent culture is suggested by the graph showing that the effect of the school year, for the sophomores and freshmen, is to intensify the image of the athlete relative to that of the student.

Best athletes, best students, and combinations of the two.

In all this examination of the relative status of athletes and students, an important point has been left aside. This is the fact that some good athletes are also good students, so that there is some overlap between these two achievements. Thus the question now becomes, not what is the relative status of best athletes and best students, but rather, what are the relative statuses of the boy who is only an athlete, and the one who is only a student. Some schools, and some educational philosophies, emphasize the "well-rounded" boy. Does the adolescent status system concur in this, so that such a boy has even greater status than the students and athletes who are only students or athletes? And if so, what about the residual status of the boy who is only one or the other? For example, is the status of the best students largely due to those among them who are also athletes, or is it independently gained, as a consequence of their being best students? Ane what about those who are neither a best student or a best athlete? How likely are their classmates to want to be like them, be friends with them, or how likely are they to be considered most popular with the girls?

First of all, it is instructive to see just how much overlap there is between students and athletes. In the small schools, there were 98 out of 1032 boys, or 9.5% named as best athlete. There were 91, or 8.8%, named as best student. Of these, 21 of the 98 athletes and 91 students were named as both best student and best athlete. This constitutes 21% of the best athletes and 23% of the best students, or 2.0% of the total student body.

In the large schools, there is somewhat more centralization;

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Table 5.4

Average number of choices received by athlete-student, athlete, student, and others, as members of the various elites.

	Athlete-student	Athlete only	Student only	All Boys
Small schools				
Most popular with girls	4.15	3.00	.56	.54
Like to be friends with	3.45	2.02	.83	.49
Like to be like	5.25	3.01	.89	.55
Members of leading crowd	11.40	8.20	3.70	2.00
Number of friends	7.05	5.88	4.06	3.42
	(20)	(77)	(70)	(865)
Large schools 6-9				
Most popular with girls	5.38	2.18	.45	.40
Like to be friends with	4.32	1.92	.91	.34
Like to be like	6.35	2.40	.83	.37
Member of leading crowd	13.20	6.36	2.44	1.29
Number of friends	7.20	5.86	4.59	3.15
	(34)	(141)	(154)	(2753)

Looking first of all at the athlete-student in comparison to the athlete-only and student-only, it is apparent that for every elite criterion, in both large and small schools, he far outdistances those who have achieved in only one area. Compared to the lowly student who is neither best athlete nor best student, his chances are overwhelmingly great—ten, twenty, or thirty times as great—of being named as a person they would like to be like, to be friends with, or most popular with the girls. The most extreme case is being named as the person one would like to be like, in the large schools. There each student-athlete is named an average of 6.35 times, cimpared to an average of .16 times for the average boy who was neither best student nor best athlete—(not shown in Table 5.4) a ratio of 40 to 1. In general, the person who is neither best student nor best athlete is practically out of it, so far as these elite criteria go. His chances dwindle to next to nothing. It is only in number of friends that he is not without social support.

Perhaps the crucial comparison, in examining the relative status of athletes and students, is between the athletes-only and the students-only. Here the picture of the athlete's prominence becomes even stronger, compared with that of Figure 5.1, which did not separate out the athlete-students. Those who are athletes only are far above the students-only in every case. The students-only are not quite stripped bare of status by having the athlete-students taken from their midst, but are nearly so. On all criteria except number of friends, the athletes-only are about two or three times as likely to be mentioned as are the students-only. This is true in both large and small schools. The relative strength of the athlete is greatest as someone who is most popular with the girls, where it is 4.8:1 in the large schools and 5.4:1 in the small ones. It is greater for the "be like" criterion than for the "be friends with" criterion—indicating, as before, that for the out-of-grade choices made on the "be like" criterion, the athlete's image is even stronger.

One difference between the large and small schools is the fact that the athlete-student stands out ever farther above the athlete-only and student-only in the large schools than in the small. In both, the tendency of choices to flow to him is remarkable, but the tendency is apparently at its zenith in the large schools. How does this come to be? Is it because these teen-agers look toward the star who is outstanding in everything more than do their counterparts in the small towns? The examination of separate schools, to be carried out below, will begin to provide an answer to this, by seeing in just what schools this extreme prominence of the athlete-student is found.

Before proceeding to an examination of the structure of elites in the separate schools, it is useful to ask about one other type of student—the boy who is neither athletic star nor best student, but is nevertheless named as a boy most popular with the girls. In the examination so far, we have looked at such popularity as a dependent phenomenon—a possible consequence of achieving highly in athletics or in studies. So it appears to be, at least for the best athletes. But it is also in part an independent phenomenon, an attribute which, however arrived at, in turn may have consequences in making others want to be friends with him or be like him, or in giving hin entry into the leading crowd.

Table 5.5 shows the average number of choices received by the boy who is neither a best athlete nor a best student, but is most popular with the girls. Alongside are repeated the athlete-only and student-only for comparison. In every criterion (the one exception is leading crowd in the large schools, where he is above the athlete-only) the boy who's popular with the girls stands between the athlete-only and the student-only. He has more friends than the student, is more a member of the school's leading crowd, and others would more often like to be like or to be friends with him. His greatest strength, relative to the athlete and the student, is in membership in the leading crowd; his least is as a person to be friends with or to be like. This reflects the fact that the leading crowd is a crowd of boys and girls, and in general is an actual crowd which goes around together.

Overall, popularity with the opposite sex seems to gain a boy recognition and respect among his fellows not so much as does being an outstanding athlete, but considerably more than being an outstanding student.

Table 5.5

Average number of choices received by athlete-only, student-only, and the boy who is neither athlete nor student, but most popular with the girls, as members of the various elites.

	Athlete only	Student only	Popular with girls
Small schools			
Like to be friends with	2.02	.83	1.19
Like to be like	3.01	.89	1.42
Member of leading crowd	8.20	3.70	6.28
Number of friends	5.88	4.06	5.86
	(77)	(70)	(36)
Large schools			
Like to be friends with	1.92	.91	1.06
Like to be like	2.40	.83	1.06
Member of leading crowd	6.36	2.44	6.41
Number of friends	5.86	4.59	5.77
	(141)	(159)	(102)

An alternative interpretation of these results is equally reasonable: that the same elements which bring a boy popularity with the opposite sex bring him popularity among other boys. This is undoubtedly true, and must account for a part of the status shown by these boys. How much a part is a difficult question, which cannot be answered satisfactorily by these data. However, even this tells us something, for it indicates that a boys' status among other boys is dependent on many of the same criteria that make him popular with girls — a strong suggestion that the boy-girl relationship is important in shaping the status system among the boys.

Athletes and students in each of the small schools

There are some important differences, along with many similarities, among the different schools. In examining the schools, the five small schools will be examined first, and then the five large ones (including school 5, the parochial boys' school). Choices received on the criteria of being friends with and being like will be added together to make the presentation simpler, for there are few differences in these criteria from school to school. (In only one school, #4, are athletes not mentioned more often on the "be like" criterion than on the "be friends with" criterion, consistent with the general result for all schools together shown earlier in Table 5.4.

The Tables will show separately the choices received by athlete-students, athletes-only, students-only, and boys who were perceived as most popular with the girls, but who were neither athletes nor students.*
Beside these, for comparison, is the average number of choices received by all boys in the school on each criterion.

Table 5.6**

Average number of friends of athlete-student, athlete-only, student-only, ladies' man, in five small schools.

Schools	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student only	Ladies' man	All boys
0	6.0	4.50	2.90	4.00	3.36
1	7.33	6.07	6.00	5.00	3.35
2	6.00	5.12	3.59	5.88	3.38
3	6.58	6.87	3.70	8.00	3.54
4	8.60	6.43	4.13	6.08	3.42

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*This is not a symmetric classification, though it is a mutually exclusive one. Some athletes and students were also named as most popular with the girls. However, to separate them out would not be appropriate from the general lines of analysis. The problem arises because popularity with girls is in part dependent upon such achievements as athletics, but also has an effect of its own on bringing a boy status with his peers.

**N's are:

1	13	10	5	70
3	15	11	5	198
4	18	17	7	266
7	15	10	5	217
5	16	22	133	281

Perhaps the most crucial measure of social status from the point of view of the boy himself is the number of friends he has. Table 5.6 above shows the average number of persons who chose each athlete-student, each athlete, each student, and each boy who's popular with the girls. The problem of just what sizes of difference to take seriously is a difficult one here. The numbers of cases are so small that one outstanding person may make a great deal of difference, making it appear that students have many friends if he happens to be a student or that athletes have many friends if he is an athlete. This is a sampling problem of a peculiar sort. Each class in school is a sample of children from the community, and in a small school, this sample may be quite unlike the one before it or the next. The class comes to be seen as a particularly athletic class or a particularly studious one, solely as a result of the fact that it's a small sample. This was evident in Chapter 3, where the climate of each school is examined separately. At present, the data in Table 5.6 can be seen in two ways: first as purely descriptive of the school in the fall of 1957, in which case all differences should be considered legitimate, and their importance in proportion to their size; or second, as descriptive of the school in a more abstract sense, that is, the school apart from the attributes of the particular teen-agers who made it up in the fall of 1957. In this case, it is important to know whether the differences found are a stable characteristic of the school (meaning that causes of these differences can be sought in attributes of the community and the school's staff) or would likely disappear as another sample of teen-agers from the same community moves into the school four years hence. For example, in school 3, is it generally the case that athletes-only have more friends than students-only, or is the difference between 6.87 friends for the athletes-only and 3.70 for the students-only small enough to be neglected?

For this second purpose, a statistical test of the difference is a useful guide. For all these schools, the average number of friends a boy has is something between 3 and 4 and the standard deviation is around 2.45.* While the distribution of choices is not normal, the distribution of their average for subgroups such as those shown here will tend to be, so that one can use the normal distribution as a rough rule of thumb for comparing two groups. Using this, the standard deviation of a sample of size 10 is about .8, so that if one is familiar with thinking in terms of "standard error", the number 3.70 would be "3.70 ± 0.8." A ~~standard error is surpassed only about 3 times in 10,~~ so this would mean that only in about 3 out of 10 "samples of this school" taken in different years would we find that the ten people named most often as students would have an average of more than 3.7 + .8 = 4.5 choices, or less than 3.7 - .8 = 2.9 choices, even if nothing at all changes about the administration of the school, the teachers, or the community. This seems to indicate that a difference of 6.87 - 3.70 = 3.17 would be hardly likely to occur by chance when the sample sizes are

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*It would be preferable to compute standard deviation for each subgroup separately, except that this is a task whose labor outweighs its contribution.

15 and 10 respectively. In fact we find it would occur only about 2 times in a thousand.*

It is well, then, to keep in mind that these figures measure only what these particular teen-agers are like in the school and that the only difference from school to school for which an explanation should be sought are those which are likely to recur when a new crop of teen-agers comes into the school.

The standard errors for the figures above are about as follows:

Sample size	5	± 1.10	Sample size	30	± 0.45
Sample size	10	± 0.80	Sample size	40	± 0.40
Sample size	15	± 0.60			
Sample size	20	± 0.55			

Roughly, then, differences like that between the athlete-students and the athletes in school 3 (6.58 ± 1.0 and 6.87 ± 0.6) are not reliable enough to seek for an explanation in the school or community, while differences between either of these groups and the students (3.70 ± 0.8) are.

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*The formula for finding the number of standard deviations which this difference represents is:

$$\frac{m_1 - n_1}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{n_2}}}$$

where m_1 and m_2 are the numbers of choices, and n_1 and n_2 are the sample sizes (10 and 15) and σ_1^2 and σ_2^2 are the variances (both assumed equal to 6.0, which is the variance of the overall distribution of choices.) This reduces, when $\sigma_1^2 = \sigma_2^2$, into

$$\sqrt{\frac{n_1 n_2}{n_1 + n_2}} \ \frac{(m_1 - m_2)}{\sigma}$$, which equals $\frac{2.45 \times 3.17}{2.45} = 3.17$ in this case. A deviation this large occurs less than .002 of the time.

School 1, which has been shown by a number of other criteria to be the most academically-inclined of all the small schools, is the only one in which the students-only are enough higher by this criterion, than the student body as a whole to suggest that in general in this school, the students-only have more friends than average. In fact, in school 1, the students are essentially as popular as the athletes.

The other schools are not strikingly different from one another for the students-only, except that in school 0, the best student is probably lower in general than in the other schools. This is the school which in Chapter 3 was shown to be most consistently low in the importance its students place on getting good grades. Schools 2,3, and 4 are in the middle so they were in their expression of values examined in Chapter 3.

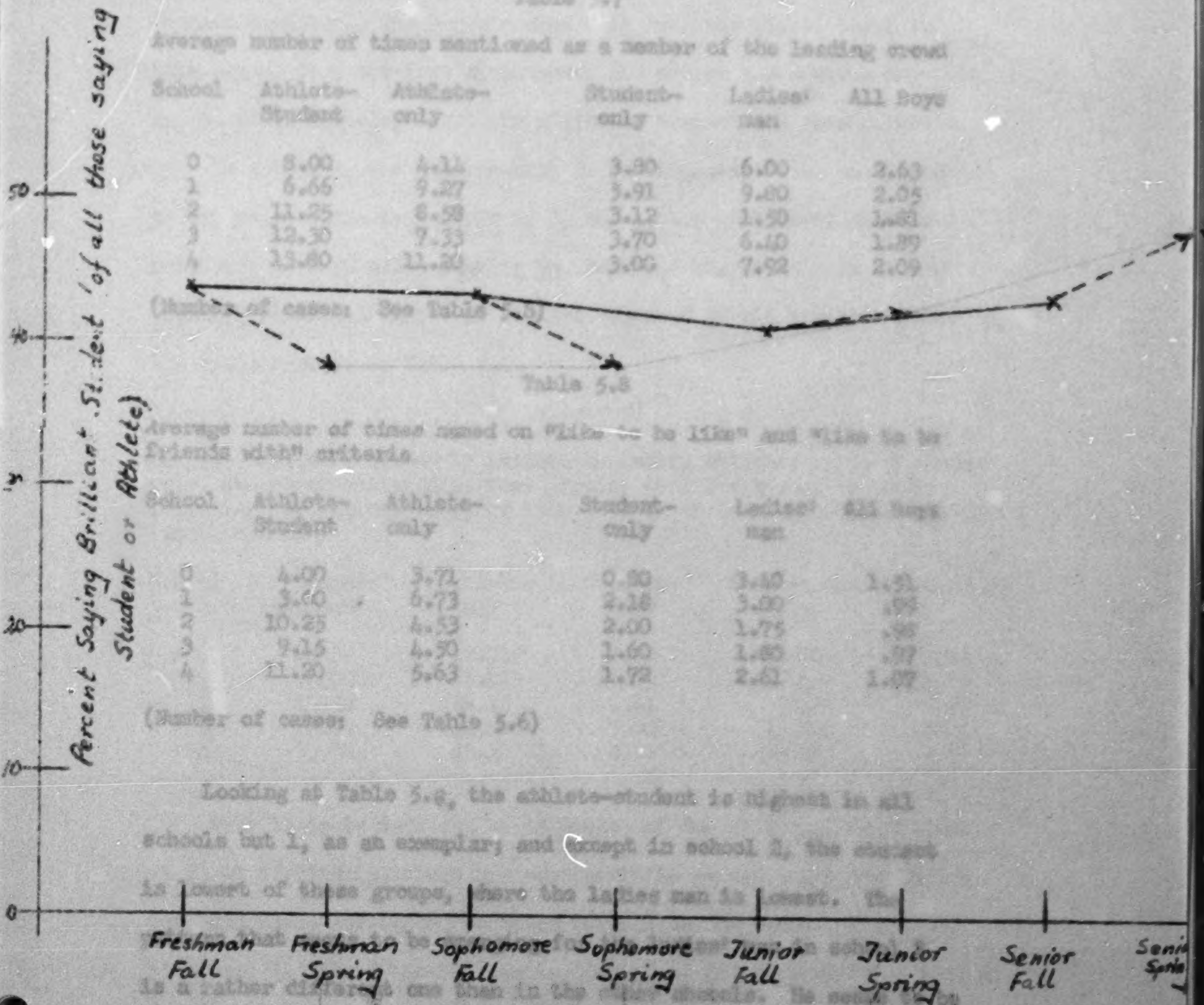
The athlete, athlete-student, and ladies' man are at a considerable level above the student body in all the schools; in school 3, the ladies' man stands out above the others in his school, and is higher than the ladies' man in any of the other schools. This is consistent with the generally social orientation of that school.

These differences suggest distinctive patterns of popularity and sociability for the different schools. In schools 0 and 4, it is athlete, ladies' man, student; in schools 2 and 3, it is ladies' man, athlete, then student; in school 1, it is athlete and the student, then ladies' man. These patterns are generally quite consistent with the values examined in Chapter 3, which showed the special importance of the athlete in school 4, the relative importance of being a good student in school 1, and the fact that in school 3, the high status crowd is quite socially-inclined.

School 0 shows the least skewed distribution, and school 4 the most skewed. This might seem to be a function of size, showing the most equal distribution of friendships because it is smaller. The overall distribution of friendship choices is slightly more equal there than in the other small schools. However, the main reason seems to be due to size in another way: the athletes, students, etc., in Figure 5.6 are a larger part of the school, constitution 3/7 or 43% of the student body. In school 4, in contrast, they constituted only 20% of the student body, and in schools 1, 2, 3, only 17%. This difference, in turn, is due to the fact that school 0 was in fact two separate schools with two separate elites, which consolidated in the fall and spring of 1957.

These differences in patterns for the five schools strengthen the earlier indications that in school 1 academic success is valued more than in the other schools and the indications of the importance of athletics in school 4. However, before generalizing too far from these results, it is important to look at the other measures of status. Figure 5.7 shows the average number of mentions in the leading crowd, and 5.8 shows the average number of mentions both as someone to be friends with and to be like. These figures show somewhat different variations among the schools. As a member of the leading crowd, the best student does more poorly than either of the other two groups in every school but 2, where he surpasses the boy who's popular with girls. relative to the student body as a whole however, the student-only survives for better in school 1 than in the others, which are very nearly alike. Yet in all the schools, the student-only is more often mentioned as in the leading crowd. For the athlete-only, again

Figure 5.6



one school is outstanding, but this time it is 4 which values athletics so highly. The ladies man is most often in the leading crowd in school 1, least often so in 2, where he is very seldom named as a member of the leading crowd.

Table 5.7

Average number of times mentioned as a member of the leading crowd

School	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student-only	Ladies' man	All Boys
0	8.00	4.11	3.80	6.00	2.63
1	6.66	9.27	3.91	9.80	2.05
2	11.25	6.58	3.12	1.50	1.81
3	12.30	7.33	3.70	6.40	1.89
4	13.80	11.20	3.06	7.92	2.09

(Number of cases: See Table 5.6)

Table 5.8

Average number of times named on "like to be like" and "like to be friends with" criteria

School	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student-only	Ladies' man	All Boys
0	4.00	3.71	0.80	3.40	1.31
1	3.60	6.73	2.18	3.00	.99
2	10.25	4.53	2.00	1.75	.96
3	9.15	4.50	1.60	1.80	.97
4	11.20	5.63	1.72	2.61	1.07

(Number of cases: See Table 5.6)

Looking at Table 5.8, the athlete-student is highest in all schools but 1, as an exemplar; and except in school 2, the student is lowest of these groups, where the ladies man is lowest. The [illegible] that [illegible] to be [illegible] for [illegible] in school [illegible] is a rather different one than in the other schools. He seems to be less often a boy who's in one of the elite groups, not a boy looked up to, but simply a boy who makes out with the girls. The reason for one school is outstanding, but this time it is 4 which values athletics so highly. The ladies man is most often in the leading crowd in school 1, least often so in 2, where he is very seldom named as a member of the leading crowd.

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0	8.00	4.14	3.80	6.00	2.63
1	6.66	9.27	5.91	9.80	2.05
2	11.25	8.58	3.12	1.50	1.81
3	12.30	7.33	3.70	6.40	1.89
4	13.80	11.20	3.00	7.92	2.09

(Number of cases: See Table 5.6)

Table 5.8

Average number of times named on "like to be like" and "like to be friends with" criteria

School	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student-only	Ladies' man	All Boys
0	4.00	3.71	0.80	3.40	1.51
1	3.00	6.73	2.18	3.00	.99
2	10.25	4.53	2.00	1.75	.98
3	9.15	4.50	1.60	1.80	.97
4	11.20	5.63	1.72	2.61	1.07

(Number of cases: See Table 5.6)

Looking at Table 5.8, the athlete-student is highest in all schools but 1, as an exemplar; and except in school 2, the student is lowest of these groups, where the ladies man is lowest. The pattern that seems to be emerging for the ladies' man in school 2 is a rather different one than in the other shcools. He seems to be less often a boy who's in one of the elite groups, not a boy looked up to, but simply a boy who makes out with the girls. The reason for this difference is not clear at this point, except for the indications in Chapter 3 and 4 that the leading crowd of girls these were more oriented to a good time, less to propriety and conformity, than in the other schools. This will become much more evident in Chapter 7, where the hedonistic quality of the girls cliques in that school becomes manifest. The boy who does well with the girls, then, in this school is a far less circumspect and proper and admired boy than in the other schools, where the girls who "count" are more decorous.

In school 1, the athlete-only is particularly often mentioned as an exemplar, while in schools 2, 3, and 4, the athlete-student is mentioned most of all. Summing up the three charts (simply adding together the total number of choices received on all criteria gives the results shown in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9*

Average choices received by athlete-students, athletes-only, students-only, and boys mentioned as most popular with the girls, on four criteria: be friends with, be like, member of leading crowd, friends, (small schools)

School	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student-only	Popular with girls	All boys
0	18.00	12.31	7.50	13.20	7.50
1	17.00	22.07	14.09	17.80	6.39
2	27.50	18.23	8.71	9.13	6.17
3	28.09	18.70	9.00	16.20	6.44
4	33.60	23.26	8.90	16.61	6.58

What is to be made out of this mass of data? Though it appears at first forbidding, there are some definite — and quite complex — patterns which correspond to other results in the study. First lock at school 4. There the athlete is clearly at the top. With or without the additional attribute of being a good student, he is very often named. The best student in this school is very far from the best athlete, and the athlete-student. In schools 2 and 3, the pattern is similar.

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*See Table 5.6 for N's

The general pattern of schools 2, 3, and 4, with the special attention shown the athlete-student, is a very different pattern from 1, where the athlete and student *separately* receive social rewards — with the athlete, as usual, receiving more — but the athlete-student receives no extra rewards, and in fact is less rewarded than the athlete-only.

In other words, the social system in schools 2, 3, and 4 seem to encourage athletic success and scholastic success, not as *alternative* paths to prestige, but as simultaneous paths. In school 1, athletic success and scholastic success are separately rewarded but there are no special rewards for the "all around" boy who is both outstanding athlete and outstanding student.

If there is this difference in the reward systems of these schools, then we would expect it to produce another result: in school 1, few boys would attempt to be both athlete and scholar, but would "specialize," so to speak, while in schools 2, 3, and 4 many boys would strive for success in both fields. As a consequence, in these latter schools, many boys would be named as *both* athlete and student.

This is in fact the case, with some very great differences between the schools. Table 5.10 shows the number of choices as best student received by the best athletes plus the number of choices as best athlete received by the best students, divided by the total number of best athletes and best students in the school. The numbers in Table 5.10 are thus crude measures of the covariation of best athlete and best student in each school. The differences are striking, and generally in accord with the results of Table 5.9.

Table 5.10

Coincidence of athlete-choices and student-choices in the same persons in five small schools

	Schools				
	0	1	2	3	4
Average number of choices received by best students as athletes and best athletes as students.	.59	.78	2.32	3.13	1.50
Total athletes and students	27	32	44	39	48

At one extreme are schools 0 and 1 with very little overlap between the best students and best athletes. At the other is school 3 followed by schools 2 and 4 in that order. The relation of this ordering to the special attention shown the athlete-student, presented in Table 5.9 is quite good. There the athlete-student stands out most in 4, 3, and 2, followed by 0, then at some distance by 1.

This difference in structure is not one which is necessarily related to the amount of social rewards received by athletes and students in the school. Elsewhere it is fairly conclusively shown that best students are most strongly rewarded in school 1, followed at some distance by 3 and 2, then by 4 and finally by 0 (a result which might be fairly closely inferred from column 3 of Table 5.9 and that athletes are most highly rewarded in school 4, followed at a distance by 1 and 2, then 3, and finally 0 (again roughly consistent with Table 5.9 looking at column 2). There is no relation — or very little — between these amounts of reward and the structure of reward, overlapping at the one extreme, virtually exclusive at the other.

What then, accounts for this difference in structure of rewards? There are several alternative explanations: a) in some schools like 2, 3, and 4, the determination of the "best student" is not at all clear, so that it is less independently determined, so that the outstanding athletes who are reasonably good in their schoolwork are also seen as best students.

b) There is an actual norm in some schools like 3 and 2, to be an "all-around" boy, not to be outstanding as only an athlete or only a student. There has been some indication in earlier chapters that this is the case in school 3.

c) In schools like 1 and 0, there are two distinct systems of evaluation, that of the teachers, which strongly encourages and rewards scholastic success, and that of the students, which encourages and rewards athletic success. Different students are responsive to one or the other of these systems of evaluation, and thus achieve in one or the other area, but not both. In other schools, in contrast, like 3 and 2, and to a lesser extent, 4, these systems of evaluation are no longer distinct, but are merged, with the teachers and students using similar criteria. These criteria include both athletic success and scholastic success, combining the dimensions which are distinct in other schools.

The question of which of these possible explanations does account for the difference found will be deferred until after examining the large schools in the same fashion as the small ones.

Athletes and students in the five large schools:

First in Table 5.11 are shown the friendship choices received by the athlete-students, athletes-only, students-only, ladies' men who are neither students nor athletes, and the remainder of the school. The patterns differ somewhat in each school, but are in general similar to one another and to the small schools: athlete-students have most friends, athletes-only and the ladies' men next most, and the students-only having least, though still above the student body as a whole. In all cases, the boys not named are least, and in all cases, the best students are next least. The fact that the students are in all cases above the level of the remainder of the school indicates, as in the small schools, that being thought of as best student does not deprive a boy of friends — though as Table 5.11 shows, it fails to gain him much popularity. In two of the schools (7 and 9) the athlete-only has fewer friends than the ladies' man, and in school 7, the athlete-student has fewer than any of the other groups. However, because of the small number of cases, the standard error is about ± .8, indicating that no strong inference should be made from this low figure of 4.33.

Table 5.11

Average number of friends of althlet-student, athlete-only, student-only, ladies' man, in five large schools

Schools	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student only	Ladies' man	All Boys
5	10.70	6.06	4.07	5.95	2.94
6	7.72	6.83	4.00	4.86	2.98
7	4.33	5.50	4.89	6.03	3.09
8	8.12	5.33	5.02	5.76	3.08
9	8.70	6.00	4.24	6.09	3.34

N's are:

School	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student only	Ladies' man	All Boys
5	14	37	29	21	732
6	7	29	23	15	513
7	9	26	27	25	603
8	8	45	53	41	954
9	10	41	51	21	930

It is in schools 7 and 8 that the student-only has more friends, both relative to the student body as a whole and relative to the athletes-only and students-only than in school 5, 6, and 9. This is quite consistent with the content of the value system examined earlier, where 8 stood out above the other schools in the importance of "good grades" for being in the leading crowd, followed by 7.

However, 5 was also high in this respect, in fact higher than 7. Here, however, the best student is so far from the athlete-only and ladies' man in the number of choices he receives as in schools 6 and 9. With this exception, again, as in the small schools, there is an actual relation between the importance of scholastic effort in making a boy looked up to and the actual popularity of boys named as best students, who were not also athletes.

In all schools but 7, the athlete-student has a special popularity above that of any of the other groups, again suggesting the encouragement of the "all-around" boy in these schools. Other than noting this and the higher popularity of the students-only in schools 7 and 8, it is best to turn to the other criteria of status — the exemplars and the leading crowd — in these schools.

Table 5.12

Average number of times mentioned as a member of the leading crowd

School	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student only	Ladies' man	All Boys
5	10.70	5.98	1.52	4.52	1.09
6	6.86	5.35	1.65	4.53	.90
7	12.00	5.80	2.70	3.18	1.02
8	13.00	5.70	4.06	5.98	1.42
9	19.00	5.72	1.73	11.90	1.33

(Number of cases: See Table 5.11)

Table 5-13

Average number of times named on "like to be like" and "like to be friends with" criteria

School	Athlete-Student	Athlete-only	Student only	Ladies' man	All Boys
5	11.25	3.03	1.80	1.81	.74
6	5.66	4.06	1.22	1.66	.58
7	5.89	5.88	2.63	1.80	.77
8	22.37	4.43	2.21	1.17	.74
9	16.80	3.46	1.57	3.67	.72

(Number of cases: See Table 5.11

Tables 5.12 and 5.13 show how the various groups fare in being mentioned as a member of the leading crowd (Table 5.12) and as someone to be like and be friends with (Table 5.13). In the leading crowd, again the athlete-students are by far most outstanding, especially in school 9, but also in the others. The students-only again do better in school 8 and to a lesser extent 7, both schools in independent small cities, than in the working-class suburb in school 6, the upper-middle class suburb in school 9, and the parochial school, 5. A similar pattern is evident in Table 5.13.

Putting the three criteria from Table 5.11, 12 and 13 together, in Table 5.14, the differences between the schools show up more strikingly different. In school 9, the athlete-student is the object of far and away the greatest amount of attention, preempting over twice as much as the next highest — which is surprisingly enough the boys who are neither students nor athletes, but attractive to the girls. The athletes-only fare more poorly, while the students-only get just about a sixth as many choices as do the athlete-student, and about a third as many as do the boys who are attractive to the girls.

The pattern in this school seems then to be that the "all-around" boy receives most attention, but that the "social lion", the boy whose claim to status is his ability with the opposite sex, follows next. These seem not to be seen as distinct types in this culture, but both seem set apart from the athlete-only and the student-only. This is evidence by the fact that the athlete-students in this well-to-do suburb received an average of 10.3 mentions as the boy most attractive to girls, while the athletes-only received less than one-fifth as many, 1.97, and the students-only received only one thirty-eighth as many, .27, an average which is only slightly higher than the boys who were named neither as best student nor as best athlete.

Thus in school 9, the athlete-student-ladies' man receives an extremely high amount of adulation. The pattern is similar to that in school 3, also a school heavily weighted with upper middle class white collar backgrounds. In that school as well the athlete-student received far more choices as the boy most attractive to girls (an average of 6.0) than did the athlete-student in any other small school, or than the athletes-only (an average of 3.13) and the students-only (an average of .50) in the same school.

In school 8, there is a pattern somewhat similar to that in 9, but differing in several important respects. The attention is first of all distributed much more among the different groups, with far less concentration on the athlete-students. And, quite important, it is distributed considerably more in the direction of the student-only. The student-only in school 8 receives more recognition from his peers in this school — as measured by the total number of choices received, shown in Table 5.14 — than in any other of the large schools, and more than in any school except 1. These are the schools which have consistently indicated, in the information discussed in Chapter 3 and elsewhere, a higher evaluation among the boys on academic success than any of the others. It is interesting to note in this connection that school 8 was the only school with a debate team, and around the debate team centered a group of boys and girls who "like to discuss politics and such things," as one girl put it — the closest thing to an intellectual subgroup, with high status in the school which was found in any of the schools. In school 8 there is some tendency for the athlete-student-ladies' man syndrome to emerge (athlete-students receive an average of 6.75 mentions as the boy most attractive to girls, while the athletes-only receive 2.0, and the students-only .53), but the tendency is not nearly so pronounced as in school 9. Furthermore, the athletes-only have higher overall recognition than the ladies-man (17.72 vs. 13.48).

School 7 has little of this special attention for the athlete-student, nor does school 6. The athlete-only is much more on equal footing than in school 9, and to a lesser extent, 8. In 7, the boys give more attention to the student-only, close to that in school 8;

in school 6, in contrast, the social rewards to the student are very meagre, lower, in fact, than in any of the other schools, large or small. This is coincident with the general picture of the values of this adolescent subculture, discussed in Chapter M. It appears that among the boys in this school the general recognition of all these groups, athletes, students, and boys attractive to girls, is somewhat lower than in the others; however, this is misleading, for in this school, more boys failed to mention anyone's name in answer to these various questions than in any of the other schools, as the column at the right of the table indicates. Relative to the number of names mentioned, there is probably as much focus on athletes in this school as in any. Measured in number of times the athlete-only (column 5 in Table 5.14), the athlete-only is higher than any other school (3.6 times).

In school 5, the athlete-student is especially prominent, as in 9, and to a lesser extent 8. The athlete-only gets more recognition in school 5 than does the boy attractive to girls, as he does in all the large schools but 9 and all the small schools but 0 (the latter having such small numbers that the figures are subject to a large error, making the comparison unreliable). The student—only in school 5 receives only a low amount of recognition from his fellows, as in the two suburbs, 6 and 9, and the smallest school, 0.

Again among the large schools, as among the small, there is a considerable variation in the special recognition given the "all-around" boy who's both athlete and student. In school 9, he receives highest status, in 8 and 5, somewhat less, and in 6 and 7, even less. This suggests that perhaps, as is apparently the case in the small schools, there is great variations in the pressures to be both good athlete and good student, resulting in a high overlap between these two areas of achievement. Table 5.15 shows, for the large schools, the degree to which these choices as best athlete and as best student coincided in the same people.

Table 5.15

Coincidence of athlete-choices and student-choices in the same person in five large schools

	5	6	7	8	9
Average number of choices received by best students as athletes and best athletes as students	2.37	1.83	2.10	1.28	2.05
Total athletes and students	(94)	(66)	(71)	(114)	(112)

These results show a considerable range of variations among the schools (school 5 has a coincidence almost double that of 8), though not as great a range was evident in Table 5.16 among the small schools. However, this variation does not coincide with the special attention shown the athlete-student, as it did among the small schools. This special attention decreased in the order 9, 8, 5, 7, 6, while the coincidence between athlete and student is in the order 5, 7, 9, 6, 8.

It could be possible that this kind of structural difference between schools, which merges the two roles of athletes and student in schools 2, 3, and 4, and keeps them distinct in others, like 0 and 1, is due merely to the accidental presence in the first schools of a few boys who combine athletic and scholastic talents. Thus if the schools were examined again a few years later, their positions might easily reverse, as different boys came into the schools.

It is certainly true that there are such boys, who gain an extra-ordinary number of mentions both as best student and as best athlete. For example, in Figure 7.1.2 the sociogram for boys in school 2, #213 was the most often named as athlete and as student in the junior class, being named 16 times as best athlete and 23 times as best student. Similarly, among the sophomores in school 3, #093 was named most often as best student (8 mentions) and also most often as best athlete (19 mentions). Nor is this merely a function of size. In the large schools, this extreme overlap between the top student and the top athlete occurred as well. If we consider in the large schools the top two of each in every grade (as will be done in a detailed analysis later), then there were three such cases. In school 6, among the freshmen, #193 received 17 mentions (second to #194 who received 19) as best athlete, and 9 mentions (second #153) as best student. Among the juniors in the same school, #457 was most often mentioned as best athlete (21 mentions) and shared the honors for first place as best student, with 19 mentions. In school 9, #263 was most-named as best student with 14 mentions, and second most as best athlete with 24 (only one behind the first-place man, #226).

Yet the question remains as to whether it is in fact an accident of genetics that such boys happen to have occurred in these particular schools, and not in the others. And even if such occasional cases do incur accidentally, the question remains as to whether they account for the overall differences found in overlap between these roles. One way of examining this is to look in each grade in each of these schools, at the single best student and the single best athlete, and see just how frequently each was mentioned on the other criterion. If the difference between schools occurs consistently in each grade, then this gives strong confirmation that the result above is not due only to the chance of genetics — for such chance events would hardly occur in every grade. Table 5.16 below shows the top best athletes and best students in each grade of each small school the number of choices received in the other criterion. (These boys' numbers are circled in red and green on the sociograms C.1.0. - C.1.4.)

Table 5.16

Number of student-choices received by top athlete and athlete-choices received by top student in each grade of five small schools

	School				
	0	1	2	3	4
Freshman	1	0	1	30	0
Sophomore	1	0	1	27*	1
Junior	2	0	39*	33	6
Senior	0	0	14	4	0
Total	4	0	55	44	7

This table gives fairly strong confirmation that the differences are not due to genetic chance. At the extremes are schools 1 and 3, the first with no overlap in any grade, and the latter with at least three overlapping choices in every grade. The other differences are almost as clear-cut, for in two grades in school 2, the overlap is greater than in school 4 and 0, and equal in the third grade of the four. In school 0, there are 4 cross-choices scattered in three grades. Here the very small size (less than ten boys in some grades) increases the possibility of a duality of role. Nevertheless, there is fair consistency from grade to grade, suggesting that there is something different in the functioning of these schools which creates this structural difference.

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*The same person was named as top athlete and top student.

It appears from these data as well as those in Table 5.10 which shows the overlap among all best students and best athletes, school 3 is at the extreme of high overlapping roles, school 2 is not far behind, school 4 follows at some distance, and then at the other extreme are schools 0 and 1.

Neglecting school 0 for a moment because of its small size and the complications presented by two student bodies, it may be noted that schools 1 and 4, the two schools in which there is far less overlap than in 2 and 3, are the schools which were high in Chapter 3 on these two dimensions of achievement. There is one important difference -- school 1 was high in Chapter 3 on both athletics and academic achievement — and in this Chapter was the one school which shows real social rewards for the student-only as well as the athlete-only — while 4 was shown in Chapter 3 to be high only on athletics, and in this chapter (see Table 5.9) the athlete-only in this school is higher than in any of the other schools.

The two schools (2 and 3) with high overlap on the other hand, did not show such distinctive focus either on athletics or scholastic achievement in Chapter 3. School 3 seemed to show more rewards for social attributes - good clothes, a good reputation, and school 2 for a social attribute of a slightly different order — having a car.

But the structural similarity between schools 1 and 4 is not matched by a content similarity — though the roles are distinct in both of these schools, only one - the athlete - is rewarded in school 4, while both are rewarded in school 1.

To return to the question of just how the structural differences arise, one way of investigating this is to see just how stably the "athletic star" and "brilliant student" images are held by boys in each school. If they are very stable over the school year, with very little "turnover" between the groups, then we might infer that the school is more nearly divided into two distinct groups, each striving for success in one realm.

Table 5.17 shows the turnover from fall to spring in each of these schools. Those who were in category "S" at time I and "A" at time II are the boys who said brilliant student the first time and athletic star the second. Below each table are listed the ratio of the number who shifted from one of these two images to the number who kept the same image.

This ratio does differ between the schools. It shows 0 and 4 to have more distinct groups than 1, 2, and 3. This might account then, for the less overlap of roles in schools 0 and 4 than in 2 and 3. Presumably boys are striving somewhat more nearly for one or the other goals in school 0 and 4, less often for both. But this does not account for school 1's lack of overlap, for these boys show just as much movement between the two images as do the boys in school 3 and almost as much as those in school 2.

It is not possible to carry this investigation of the source of this structural difference to the limits of our data, though one repr-

Table 5.17

School 0

		II A	II S	II P
	A	16	6	7
I	S	6	23	9
	P	3	3	15

School 1

		II A	II S	II P
	A	30	10	8
I	S	12	28	11
	P	5	14	31

School 2

		A	S	P
	A	44	11	16
I	S	18	27	7
	P	21	17	65

School 3

		A	S	P
	A	34	15	8
I	S	15	45	9
	P	10	20	28

School 4

		A	S	P
	A	46	15	9
I	S	10	35	23
	P	12	19	72

School	0	1	2	3	4
$\frac{AS + SA}{AA + SS} =$	.31	.38	.41	.38	.31

negative result may be mentioned — the notion was expressed earlier in the Chapter that the teachers might contribute a more distinct reference point in school 1, with values more distinct from those of the students than is true of the teachers in schools 2 and 3. But this is not true, if one examines the answers of teachers to the question of who they would most like to see as class president. No more of the teachers in school 1 mention "brilliant student" no more often than did those in the other ~~small~~ schools.

It seems from qualitative observation that something slightly different occurs. The teachers and parents seem to give as much support to athletics in school 1 as in the other schools; but they seem to have means as well for focussing the attention of the student body on the brilliant student. They seem far less to give rewards for the "all-around boy" than in schools 2 and 3, far more to give rewards to the boy who achieves highly in _either_ area, whatever his talents in the other.

Though the source of this structural difference cannot be studied here in more detail, its consequences are extremely important. In Chapter 9 will be examined the consequences of such difference upon the grades of the boys seen as "best student" and those seen as "best athlete." The structure seems also to have had a somewhat surprising consequence for the content of school 1's value system over the course of the school year, a consequence which will also be examined in Chapter 9.

Chapter 6

Beauty and Brains as Paths to Success

Despite the alluring title to this chapter, its aim is modest and straight-forward: to examine just how the girls named as best students by their classmates, and those named as most popular with boys fared in social status with their classmates. There is not among girls in high school an activity comparable to athletics among boys, in which a girl might achieve and thereby gain recognition and respect from her peers. Extra-curricular activities serve as such an avenue to some degree, but its effects on a girl's status are not comparable to the effects of athletic stardom on a boy's status. There is one path, however, which girls have traditionally been able to take toward social prestige, a path which, in these high schools, is still often used. This is success with boys. Girls were asked,

> II.11. Is it easier for a girl to get to be important and well-known among the students in this school by making friends with a very popular girl or by dating a very popular boy?
>
> making friends with a popular girl
>
> dating a popular boy

Although a minority replied that making friends with a popular boy was the way to success, it was not a small minority: 44.9%, compared to 55.1% saying that friendship with a popular girl was the better way. Thus in these high schools, as traditionally, an important way for a girl to "get ahead" is through her success with boys.

At the same time, scholastic achievement is very important to girls in high school. Motivated as they are to conform to the demands of parents and teachers, they work harder in school (as will be evidenced in Chapter 9 by their better grades), and are on the whole more oriented to "doing well" in scholastic matters than are the boys. Thus scholastic achievement constitutes an activity, just as does achievement with the opposite sex, which is important to girls.

Table 6.1 shows just how much status in all schools together, accrued to girls who were named as best students, those who were named as most successful to boys, and all girls together.

Table 6.1*

The Average Number of Choices Received in Various Elite Criteria by Girls Who Were Chosen as Best Student (2+ times), Those Named as Most Successful with Boys (2+ times), and All Girls in School

# choices received by:	Be Friends With	Be Like	Leading Crowd	Number of Friends
Beauty	2.35	3.21	9.26	6.55
Brains	2.26	2.53	4.61	5.71
All Girls	.57	.57	2.54	4.13

Just as the athletes outdistanced the best students in recognition and respect from other boys, the girls successful with boys outdistance the best students in recognition and respect from other girls. The difference is greatest for the girl whom others want to be like, and as a member of the leading crowd. At the same time, the girl named as best student is ahead of the student body as a whole in these criteria.

The immediate question, then, is how does this differ among schools? Is it alike in all, or do brains mean more than beauty in some?

Beauty and Brains in the Small Schools

Considering the small schools first, Table 6.2 below compares in each school the girls who are most popular with boys and the best students (in both cases, all those named 2 times or more) on the same elite criteria of status used above in Table 6.1.

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*N = 278, 380, and 4135

Table 6.2*

The Average Number of Choices Received in Various Elite Criteria by Girls Chosen as Best Students (2+ times) and those named as Most Successful with Boys (2+ times), in Schools 0-4

	Be Friends With & Be Like	Leading Crowd	Number of Friends	Total
School 0				
Beauty	5.4	10.3	3.6	19.3
Brains	3.7	5.2	3.4	12.3
School 1				
Beauty	6.9	13.9	6.1	26.9
Brains	6.0	11.2	7.5	24.7
School 2				
Beauty	5.6	11.8	5.9	23.3
Brains	4.0	8.9	5.3	18.2
School 3				
Beauty	7.3	13.7	7.7	28.7
Brains	5.6	8.5	5.9	20.0
School 4				
Beauty	7.3	15.9	7.7	30.9
Brains	3.8	5.1	5.4	14.3

Looking first at the totals on the right, it is apparent that brains do best in school 1, both in absolute terms and relative to beauty. Even there, however, it does slightly less well than does beauty. In only one of the 15 specific comparisons does brains win out: in the number

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	School	Beauty	Brains	School	Beauty	Brains
*N =	0	20	16	1	25	18
	2	29	23	3	27	23
	4	28	25			

of friends she has (that is, girl friends) in school 1. Yet in this school she is close to beauty both as an exemplar and as a member of the leading crowd.

It is in school 4 that beauty most exceeds brains, having over twice as many choices altogether. Not only is the difference greatest, but beauty receives more choices in that school, and brains receives fewer, than in any other of these schools (with the exception of brains in school 0, which is lower than 4, but which cannot be directly compared, since the concentration of choices is so much less in school 0). School 4 is the one which, as was evident in Chapter 3, athletics is dominant for the boys, and the girls give good grades a very low position as an attribute for popularity and status.

School 2 is closest to 1 in the status accorded to choices its brains relative to beauty, though in absolute terms, brains receive most choices in school 3. School 0 is somewhere between these schools and 4, though as mentioned above, it is harder to compare with the others because of its smaller size, and lower concentration of choices.

These positions in each school of girls who are seen to have "brains" by their classmates accord completely with the perceived importance of these attributes in the status system of these schools, as examined in Chapter 3. In school 1, brains gains most status among her fellows; 2 and 3 are next; and finally 0 and 4, though here 4 is definitely lowest, though it was not distinguishable from 0 in Chapter 3.

__Beauty and Brains in the Large Schools__

The same comparison between beauty and brains as in the small schools is given in Table 6.3 for the large ones.

Table 6.3*

The Average Number of Choices Received in Various Elite Criteria by Girls Chosen as Best Students (2+ times) and Those Names as Most Successful with Boys (2+ times), in Schools 6-9

	Be Friends With Be Like	Leading Crowd	Number of Friends	Total
School 6				
Beauty	5.8	8.8	5.8	20.4
Brains	3.8	4.0	4.9	12.7
School 7				
Beauty	6.2	10.4	6.4	23.0
Brains	4.0	4.2	5.2	13.4
School 8				
Beauty	10.0	12.2	6.9	29.1
Brains	7.3	9.0	6.5	22.8
School 9				
Beauty	5.2	12.4	7.2	24.8
Brains	4.0	4.5	6.2	14.7

As in each small school, beauty outdistances brains in each of these large ones. Consistent with the perceived status system, brains do far better in school 8 than in any of the other schools. The total number of choices she receives comes near twice what she receives in the other schools. The other schools are very similar to one another, both in the absolute position of brains, and in its position relative to that of beauty. Yet in Chapter 3, it was quite evident that the

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	School	Beauty	Brains	School	Beauty	Brains
*N -	6	42	57	7	59	81
	8	57	81	9	58	61

social rewards for scholastic achievement were higher among the girls in school 6 and 9 than among those in school 7. Because of this discrepancy, it is useful to look at the girls named seven times or more as best students in these schools—the extremes of "brains" as perceived by the other girls. Table 6.4 shows how the tope beauty and brains fared in each of these four schools.

Table 6.4

The Average Number of Choices Received in Various Elite Criteria by Girls Chosen as Best Students (7+ times) and those Named as Most Successful with Boys (7+ times), in Schools 6-9

	Be Friends With		Number of	
	Be Like	Leading Crowd	Friends	Total
School 6				
Beauty	15.2	18.7	7.5	41.4
Brains	9.4	7.4	6.5	23.3
School 7				
Beauty	14.5	22.2	8.7	45.4
Brains	6.8	5.5	4.9	17.2
School 8				
Beauty	14.3	16.2	6.3	36.8
Brains	12.9	11.6	6.2	30.7
School 9				
Beauty	10.9	21.2	9.1	41.2
Brains	8.9	7.5	6.6	23.0

	School	Beauty	Brains
*N =	6	12	12
	7	15	22
	8	22	23
	9	17	16

When these "top brains" are examined by themselves, then there is a clear-cut difference between, on the one hand, schools 6 and 9, and on the other, school 7. In the latter school, these top brains get hardly more choices than do the total group chosen 2 or more times: 17.2 total choices compared to 13.4. Among such of the other schools, the increase is much larger, an increase of 8 to 10 choices. In this table, school 8 still stands out far above 6 and 9, separating the schools clearly into three levels of rewards for brains: 8 is high, 6 and 9 are intermediate, and 7 is low. Again, as with the small schools, the differences coincide with those found in Chapter 3, where the perceived status system was examined. School 8 among the large schools, and 1 among the small ones, are clearly those where brains stand out most--or suffer least, by comparison with beauty. School 7 among the large schools, and 4 among the small ones are clearly the places where brains stand out least, or suffer most, by comparison with beauty.

Changes Over the Four Years

If one looks at the way "brains" are viewed by other girls over the course of four years in school, there is an interesting shift. The one girl in the small schools who in each class is named most often as the best student, and the two girls named as such in the large schools, experience a double shift over the course of their school career. Figure 6.1 shows (with the analogous boys charted at the left) the average number of choices received by this one most outstanding girl in each of the four years in school. Schools 0-4 are represented by one line, schools 6, 7, and 9 by another. (School 8 is omitted from this grade-by-grade analysis, for it includes only grades 10-12.) The freshman best student receives an average of 22.6 choices on all the criteria in the small schools, but by the junior year, this has decreased to little over 4 choices--including those who name her as friend, as a member of the leading crowd, and as someone to be friends with or be like. In every school but 1, of these small schools, the junior best student has only two persons who mention her as friends, and not a single mention as a member of the leading crowd, or as a person to be friends with or be like, except one lone mention in school 0. That is, in these four small schools, 0, 2, 3, and 4, the junior best student is a girl almost completely isolated and out of things. This is not at all true among the seniors or the freshman, but is beginning to be true by the sophomore year.

Among the large schools, the effect is similar, though not so pronounced, and possibly occurring earlier, and ending earlier. That is, there seems to be an end to this isolation, just as there was a beginning. Among the seniors in the large schools, the two best students received an average of 47 choices, and in each school, 6, 7, and 9, was highest of all four years in the number of choices she received. In the small schools as well, she had status comparable to, or greater than, that of the entering freshman "best students."

Apparently, there is a period, in the sophomore and junior years, when good grades among girls is particularly devalued. It seems likely that this is related to the beginning of regular dating and the consequent importance of criteria of attractiveness. It is instructive, in this regard, to look at Figure 2.11 in chapter 2, which shows the importance over the four years of school, of good looks and popularity

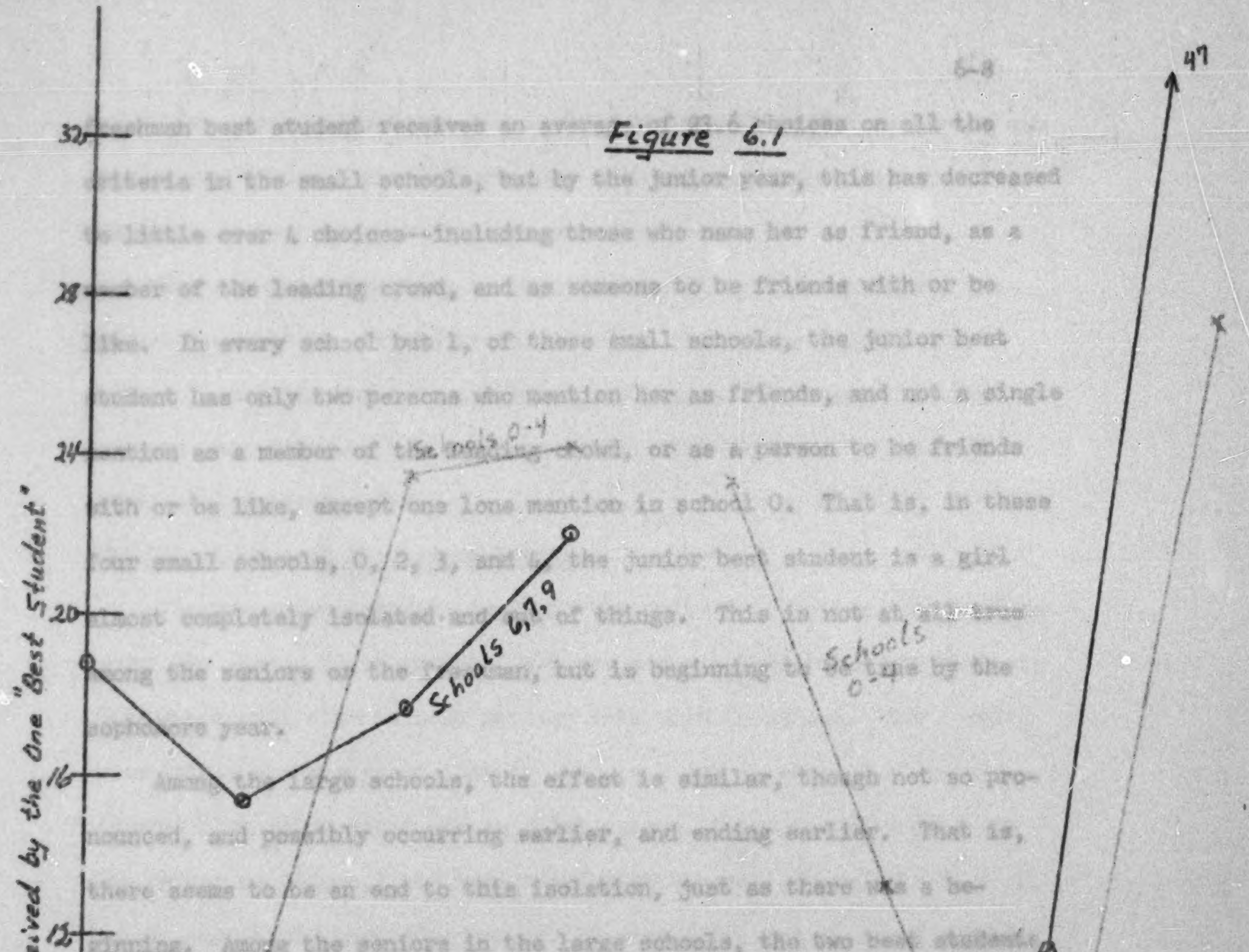

Figure 6.1

freshman best student receives an average of 23.6 choices on all the criteria in the small schools, but by the junior year, this has decreased to little over 4 choices--including those who name her as friend, as a member of the leading crowd, and as someone to be friends with or be like. In every school but 1, of these small schools, the junior best student has only two persons who mention her as friends, and not a single mention as a member of the leading crowd, or as a person to be friends with or be like, except one lone mention in school 0. That is, in these four small schools, 0, 2, 3, and 4, the junior best student is a girl almost completely isolated and out of things. This is not at all true among the seniors or the freshman, but is beginning to be true by the sophomore year.

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Apparently, there is a period, in the sophomore and junior years, when good grades among girls is particularly devalued. It seems likely that this is related to the beginning of regular dating and the consequent importance of criteria of attractiveness. It is instructive, in this regard, to look at Figure 2.15 in Chapter 2, which shows the importance over the four years of school, of good looks and popularity with boys for membership in the leading crowd. It is the sophomore and junior years when these criteria are of most importance, and the senior year that they are least important.

But one point has been omitted throughout this examination: the degree to which beauty and brains coincide in a given school. Or, less colloquially and more accurately, how much coincidence is there between the girls who are most successful with boys, and those most successful academically?

The Coincidence of Beauty and Brains

The preceding analysis leads to two quite conflicting expectations about the degree to which girls who are seen as "best student" by their classmates will also be most popular with boys in school. The results immediately above suggest that in schools 1 and 8, where the social rewards from other girls are greatest, she will be generally more "in the center of things," and more popular with boys. In schools 2, 3, 6, and 9, she should have some popularity with boys, and in schools 0, 4, and 7, where grades count for little in the girls' status system, she should have little success at all with boys. These expectations seem most reasonable.

Yet in Chapter 3, it was evident that "brains" in a girl were discounted most by boys in the most middle class schools: most in 9, but also in 1, 3, and 8. Thus from those results, one would expect a quite different pattern of success with boys by the brains. It should be lowest in 9, then in 1, 3, and 8, and highest in 0, 2, 4, 6, and 7, all of which are less middle class.

How does it actually turn out? Table 6.5 below shows the overlap between success with boys and success with studies in each school. These are calculated as for the athlete-student overlap of the preceding chapter, in which the total number of choices received on the other criterion by those chosen 2 times or more on one were divided by the total chosen 2 times or more on either criterion.

Table 6.5

	Schools								
	0	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9
Average number of choices as best student received by most popular and as most popular by best student	.93	2.18	2.06	.82	1.08	2.02	1.92	2.79	0.92
N =	(30)	(33)	(48)	(44)	(50)	(106)	(140)	(138)	(119)

The results coincide with neither expectation--but they coincide quite precisely with the two taken together. Schools 1 and 8 are highest in overlap, though they surpass 2 and 6 not so much as would be expected from the earlier tables in this chapter. It is among the schools where brains receive intermediate rewards from other girls that the social class expectation operates most strongly. In the two middle class schools, 9 and 3, the best students do most poorly with boys, while in the more nearly working-class schools in this same intermediate category, schools 2 and 6, they receive over twice as many mentions as most successful with boys--almost as many as in schools 1 and 8. Even in school 7, where brains received least rewards among the girls, it does over twice as well among the boys as in school 9. Only in schools 0 and 4, among the more working-class schools, does the girl with brains do especially poorly with boys--and even in these schools she does better than in the middle class school 3, where brains receive more rewards from other girls.

These results confirming the middle-class boys' devaluation of brains in a girl are certainly not in accord with naive expectations (including those of the author before carrying out this research). Yet they are consistent throughout the research, most evident in the upper middle class suburb, 9, but evident as well in the other schools. They seem to be related to fairly general changes occurring in society. Some of these are discussed in Chapter 10, which compares traditional middle class constraint of daughters with modern middle class pressures toward social maturity--and as a by-product, liberation from parental constraints.

It seems paradoxical that the greater role-differentiation between the sexes in working-class cultures than in middle class ones should lead to this devaluation of "good grades" or "brains" among girls by middle class boys. It seems that it is the combination of this difference in role-differentiation with one other factor which results in this middle class male devaluation of brains in a girl. The other factor is the increasing "adulthood" of adolescents, the increasing liberation from adult control. This greater liberation means that they are no longer children--and the girl who is admired and sought after by boys is the active girls, not the girl who is still conforming to adult standards by her concern with studies and good grades.

That is, "good grades" and concentration upon studies are seen by the adolescent community, and rightly so, as acquiescence and conformity to adult constraints. Social affairs, extra-curricular activities, and athletics, in contrast, are activities of their "own," activities in which they can carry out positive actions on their own, in contrast to schoolwork, where they carry out "assignments" from teachers. Such activity is galling to any community which feels itself at all autonomous. It is no wonder that these acquiescent girls, who are still conforming to parental and school "assignments," are not more popular with boys. A middle class boy, feeling his liberation from parental control, wants a partner in liberation, not a girl still responding to the controls of childhood. This is not to say that they want girls who have shed moral constraints, for it is not these girls who dominate the culture; they want to date girls who have constraints, but *inner* ones rather than girls who are still subject to parental demands. Their interest is in the *active* girl, not the *good* girl. More traditionally in adolescence, and still so among working class boys, it appears that the relevant dichotomy is the *good* girl vs. the *bad* girl, the first to respect and admire, the second to have fun with. It appears that this dichotomy is being replaced, in the modern middle class, with that of the *active* girl vs. the *passive* girl: the first to respect and have fund with, the second to ignore. The girls who strive for good grades are among the passive group, for they are merely acquiescing to external demands, rather than acting in those matters held important by the adolescent community.

It needn't be this way, of course, for academic achievement is inherently no more passive than is any extra-curricular activity, including athletics. It is only that academic matters in school are still largely presented to adolescents as something to be received, as prescribed "exercises," as "assignments," that is, as matters which require more receptively than positive action. The results, not only of this chapter, but of this research as a whole, strongly indicate that if the goals of secondary education are to be met in modern society, this structure of scholastic effort must be changed. The final section of Chapter 10 makes some suggestions in this direction.*

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*The matter is discussed more fully in a paper to appear in a fall issue of the Harvard Educational Review, and a paper to appear in a forthcoming symposium on citizenship education to be published by the Free Press, this winter.

Chapter 7

Structures of Association and their Relation to the Value-Systems of the Schools: Schools 1-4

In every social system, association patterns develop. The preceding chapters have examined first the cultures of these "little societies," that is, the values which are held by the adolescents in them, and then the ways in which the elites are generated by these values reflect them and strengthen them. But the actual association patterns of these systems are important to our purpose as well. That is, it is important to see the way in which these association structures help keep certain values strong, while dampening others. It is important to see where in these structures are located the boys and girls who achieve in various dimensions--in athletics, in school work, in extracurricular activities, in relations with the opposite sex. Which ones are in the center of the structures, which are on the fringes, and how does the pattern differ from school to school? *By examining in some* detail the structures for the small schools, and in a subsequent chapter, in less detail those of the large schools, it will be possible to see some of the effects of the value system, not directly on educational goals, but on the social patterns which occupy far more of an adolescent's thoughts, and have far more effect in shaping his future perspective on life, than do the things he's taught in the classroom.*

There are few points in a person's life at which associations are so strong, intimate, and all-encompassing as those which develop during adolescence. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that adolescence is a unique transitional period, when a boy or girl is no longer fully within the parental family, but has not yet formed a family of his own. Thus close ties with friends replace the family ties which are so strong during most of the rest of one's life.

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*The clique structure of school 0 is not examined here because there are so few people in each grade that there are no well-formed cliques other than the dominant one in each grade. The sociogram for school 0 is shown in Fig. 7.10.

In part, however, the strength of these associations is undoubtedly due to the nature of the high school, embracing the whole community of adolescents. In some schools, the association patterns are particularly intense. The sociograms of Fig. 7.1.0-7.1.9 can be misleading because there is no standard way of drawing them; nevertheless a quick leafing through these diagrams indicates differences large enough to be unmistakable. In the small schools a higher proportion of boys and girls appear to be part of definite cliques than in the larger schools. In the larger schools, there appears to be many more simple pair relationships, which are not part of a larger clique, but separate and distinct. (They are not so distinct as these diagrams make them appear, since these include only reciprocated choices, which probably constitute less than half of the total choices.) But even among the large schools, there are differences in these structures, quite apart from the differences within each school between the two sexes. For example, the structure in school 9 seems far more complete, more fully-developed than that in school 6, though both are suburban schools. School 9 is an old, though expanding, upper middle class suburb, while a large part of school 6's community is newly constructed. The school itself was only seven years old when the study was carried out. At least in part because of this difference in the degree to which a community exists in these two suburbs (and probably also in part due to the social class differences, and the greater interest of upper middle class parents in the school), a great many more community functions are carried out in school and after school hours in school 9. The following excerpt from the school newspaper indicates one such function:

> Sophomore Dancing
> Features Cha Cha
>
> SOPHOMORES, this is your chance to learn how to dance! The first day of sophomore dancing is Nov. 14 and it will begin at 8:30 a.m. in the Boys' Gym.
>
> Be in the Gym by 8:30 promptly because doors will be locked at this time. Mr. ... will be the instructor.
>
> NO ONE IS required to take dancing but it is highly recommended for both boys and girls. At the first lesson you may see what it's all about and attendance at the second session on Nov. 21 will enroll you in the class.
>
> If you don't attend at this time except in the case of absence from school, you may not attend at any other time. Absence excuses should be shown to Miss ... or Mr. ... .

One of the effects of this proliferation of social activities in and around the school is the strengthening of the social system shown in the sociograms. Whether this aids or hinders educational goals is another question, which will remain in the background until it can be better answered in a later chapter; but, whichever it does, the fact does remain that the strength of "the group" does differ in the schools, and differs from boys to girls.

Some explanation of these association structures is necessary. Only boys who were involved in at least one mutual choice relation are included. Thus some members do not appear in the sociogram. The size of the boy's or girl's number within his grade indicates the number of choices he received from others (except in Fig. 7.2.1 and 7.2.3 where the most highly chosen senior girl was given by mistake the number 001 rather than the high number).

In each grade, the boy who received most mentions as best athlete, and the girl who received most mentions as best dresser are circled in red. The boy or girl mentioned most often as best student is circled in green. The boy or girl mentioned most often as the one the opposite sex is most attracted to is circled in purple. In the large schools, 6-9, the two top persons in each of these categories was circled, or if more than two persons received 20 choices or more on that criterion, all such persons were circled.

In each of the nine public schools, "cliques" have been delineated and circled in the sociograms on the basis of the reciprocated choices.* These delineations are necessarily somewhat arbitrary, for they break apart into discrete units what is in fact a complex interconnected network.* Despite this necessary arbitrariness, these cliques, and what they have in common, can tell much about how the systems function.

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*The definition of a clique was a group built around a nucleus of four or five, each of which chose and was chosen by at least two others in the nucleus. The group was extended from the basic nucleus of four or five until the new person to be added was not in a mutual choice relation with at least two members of the group. If he was in a mutual choice relation with someone whose membership in the group was contingent upon his own, both were brought in. This was continued so long as the cycle of persons being brought in was not larger than five. However, the definition created a problem in a few cases (among girls in schools 8 and 9), because it brought into one clique two cohesive nuclei, each only peripherally connected to the other. In these cases, the clique was arbitrarily split at the peripheries of the two nuclei.

In every school, the senior clique whose members received, on the average, most mentions as being in the leading crowd is labelled "4A," 4 for senior, A for being the leading clique. Other cliques are labelled similarly, according to the grade of all or most of their members, and the status level of the clique in the grade. If more than one clique in a grade received an average of more than two mentions per person as being in the leading crowd, the cliques are labelled "A_1", "A_2," etc., 1 being the higher status clique. Other cliques are labelled "B" or "C" depending on the popularity of their members. Any clique which does not have a majority of its members from one grade is labelled with the numbers of all grades it includes. Thus in school 1, a clique covering the upper three grades is labelled 234C.

Beside each clique is also written the total number of mentions its members received as being in the leading crowd, the number received as best athlete (or for girls, best dressed), the number received as best student and the number received as most attractive to the opposite sex.

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*In carrying out this study, some techniques were developed for working with such a complex network using electronic computers, but they have not yet been perfected. A computer, Univac I, was used for locating all the mutual choices, from which these diagrams were drawn. The development of methods for analysing such structures as more than aggregates of individuals seems one of the most promising, and yet most difficult methodological tasks awaiting sociologists.

These are written, respectively

for boys =	L-n (leading crowd)	for girls =	L-n
	A-n (athlete)		A-n (best dressed)
	S-n (student)		S-n
	G-n (attractive to girls)		G-n (attractive to boys)

These indications will show not only the relative status of the various cliques, but also something about the general "personality" of the clique: whether it is made up of athletic stars, bright students, or teen-agers successful in the world of dating. A glance at the cliques in almost any of the schools shows that most such choices are highly concentrated in one or a few cliques in each grade. In addition, average grades of the members of each clique are listed below the clique identification number. These grades range from 8 to 0 (8 = A, 6 = B, 4=C, 2=D, 0=F)

The Association Structures in the Small Schools - Boys

In school 1, the structure among the boys is relatively simple, as Fig. 7.1.1 indicates. There is a leading clique in each grade, and the leading cliques are separate from one another, including no one outside that grade. By examining the size of the identification numbers, it is clear that each of these cliques constitutes not only the leading crowd in the school but also the persons most frequently named as friends. There are a number of exceptions, boys who are not in one of these cliques but are more frequently named as a friend than those who are in one of the A-cliques. But the general tendency remains. In examining the sociograms for the boys in the other schools, the way in which the status structure solidifies over time becomes strikingly apparent. In these schools, 2,3, and 4, the senior A clique includes almost all the top popularity positions, while this is not true for the leading clique among the juniors, sophomores, and freshmen. The coincidence of these two kinds of status in the senior year is almost complete. In school 2, the six-man 4A clique includes the six seniors most often named as a friend; in school 3, the nine-man 4A clique includes nine of the eleven most-named seniors; in school 4, the five-man 4A clique includes the four most-named seniors. Nothing approaching this consistency occurs in the lower grades, in part because their most popular boys are sometimes pulled upward into a group in the next higher grade. For example, the second most-named junior, #221, is the fifth member of the 4A clique in school 4. Or in school 2, the most-named sophomore, #162, is mixed up in a network consisting mostly of juniors, while the tightly-knit leading crowd in his grade must get along without him. A second reason, which may partially account for the very great coincidence among seniors between popularity and being in the leading clique is that these boys are, in effect, the leaders of the total system. They have come into their full power, while their counter-parts in earlier grades are, in part, standing-in-waiting, and thus may not garner so many choices from others in their grade.

The general focus of common interests of the A-cliques go through something of a transition as the four years of school progress. Their initial focus is around athletics in each of these four schools. In the four schools, not one of the 23 members of freshman A-cliques was not out for either basketball or football. Most were our for both sports. But in the upper grades, these cliques change their character as apparently a function of the climate of the school. In school 4, the school in which football is the primary ladder for status, every single member of the top A-clique in every grade is out for football. Only 9 of these

19 boys, however, are out for basketball. In school 1, where scholastic success is relevant to status along with athletic success, 1 out of 5 sophomores, 3 out of 5 juniors, and 2 out of 6 seniors are not out for either football or basketball. In contrast, studying among the A-cliques in this school is as high or higher among the upper classmen than in the freshmen A-clique, while it is less in school 4. The trends in athletics and studying in the four schools are shown in Table 7.1. The A-cliques in school 4 remain homogeneous in football, but not so in basketball, and decreases in studying; in the other schools, basketball and football decrease slightly or remain about constant. Studying increases slightly in schools 1 and 3, decreases sharply in 4, and decreases from a high start in 2.

These differences are strikingly consistent with the values expressed among the students as a whole, as examined in earlier chapters.

Table 7.1: Studying and athletics among the leading cliques of boys in each grade in schools 1-4.

	Schools															
	1				2				3				4			
Grades	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Out for football (Yes-No)	4-1	2-3	2-3	3-3	4-3	5-1	3-1	5-1	6-0		4-0	7-2	5-0	5-0	4-0	5-0
Out for basketball (Yes-No)	4-1	4-1	1-4	4-2	7-0	3-3	2-2	3-3	3-3		4-0	3-6	3-2	1-4	2-2	2-3
Average time on homework in homes	0.9	1.6	1.7	0.9	1.7	1.2	1.6	0.4	1.3		1.9	1.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.1
College (Yes-Undecided-No)	4-1-0	3-2-0	4-1-0	5-0-1	7-0-0	4-2-0	3-1-0	4-2-0	4-2-0		4-0	7-1-1	2-2-1	2-3-0	2-1-0	1-4-0

In other words, the values expressed in answers to the questions we asked these boys also express themselves in another and far more important way, by molding the social structure so as to conform to these values, letting certain groups and not others rise to the top, and shaping the activities of those which do rise to the top.

The radical decrease in studying among the seniors in school 2 and even more in school 4 calls for special attention. How does this come about, and why does it come about in these two schools?

A glance at the sociograms 7.1.2 and 7.1.4 will indicate something which does not exist in the other two schools: a fairly tightly-knit senior group. This group is labelled B in school 2, and A_2 in school 4, since its members were also mentioned--less often than the members of the A1 group--as members of the leading crowd. Both these cliques are fully distinct from the top senior cliques, with no mutual choices joining them. Both of these "second" groups are composed of boys active in school, both are relatively high status groups--though not as high as the top cliques--and yet they are separate and distinct from the top cliques. They differ in some striking ways from the top cliques, ways which give some insight into the peculiarly low studying of the top senior cliques in these schools.

Both of these cliques study far more than the top cliques do: 1.5 hours per night compared with 0.4 in school 2, and 1.3 hours compared with 0.1 in school 4. In school 4, they are all going to college, compared to all but one "undecided" in the top clique; and in school 4, they come from high status backgrounds (all managers' or professionals' sons). In school 2, they are going to college no more often than the members of the top clique (3-2-1 vs. 4-2-0), and they are of slightly lower status backgrounds than the top clique; but in both schools, they rank "learning as much as possible in school" (I, q.29-32) higher than the top cliques and they spend fewer evenings a week out with other fellows (I, q.19).

By all sorts of criteria, they are more oriented to adult values than are the members of the top cliques. All the boys in the $4A_1$ clique in school 4 drink beer, as do all the boys in the 4A clique in school 2. But in the $4A_2$ clique in school 4, only 2 of 6 drink beer, and in the 4B clique in school 4, none do.

To explain this bifurcation among the seniors, with the learning-oriented boys having lower status, is not possible, except tentatively, with these data (though examination of the girls' cliques in these schools will provide some evidence). However, qualitative knowledge of these cliques suggests the following: In school 4, there is too much diversity of orientation among the potentially leading crowd, so that it is bifurcated, along lines of high-studiers vs. low, those interested in learning vs. those not. The latter have more status in the adolescent system, and the former conform more to the desires of teachers. (The two groups differ in response to a question of what the teachers in this school are like (I, q. 142), with the second clique checking an average of 2.0 out of 3 possible positive items concerning teachers, and the top clique checking an average of only 0.8)

The division is not that of athletes vs. non-athletes, for the boy who is by consensus the best athlete is in the second clique. But he is a relatively high studier, and he's going to college.

Whether this bifurcation existed throughout the four years or only formed in the senior year with the divergence of post-high school paths is not possible to tell in school 4 or 2. However, the question may not be a meaningful one, for as indicated earlier in the chapter, the junior class A-cliques are less highly structured, since some high-status juniors are drawn off by the leaders among the seniors. It may be that one or two junior boys, who have been in a senior clique of boys with high status, low-orientation-to-learning (like #221 in clique $4A_1$ in school 4) become, in their senior year, the nucleus of the new non-learning oriented clique, composed of part of the leading crowd, leaving others.

In school 2, the bifurcation of the top clique from the second clique is not associated with college plans or family background, as it is in school 4. The less learning-oriented (that is, the top clique) comes from somewhat higher status backgrounds than does the other. Nevertheless, the differences in orientation are at least as pronounced. Each boy in the top clique spends an average of 4.9 nights a week "out with the fellows," while the average for boys in the second clique is 2.1 nights. The members of the top clique say the things they have in common are customized cars (I, q. 40a), dating (I, q. 39), and "stirring up excitement" (I, q. 40), while the B group mentions athletics and "having a good reputation" as their main concerns, with less interest in cars.

The phenomenon seems very similar to that in school 4: a diversity of interests and activities emerging in the senior year greater than a single group can tolerate (4.9 nights out to 2.1, or 0.4 hours studying to 1.5), resulting in the emergence (or solidification, if they already existed in earlier years) of two groups, one having higher status among the adolescents, and the other more in agreement with the teachers. (Again, as in school 4, there is a difference between the number of positive items describing teachers checked: 2.0 in group B to 1.1 in group A.)

Why, then, does such a bifurcation not occur in schools 1 and 3? The answer is most clearly seen by looking at school 3. There the A clique members are all but one going to college, i.e., are all high studiers, have a positive orientation to learning, and are positively oriented to teachers (an average of over 2.3 items checked). They include the boy named as best student, though their orientation is primarily social and athletic. They are not a highly academically-oriented group, and some show a high interest in customized cars, but they do not represent a non-academic extreme as do the 4A groups in schools 2 and 4. There are not enough boys among the seniors more academically oriented than these, to form a second group like that in schools 2 and 4. There may be more academically-inclined individuals, but not in large enough numbers to form such a second group. The boys who would have been part of the second group in these schools are in the A-clique here. Here, in school 3, membership in the A-clique is consistent with studying enough to get into college, and with the fairly mild and middle class good times which are not found in the A-groups in schools 2 and 4.

The situation is similar in school 1, though it seems to come less "naturally" there. The community is intermediate between 3 on the one hand, and 2 and 4 on the other, in the proportion of white collar families it contains, and is in fact nearer schools 2 and 4. Thus the leading crowds will naturally include fewer boys with a high educational or occupational background. Nevertheless, the leading crowds are a small fraction of the school, and thus have much room for flexibility. Consequently, the 4A group in school 1 is like that in school 3 in its background and orientation, but even more oriented to adult standards. It does not have an interest in customized cars (though two boys do mention dual exhausts), it ranks "pleasing my parents" extremely high (1.8 compared to 2.3 in the

4A clique of school 3, 2.5 in that of school 2, and 2.2 in that of school 4), and checks an average of 2.5 out of 3 positive items concerning teachers.

Thus, partly due to the population characteristics of the community, partly due to school policy which focusses attention on good students, school 1 ends up with a dominant senior clique which is relatively adult-oriented. It does not include the best student, nor are any of its members mentioned as the best student; but it "has room" for the popular boy whose concerns are relatively serious. Its interests are less in custom cars, more in relatively mild and middle class fancies such as jazz (in contrast to the more general interest in rock and roll).

Thus the social structure among the senior boys in schools 1 and 3 differs radically from that of schools 2 and 4. In schools 1 and 3, the leading clique of the adolescents, and the "leading group" with the teachers is the same 4A clique. In schools 2 and 4, these cliques are separated into two, the "second group" much resembling the A-cliques in schools 1 and 3, but the first group being a far more social group, uninterested in learning, and less oriented to adult values.

In part these configurations are the result of chance combinations of personalities, and factors which are specific to that particular senior class; the junior class may structure itself in very different ways when it comes to be the senior class. Nevertheless, they suggest a pattern which may be more general in schools where athletics is important (as it is in most American schools): The very high status group among the boys themselves will be a group which gains its status and is held together largely by its athletic achievements; but in a predominantly working class community, many of the boys in this group will be uninterested in learning, and thus "too far to the left" to gain the full support of teachers. At the same time, this clique cannot encompass all the popular and high status boys (whose status may also have been gained through athletics, but who are also oriented toward scholastic matters in school). These boys, then, with the implicit or explicit support of the teachers, will have a group of their own, more adult-oriented than the top group. The top group expresses the interests and values of the majority of boys, but the minority who are oriented to educational goals look toward the second group, which is oriented toward these goals.

This is not to say either that the second group is devoid of status among the adolescents, or that the top group is anti-school and rebellious toward school activities. The second groups in schools 2 and 4 do have some student status, and the top groups are very much at the center of things in the school. The rebellious, anti-school groups are still a different set of boys, ones with little status among either the system of adolescents or the teachers.

It would be incorrect also to view the 4A cliques in schools 1 and 3, and the second cliques in schools 2 and 4 as strongly oriented to academic matters. Their primary focus of interest remains athletics (it is mentioned as the activity they "have most in common" more often in each of these cliques than is any other activity--except, in school 1, an interest in jazz, which is equally often mentioned--and their interest in scholastic matters never borders on the intense. Academic effort as it occurs in American high schools is highly individual, and thus offers little basis either for group formation or for support by the student body as a whole. It pulls a boy *away* from the center of school activities rather than toward them, because of its very individualism.

Thus the group 4A cliques in schools 1 and 3, 4A$_2$ in school 4, and 4B in school 2 represent a middle ground between concern with those activities, like football and other extracurricular activities, which generate group cohesion and student body support, and those other interests, like studies, which remain the abstract ideal of teachers, but which offer no basis for student body support. The teachers must compromise, in a sense, in giving their support to a "leading group" quite far from their abstract ideal, because their abstract ideal constitutes neither a cohesive group nor gains student support. This is indicated well by the teachers' response to a question:

T.17-18. If you could see any of three boys elected president of the senior class, which would you rather it would be?

brilliant student	19.0%
athletic star	3.7%
leader in extracurricular activities	72.3%
number of teachers	(401)

The teachers want to see the brilliant student as senior class president far less often than the activities leader, hardly more often than they do the athletic star. When asked why they named the boy they did, the largest number (32.7%) said because of his leadership ability and his responsibility. Next most frequently mentioned, as a reason for naming the leaders in activities (and most frequently mentioned for naming the athlete) was because "he gets along better with the students." In other words, the brilliant student, though an abstract ideal, is not seen as the appropriate background for class president, partly because he is not seen as having administrative ability, and partly because he is not "close to" the other students and is not a focal point of attention with them. Again this points to the fact that the organization of activities in these high schools acts to dampen enthusiasm for concentrating one's energy on scholarly matter. Not only the boys, but also the teachers, see the brilliant student as a boy whose interests pull him away from the center of school activities and make of him too much an individualist.

Turning to the other cliques among the seniors in each school, we can get a somewhat better image of the way the system structures itself in these schools. In school 4, there is one other senior clique, 4B. This clique is very much like the $4A_2$ clique in its orientations: it is a high-study clique, all going to college, positively oriented to teachers, from both white collar and blue collar families, and not composed of athletes. It differs from the A_2 clique in these ways: its members date much more; they are less involved in extracurricular activities; none are out for basketball; and in general they are involved less highly in "school life," more highly in "out-of-school life" than the A_2 clique. They are not, however, anti-school, but only less in the middle of school activities than $4A_2$. It is interesting to note, and perhaps significant, that these two groups, $4A_2$ and 4B, in a school which is dominated by athletics, give an anti-athletic answer to the question of how they would like to be remembered in school. While three members of the $4A_1$ group say athletic star in answer to this question (I, q. 131), and two say "most popular," the ten members of the $4A_2$ group and the 4B group respond quite differently: only one says athletic star, 5 say most popular, and 4 say brilliant student. This failure to mention athletic star is particularly surprising in this school which favors the athletic star, a school in which one might expect both the $4A_2$ and the 4B groups to hold this image highest. The result indicates a cleavage of orientation between the top clique and the second and third senior cliques.

This cleavage of orientation, which does not exist in any of the other schools (schools also less dominated by athletics), suggests the possibility that such cleavages, and such rejection of the athletic image, on the part of some fairly high status groups in the student body, arise only when athletics crowds out other dimensions by which status might be gained. In the other schools, the only similar reaction against athletics is on the part of very different kinds of groups: those which are not concerned with school activities, groups whose interests and status lie elsewhere. An excellent example, though one whose interests are somewhat atypical, is in school 1, 234C, the group which cuts across three grades, from sophomore to senior. This clique, whose interests lie not in athletics, nor in school activities, nor in dating nor in cars, has one thing in common: religious interests. They all attend church every Sunday, five out of seven report that religion is the thing they have most in common; and 5 out of 7 say they would most like to be a missionary (rather than an atomic scientist, nationally famous athlete, or jet pilot in I, q. 68. The members of this group are never mentioned as being in the leading crowd, nor are they interested in being in the leading crowd (5 out of 7 say they don't want to be in it, 2 say they don't care, none say they do). This group, then, is one whose focus is on activities oriented away from the adolescent culture. If we look to see how they want to be remembered in school, none say most popular, only one says athletic star, and five say brilliant student (one did not answer). This group, then, is one whose orientations are centered elsewhere, away from the athletically centered adolescent culture, but in a direction more consistent with the image of brilliant student than that of most popular or athletic star.

There is a similar group, which again cuts across the three upper grades, in school 2. This group, labelled 234C, has almost identical religious orientations as the 234C group in school 1 (all go to church every Sunday, 3 of the 5 members mention religion as their common activity, all but one rank "living up to religious ideals" first, 2 want to be missionaries), and in it all 5 members want to be remembered as a brilliant student (and in answer to I, q. 50, none want to be in the leading crowd).

The 3B and 3C groups in school 2 are of quite a different order. These boys are low studiers, are not going to college, and are not involved either in athletics nor in other school activities (of the ten, only two, in 3B, are out for either football or basketball). Their out-of-school activities are not religious, however. For the 3C boys, the activities include hanging out at the skating rink, for the 3B boys, the pool hall, and for both groups, going around with the same girls. Their attire is levis, their hair is in ducktails, and those in 3B smoke regularly and drink beer. They all come from working-class backgrounds in town.

These low status junior cliques in school 2 stand in considerable contrast to the high status senior cliques in this school and in school 4. Their activities are probably little more flamboyant than those groups, they study no less in school (for the high-status groups study almost not at all), but their orientation is away from school activities, while the orientation of those leading senior cliques is toward school athletics.

It may be, then, that when the junior boys become seniors in this school, the structure will be quite different from that of the present seniors. The leading group of juniors does not show signs of the bifurcation that is found among the seniors, and is quite oriented to studying. That is, in this group, both athletics and scholastic orientations are contained. They get 17 choices as best athlete, and 31 as best student, and they capture most of the mentions as members of the leading crowd (only one other boy, #243, who is not the focal point of a clique, gets as high a number of mentions as being in the leading crowd as does the lowest member of 3A).

Similar in general orientation to the two low status junior cliques in school 2, cliques 3B and 3C, is a very cohesive junior group, 3B, in school 3. In this group also, cars are the primary focus of interest and ducktail haircust are the style. They are heavy daters, and only 2 of 7 are out for football. Their parents are mixed, farmer, worker, and white collar, and mixed as well in educational background. Most of the smoke, though only one indicates that he drinks. Only two of them work, in contrast to the 3B and 3C groups in school 2, and in general, their activities indicate somewhat more middle class orientations--but nevertheless away-from-school orientations--than do the 3B and 3C groups in school 2. That is, they don't hang out in the skating rink or the pool hall, but work on their cars together, ride around, stir up some excitement, and go out with girls together. There are two hangouts in town, one where the leading crowd and its hangers-on congregate, and one where the "rough boys" and their hangers-on congregate. This group hangs out at the second place, another matter clearly setting it apart from the leading crowd, and orienting it away from school-related events and activities.

The remaining parts of the social structure among the boys of these schools, as displayed in the sociograms, seem to show nothing new. To be sure, this is only appearance, and if analytical methods were better developed, we could undoubtedly learn much more about these structures. But the analysis of these structures must end here for this report. It will be taken up again in work to be done beyond this report, in the examination of changes in the structures over time. For comparable data were collected in the spring questionnaire, data which should aid greatly in answering the still-open questions of how these structures change through the course of the four years in high school. What can be done at present is to examine in some detail the analogous structures for the girls in these same schools.

The Association Structures in the small schools: Girls

Anyone familiar with teen-agers knows the extreme importance of friends, cliques, groups and crowds for girls. Nevertheless, the complexity of the clique structures among girls in these schools, compared to the relative simplicity of the boys' associations, is startling. The networks of girls shown in Figures 7.2.1-7.2.4 are extraordinarily proliferated compared to those of the boys. Table 7.2 below shows this well, listing the number of boys' and girls' cliques in each of these four schools, using the definition for cliques indicated in the footnote above, on page 7-5.

Table 7.2

Number of boys and girls cliques in schools 1-4

School	Boys	Girls
1	7	9
2	12	25
3	7	14
4	8	17

Beyond this comparison, it is easy to see differences within the cliques in the proliferation of choices. For example, in school 1, Fig. 7.2.1 shows two sets of five girls and one set of six, forming a perfect star, with all possible choices made among them. For a group of six, this constitutes a total of 30 choices, all made among the six girls. For the boys in the same school, there is not a single such perfect group larger than four in size.

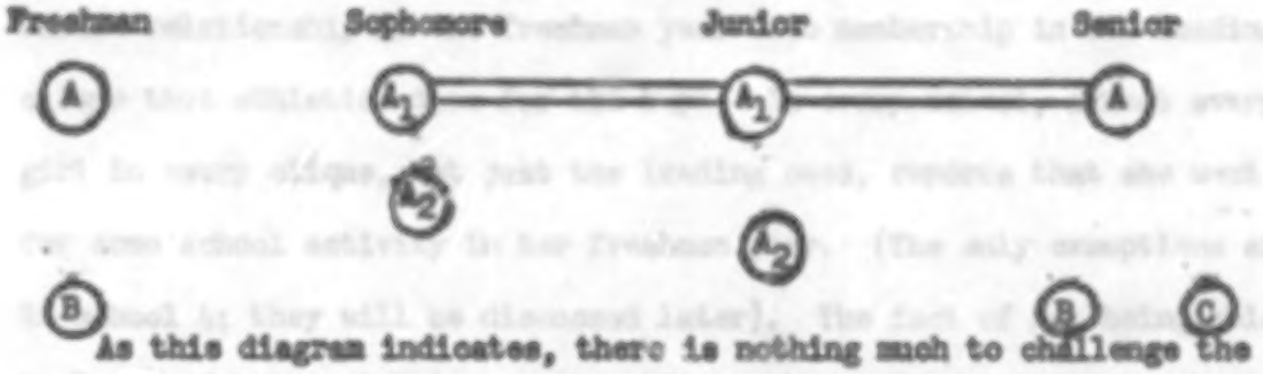
The proliferation and complexity of these networks demands a more detailed analysis than that of the boys. It is necessary to examine each school separately, not only because of the complexity of the structure, but also because of the greater variability in these different structures. The simplest is the smallest of the four, school 1, and it will be examined first.

Girls in school 1:

Looking at the structure alone, the top cliques in each of the upper three grades are joined by common members--the most popular senior girl (labelled 001 by error) joining the 4A and $3A_1$ cliques, and a junior, 125, joining the $3A_1$ and $2A_1$ cliques. Other than these connections, the system is composed of fully discrete cliques. To simplify the general picture of the structure, the diagram below can be of aid. Each clique is drawn as a unit; the vertical dimension indicates the relative status of the clique, in terms of the number of mentions its members received as members of the leading crowd. The horizontal dimension is year in school. A connection between two cliques by a mutual member is indicated by a double line. (Other connections, through a direct choice and through intervening persons, will be represented in later diagrams by a single solid line and a broken line respectively.)

Figure 7.3

Status and Connections among Girls' Cliques in School



As this diagram indicates, there is nothing much to challenge the status of the A_1 cliques in each grade. There is, to be sure, a second clique which gets more than 2 mentions per person as being in the leading crowd; but only among the sophomores does this A_2 group have status at all comparable to the leading clique.

Looking at the characteristics of the cliques in Table 7.3, several features of the structure stand out. (The footnote to the table indicates how it and subsequent tables are to be read.) First, looking at the proportion whose fathers had at least some college (I, q. 56, categories 7, 8, and 9) in the cliques, and the number of white collar occupations: In every grade but sophomores, the leading clique has a higher status background than the others in that grade. In each A_1 clique except $2A_1$, white collar backgrounds predominate, and in $1A_1$, $2A_1$, and 4A, at least half have had some college. Compared to the lower status groups in these grades, the cliques are of considerably higher status. This does not mean that they are exclusively middle class, because in every leading clique, there are girls from working class families and farm families (though farm families, particularly in this area, may be well-to-do).

Other attributes, of course, besides family background are important for membership in a leading clique, as earlier chapters have indicated. However, none of our data on the activities of these girls shows the marked relationship in the freshman year with membership in the leading clique that athletics does for the boys. In every school, almost every girl in every clique, not just the leading ones, reports that she went out for some school activity in her freshman year. (The only exceptions are in school 4; they will be discussed later). The fact of not being able to locate for the girls any such activity, like athletics for the boys, seems to be another reflection of the absence of such means of achieving status for girls. Family background and previous associations create much stronger barriers to mobility for the girls.

However, it is possible to see, from Table 7.3 and from other data not presented, how these cliques presently differ in their activities, in particular, how the leading cliques differ from the others. Symptomatic of these differences, and highlighting them because of the background similarity, are the two A-cliques in the sophomore class. Their differences in orientation are shown most easily by their dating frequency: the $2A_1$ group has an average of only .7 dates per week, while the $2A_2$ clique members date an average of 2.8 times a week. The different orientation is

Table 7.3[*]

Characteristics of girls' cliques in school 1

clique	size	Educ.	Occ.	study hrs/day	date #/wk	smoke drink	be remembered S-A-P	Rally	college plans Y-U-N
1A	10	.6	7-3-0	1.4	.3	0	3-1-6	R	5-1-2
1B	4	no data							
$2A_1$	7	.5	3-3-1	1.6	.7	.1	2-2-3	F	3-4-0
$2A_2$	4	.5	4-0-0	1.1	2.8	.4	2-1-2	R	2-0-2
$3A_1$	9	.2	6-2-1	1.3	.6	.3	2-3-4	R	8-1-0
$3A_2$	5	.2	3-0-2	1.5	2.9	.6	1-2-2	F	1-2-2
4A	5	.8	3-1-1	2.8	1.2	0	2-3-0	R	4-0-1
4B	8	0	1-3-3	1.9	1.1	0	3-2-3	R	2-3-3
4C	6	0	0-3-2	1.9	2.0	.1	2-4-0	R	0-0-6

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[*] Listed in the "educ." column is proportion with some college (I, q.58/7, 8, 9). Under "occ." is father's occupation, with white collar-worker-farmer listed in that order. Under "smoke, drink" is a score determined by adding up the total number of smokers and the number of drinkers (I, q. 167, 168) (counting 1 for occasional, 2 for regular) and dividing by twice the total number of people. Thus if everyone smoked and drank occasionally, the index would be 1.0; if all smoked occasionally, but none drank, it would be 0.5. In the column "be remembered" are listed the number saying "brilliant Student," "leader in Activities" and "most Popular" in answer to I, q. 131. In the column "rally" is listed R if the majority would attend the rally, F if they would go with friends when confronted with the choice (I, q. 133). In the "college plans" column are listed the number saying Yes, Undecided, and No to the question about attending college (I, q. 115). In all the listings of absolute numbers, the total may be smaller than the clique size because of failures to answer.

exhibited in other ways as well. The $2A_1$ clique studies and average of 1.6 hours a night compared to 1.1 hours for the $2A_2$ clique; all the $2A_1$ girls are contemplating attending college, while half of the $2A_2$ girls say they are not going; and the smoking-drinking index is only .1 (one girl of the seven reported smoking occasionally) compared to .4 for the $2A_2$ group (two girls of the four reported smoking occasionally, and one reported drinking beer occasionally). In short, the $2A_2$ girls are considerably more interested in a good time, in dating and social life, than are the $2A_1$ girls.

The division between clique $2A_1$ and $2A_2$ illustrates well the two components of the leading crowd discussed in chapter 3: the concern on the one hand with propriety, a good reputation, conformity to adult demands, and on the other, with keeping out in front of the crowd, "stirring up a little excitement," and staying in the center of things. Though some quantity of each of this seems necessary (in school 1) for membership in the leading crowd, it appears that associational cleavages come about within the larger crowd depending on the relative emphasis on the two components. Recalling earlier information about the climate of school 1, it is characteristic of the girls in this school that the clique with greater emphasis on propriety has higher status. This is not to say that the $2A_1$ clique is seriously scholastic and primarily study-oriented, for neither it nor the smaller $2A_2$ garner more than a scatter of mentions as the best student. The girl most often so named is off to the side with two friends, not considered a member of the leading crowd, nor in these leading cliques.

Very much the same differences that exist between the two A-cliques in the sophomore class are found in the junior class as well. The status difference between the A_1 and the A_2 cliques is more clear-cut here, as the location of the $3A_2$ clique in Fig. 7.3 indicates. But the differences in activities parallel those of the sophomore class. The dating difference is even more pronounced, the differences in college intentions are much more pronounced, and the smoke-drink difference exists, although the studying difference is slightly reversed. Their reports of activities the group has in common shows well the difference between the cliques. The $3A_1$ girls report something mentioned by all three cliques in the sophomore-to-senior A_1 complex, and also by the 4A boys' clique in this school: an interest in jazz and classical music. This contrasts strongly with the general interest in popular music, and is apparently a fad among these high-status cliques to help set them apart from outsiders. The $3A_2$ clique, in contrast, likes rock and roll, its members go to the skating rink (somewhat surprising, since this is usually an activity of girls from less middle class backgrounds), and to movies together. They are much less style conscious than the $3A_1$ girls.

The senior girls in the $4A_1$ clique exemplify propriety, conformity to adult standards, and involvement in school activities more than do any of the other A_1 cliques in the school. They report that their common interests center around school activities, they study very heavily, none smoke or drink, and all want to be remembered as a leader in activities or as a brilliant student. This clique includes, as does the $3A_1$ clique and the $1A_1$ clique, the girl most often named as best student and the one named as best dresser, and also the girl most attractive to boys. These senior girls are dating with some frequency in contrast to their younger counterparts in cliques $1A_1$, $2A_1$, and $3A_1$.

In passing, it should be mentioned that while this community is predominantly Protestant (and religion is taken more seriously here than in any of the other communities), there is a minority of 16% Catholics. These include middle class families, and there is very little, if any, tendency for cliques to be restricted to one religious group. For example, the $1A_1$ clique and the $3A_1$ clique each have three Catholic members. The lack of religious lines in association is not at all universal among these schools, even among the small ones. And in the suburban school 9, which has a sizeable minority of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, religious lines are very important in friendships.

The 1B, 4B and 4C cliques in school 1 are quite different from the cliques discussed so far in their social backgrounds, though somewhat similar to one another in their backgrounds and general orientation. They are made up of predominantly workers' and farmers' daughters; in particular, the cohesive clique 4C comes from a fairly lower class background. Its members date a lot (though not so much as the $2A_2$ and $3A_2$ groups), and their activities together include dancing and double dating. Yet, they are not primarily interested in a good time, but are quite conforming to adult standards. Two of them emphasized in their questionnaires that their group had quiet good times. They, and the 4B group (which is somewhat more concerned with a good time) have social backgrounds which could lead in a very different, anti-school and hedonistic direction, yet do not. They are positively oriented to the school and its teachers (mentioning an average of 2.5 and 2.3 out of 3 positive items respectively in answer to a question about teachers in the school (I, q. 142); and they devote more time to homework than any other cliques but the 4A clique. Their behavior is consistent with the general impression this school provides the observer: a student body largely controlled by the school and community, and kept more nearly as children, less as semi-adult "teen-agers" than in any of the other communities.

Girls in school 2:

The clique structure in this school is particularly interesting in view of previous research done on this school. It was the subject of a study carried out about 15 years before the time of the present research. Research among the adolescents themselves, published in the book, Elmtown's Youth, indicated the powerful effect of a family's status in the community upon the child's status and chances for success in the school.* As the present analysis has already indicated to some degree, and will show much more strongly in the next few pages, the results of the present research are at wide variance with the earlier ones. The reasons for this and the question of what changes, if any, have taken place in Elmtown, will be discussed in chapter 10.

School 2 includes one and a half times as many girls as does school 1; but the association structure is far more proliferated, as a glance at the two sociograms will quickly indicate. The numbers of cliques in this school, as was shown in Table 7.2, is over twice that among the girls in school 1, and more than in any other of these small schools.

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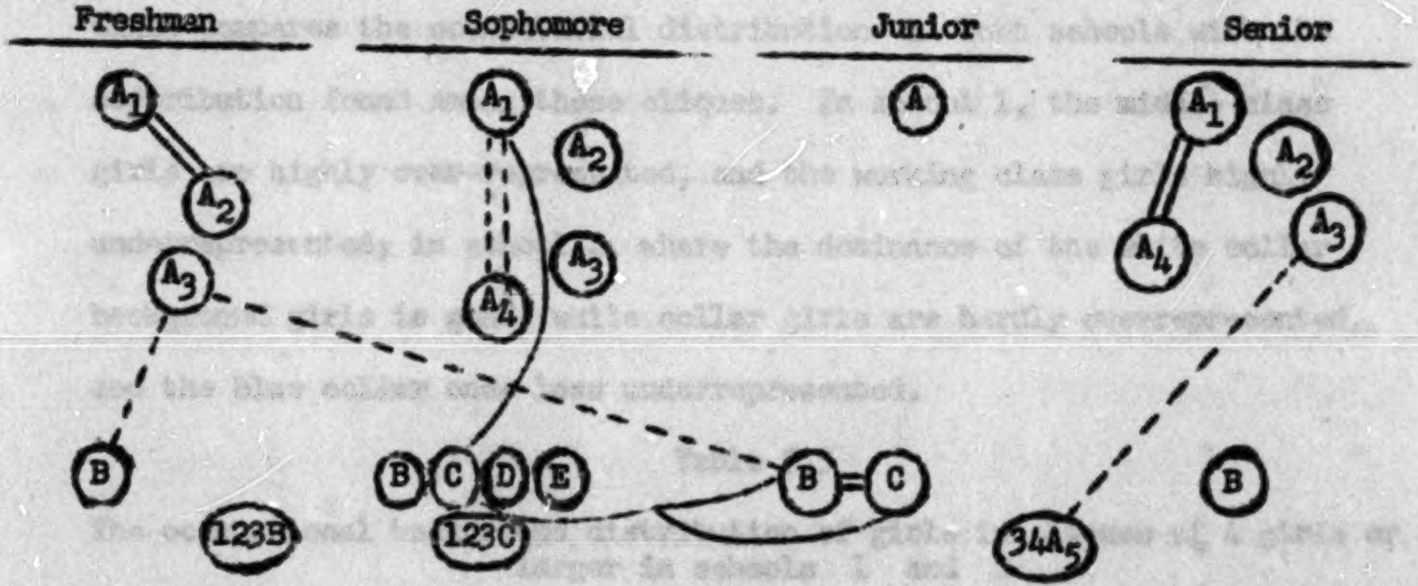
*A.B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: J. Wiley, 1949). Other research on this community carried out at the same time, is published in W. Lloyd Warner, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper, 1949).

But this multiplicity of cliques is only a faint indication of the complexity of this structure. Each grade except the juniors has real competition for status among several A-cliques. The diagram of Fig. 7.4 will indicate, in comparison with the analogous one in Fig. 7.3 for school 1, the status positions of the various cliques, and their structural connections.

An immediate obvious difference is evident in looking at the relative status positions of different cliques in each grade. There is no clear hierarchy of status here, as there was in each grade in school 1.

Figure 7.4

Status and Connections among Girls' Cliques in School 2.



In each grade but the junior year, there is an A_2 clique which is named as being in the leading crowd almost as often as the A_1 clique. And in the sophomore and senior years, these cliques are completely separate, with no connections, and, as we shall see, quite different orientations.

Table 7.4 below summarizes some of the characteristics of these cliques. It is immediately evident, in comparing the backgrounds of these cliques with those of school 1, that there are far fewer college backgrounds, far more working class occupational backgrounds. This is only in part a difference in the population characteristics of the school, for as Fig. 4.4 in Chapter 4 indicates the proportion of college backgrounds and white collar backgrounds are only slightly different in the two schools. In part, the difference seems to be due to a different pattern of dominance in the two schools: in school 1, the middle class college-oriented girls "rules the roost," and travelled in fairly large groups. In school 2, the dominance pattern is not nearly so clear, and many of the working class girls, who in school 1 recede into 2- or 3-girl friendships, come out in full force in school 2. This is shown in Table 7.5, which compares the occupational distributions in both schools with the distribution found among these cliques. In school 1, the middle class girls are highly over-represented, and the working class girls highly underrepresented; in school 2, where the dominance of the white collar background girls is gone, white collar girls are hardly overrepresented, and the blue collar ones less underrepresented.

Table 7.5

The occupational background distribution of girls in cliques of 4 girls or larger in schools 1 and 2

	school 1			school 2		
	all	cliques	difference	all	cliques	difference
white collar	39.3	50.0	+10.7	33.6	37.4	+3.8
working class	42.0	29.6	-12.4	52.5	43.2	-9.3
farm	19.0	20.4	+ 1.2	13.8	19.3	+5.5
Total	(150)	(54)		(217)	(109)	

What is the content of this structure? As Fig. 7.4 and Table 7.4 indicate, things are quite different from grade to grade. Among the seniors, there are two cliques of almost equal status, $4A_1$ and $4A_2$. The first is the only predominantly Catholic clique in the school, containing 5 Catholics and 2 Protestants. (Again in this school the cliques show little tendency to be religiously homogeneous.) The contrast between the two cliques is extremely marked. The $4A_2$ clique studies hardly at all (all report studying either not at all or less than half an hour); its members report that they smoke regularly and drink occasionally or regularly; they date more than any other group in school, and by any criterion, are oriented to "having a good time." All but one, for example, rank "having a good time" first, above a good reputation, and as Table 7.4 shows, all would like to be remembered as most popular and they would go with friends rather than to the rally. This group seems somewhat puzzling, since it contains the girl most often named as the best student in the senior class. Yet this seeming discrepancy is no error or accident, nor is it an isolated incident. The preceding year, the same phenomenon occurred: the girl who was recognized as the best student in the class had changed the crowd she went with, in her sophomore year. She had decided, she said in an interview, that she wanted to "have a little fun," so she shifted to a fast crowd with characteristics similar to those of the $4A_2$ group. The contrast with school 1 is great, for there the fast crowds of girls have little status with their peers, and would likely seem far less attractive to a girl faced with such a choice. In fact, it seems likely that in school 1, there were no really cohesive "fast" cliques; all seemed to follow the general pattern set by the adult

Table 7.4*

Characteristics of girls' cliques in school 2.

clique	size	educ.	occ.	study hrs/day	date #/wk	smoke drink	be remembered S-A-P	Rally	college plans Y-U-N
$1A_1$	8	.7	7-1-0	1.5	1.8	0	1-3-4	R	5-0-3
$1A_2$	5	0	1-3-0	0.8	0.6	0	2-0-3	R	1-0-3
$1A_3$	4	.7	0-0-4	1.2	0.1	0	0-0-3	F	1-3-0
1B	4	0	2-1-0	2.3	0.0	0	2-4-0	R	1-3-0
$2A_1$	6	.8	5-0-1	1.9	0.2	0	3-2-1	R	6-0-0
$2A_2$	9	.2	1-1-6	1.0	0.5	.3	0-0-9	F	1-2-7
$2A_3$	5	0	0-4-1	2.0	0.9	0	1-0-4	R	1-0-3
$2A_4$	4	(data not available)							
2B	6	.2	2-3-0	1.8	0.2	0	2-4-0	R	0-0-6
2C	4	.5	1-3-0	1.5	0.3	0	2-1-1	R	3-1-0
2D	4	0	2-1-0	1.0	3.2	1.3	0-1-3	F	1-0-3
2E	4	0	3-0-1	1.6	0.2	0	1-0-2	R	1-1-2
3A	14	.1	5-8-0	1.3	2.3	.4	3-2-9	R	1-3-10
3B	6	.3	2-2-2	1.8	0.7	0	1-4-1	R	3-1-2
3C	4	.3	1-2-0	1.8	2.0	0	1-2-1	R	2-1-1
$4A_1$	7	.1	3-1-2	1.5	2.6	.1	2-2-3	R	2-1-4
$4A_2$	4	.3	1-1-1	0.1	2.8	1.1	0-0-4	F	0-0-4
$4A_3$	4	.3	2-0-1	1.3	2.0	.2	0-1-3	R	1-1-2
$4A_4$	9	0	2-5-1	0.8	1.1	.6	1-1-7	F	1-1-7
4B	6	0	0-6-0	1.7	1.5	.1	4-1-1	R	1-0-5
123B	5	0	0-1-1	0.5	2.8	.6	0-1-4	F	0-1-4
123C	4	.3	0-4-0	0.9	0.7	.5	2-1-1	F	0-0-4
$34A_5$	4	.3	3-1-0	1.0	2.8	1.1	1-0-3	F	0-1-3

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*Explanation of each column of the table is provided in a footnote to Table 7.3

oriented leading cliques. The fast girls were more nearly atomized, not organized into cohesive cliques.

The $4A_1$ clique is far more oriented to school activities than the $4A_2$ clique, though not predominantly college-going, nor from white collar families. Compared to the A-cliques in school 1, even it, the more decorous clique, is somewhat more oriented to a good time than they. Its members date more, are more interested in being remembered as most popular, are mostly not going to college. In short, only in the context of this adolescent community in school 2 are they "good" girls. This is evidenced by their close association with clique $4A_4$, which is somewhat more out for a good time. These girls in $4A_4$ are not the center of the leading crowd, though almost all are mentioned as being in it, and all but three see themselves as being in it. It includes within it the girl most named as the best dresser, and at its edges is the girl named as most attractive to boys. In the activities these girls mention, "riding around" comes up frequently. This is a common activity, and especially here in school 2, where customized cars are prevalent among the leading groups of boys, a common pastime is simply cruising around looking for something to do, someone to "drag with." Such activities are common throughout the country; what is striking is the fact that here, in contrast to school 1, it's the activity of the leading crowds.

The other strongly cohesive group of some size in the senior class is 4B. This is composed of girls of the sort which were described in every school as the "rest of the school," the girls who don't count. These girls are neither looked up to nor looked down on; they simply attract no attention of any kind. They are not "stirring up excitement," either as the center of school activities or as a free-wheeling pleasure-bent crowd, but are content to merge with the background. Characteristic of such groups, they study a lot and are positively (though not actively) oriented to school. Also characteristic of these groups, they choose nurse above model, actress or artist, or schoolteacher (I, q.68), and they are oriented to being remembered as a brilliant student, rather than either a leader in activities (which tends to be chosen by the elites, as in Fig. 4.16, in Chapter 4 showed) or most popular, which tends to be chosen by the fast and loose crowd, like $4A_2$, and to a lesser extent, $4A_4$.

In the junior class, there is no real competition for the leading crowd. The 3A group gets almost all the choices made; and it includes as well the best dresser and the girl most attractive to boys. It contrasts with 3B in both background and orientation: in background, it is more working class and lower education than 3B and 3C; that is, generally lower status backgrounds. In orientation, its members smoke and drink, while 3B and 3C members don't; date about three times as often as the 3B group; study somewhat less; are more interested in the "most popular" image; and are oriented away from college, while the 3B and 3C complex is predominantly oriented to college.

Thus the overall picture of the junior class is one of a status "upset;" those girls who by background and orientation would, in school 1, be the leading crowd (and would, incidentally, have the cohesive strength and size that the 3A group here has and the leading cliques in school 1 have), are without status among their peers. They are not only not named as members of the leading crowd, but are also mentioned an average of only 1.6 times per person as someone to be liked or be friends with by their classmates, compared to an average of 3.1 times for the fast 3A crowd (some of whose members mention the skating rink as a frequent hangout). In other words, in the junior class, and to some extent in the senior class, the "exemplars" whom other girls aspire to know and be like, are girls whose activities are considerably less in accord with adult standards than those of most girls in the school.

In the sophomore class, the status situation is just the opposite. Here the "good" girls of $2A_1$ are more often mentioned as the leading crowd. The $2A_2$ girls, a completely distinct group, are mentioned quite frequently, but they acknowledge the dominance of the $2A_1$ group by saying (with two exceptions) that they are not in the leading crowd. The backgrounds and orientations of the $2A_1$ group are those which were familiar in the A-groups in school 1. This group has the highest educational and occupational background of any clique of girls in the school, and has as well the girls who are best student, best dresser, and most attractive to boys. It is a completely college-going group, its members study about two hours a night and date seldom. It and its satellite, the $2A_4$ group, exemplify in the extreme the general characteristics of the whole complex of cliques in the upper part of the sociogram, characteristics which differ radically from the more tightly-knit cliques found in the lower half of the sociogram. This difference between the sophomores and the other grades in school 2 is quite evident in responses to what it takes to get into the leading crowd. Among the sophomores, 21% of the girls mentioned that it took "good grades" or "intelligence," while the highest in any of the other grades was 6% in the freshman class—with only 3 juniors and seniors mentioning this. Among the boys, these "good grades" responses were similarly highest (18%) among the sophomores, though the decrease contrast with the other grades was not so great.

The $2A_2$ clique, though more oriented to having fun than the $2A_1$ clique, is far more conformist to adult values than 3A, $4A_2$ and $4A_4$ cliques. Its members do not mention "stirring up excitement" as a value in their group, and in general, are pulled between two attractions: that of popularity, to which 3A, $4A_2$, and $4A_4$ are drawn, and that of deferred gratifications, to which $2A_1$, $2A_4$, 3B, 3C and the other cliques of the upper sociogram complex are drawn.

The $2A_3$ clique is much like the "background" 4B clique in its general seriousness of purpose and non-involvement in the adolescent culture, though it is less a part of the background than 4B. It is the only girls' clique in the school which is religiously oriented, and has religion as a common focus of attention.

The freshman class appears to be still different situation from the other grades. In background, in general orientation to school, and in college plans, it conforms to the middle class value system best exemplified by the A-cliques in school 1 and by the $2A_1$ and 3B cliques in school 2. Yet its members date far more than any other freshman group, and are oriented to being popular. The 1B clique, on the fringes of the upper complex of cliques, conforms to the more usual freshman pattern of little dating.

In sum, then, the status systems in the four grades of this school are radically different. In the junior class, the fast crowd holds sway; in the sophomore, a very proper crowd. The seniors have counterparts of these two extremes (but both of them shifted in a hedonistic direction) in nearly equal status positions, that is, $4A_1$ and $4A_2$. The freshmen crowd seems to combine within itself most of the middle class values, together with heavy dating. These are attributes which may become incompatible, and force girls to choose, as did the earlier-mentioned best student, who chose a good time.

The cross-class groups: There are three cliques in the school in which there is not a majority in any single grade. Two of these, 123B and 123C, cut across the three early grades, while one, $34A_5$, includes juniors and seniors. These cliques constitute, in varying degrees, the "rough crowd." The styles of dress that are popular in their groups are not "Ivy-League" collegiate styles, which pervade most of the style-conscious groups among these adolescents. They are black "rock and roll" jackets, a symbol in this school of orientation to a good time, cars, music, the skating rink, and unconcern with school. These groups are all oriented to friends, when the choice is forced between friends and parents, or friends and school. Almost all either smoke, or drink, or both. Their favorite singer is Elvis Presley (I, q. 24), while that of most of the adolescent culture is Pat Boone, who dispenses rock and roll without the implicit deviance and rebellion in Presley's image. In short, these girls are at an extreme, that is, an extreme for this school of hedonism, orientation away from school, and rebellion. Their deviance is beyond that of the groups examined earlier (excepting $4A_2$) which are in serious contention for status and attention from their peers. Yet they are not "part of the background" as is 4B. They do "count" in the system, but they are so oriented to out-of-school activities symbolizing deviance that even in this culture, where adult values gain little currency they do not have status among the adolescents as a whole.

It may be no accident that these groups cut across grades, as did the two religiously-oriented boys' cliques. Almost the only cliques in these schools whose members are not predominantly in one grade, are those two boys' cliques (both labelled 234C, in schools 1 and 2) greatly interested in religion, and these three girls' cliques, greatly interested in rock and roll and a good time. (The two other cross-class cliques are a junior-senior clique of boys, 34B, in school 3, and a 123C clique among the girls of school 4, which show no special intense and deviant interest as these do.)

It may be that it is the deviance of these interests from the interests of the majority which requires crossing grade lines to find friends who share them; it may be that the intensity of these deviant interests allows grade lines to be broken down in clique formation. The fact that these two interests, religion, and rock and roll, are at opposite poles on a continuum of hedonism appears not so important as the fact that they set a boy or girl off from his fellows, and lead him to look beyond the confines of his own grade for fellow-devotees.

The same pressure to look further is probably evident among boys or girls intensely interested in studies, since such strong interest too is shared by only a small minority. But here grade boundaries present a greater barrier, because common problems and concerns in schoolwork exist only within one grade. It may be partly for this reason that none of the cliques examined so far, and none to be found in the remainder of schools 1-4, are oriented primarily toward studies. Such activities may be confined to two- or three-man cliques, for the lack of a larger number of interested fellows in the same grade. It seems again that in the organization of activities in the high school, purely scholastic activities (as contrasted with extra-curricular activities) do not provide enough "base" of positive activity to constitute the content around which a group forms. Again, it seems that the individualistic and isolating tendencies of most scholastic activity as carried on in high schools, operates to dampen any tendencies for social support and development of the social structure around such activity.

Girls in school 3:

The sociogram of the girls in school 3 is far more reminiscent, in its general configuration of the school 1 sociogram than that of school 2. Yet such comparisons may be misleading, because of the lack of any standard way of drawing a sociogram. Table 7.6 below gives a more systematic comparison between the association structure of girls in the four schools, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Table 7.6

Numbers and sizes of cliques among girls, relative to the size of student body in schools 1-4

School	Total girls	Total cliques	No. of girls in cliques	Prop. of girls in cliques	Ave. size of clique*	# cliques / total girls	# of ties between cliques
1	165	9	56	.30	6.4	.054	2
2	247	23	126	.51	5.7	.093	10
3	204	14	89	.43	6.4	.069	3
4	258	17	106	.41	6.3	.066	12

---

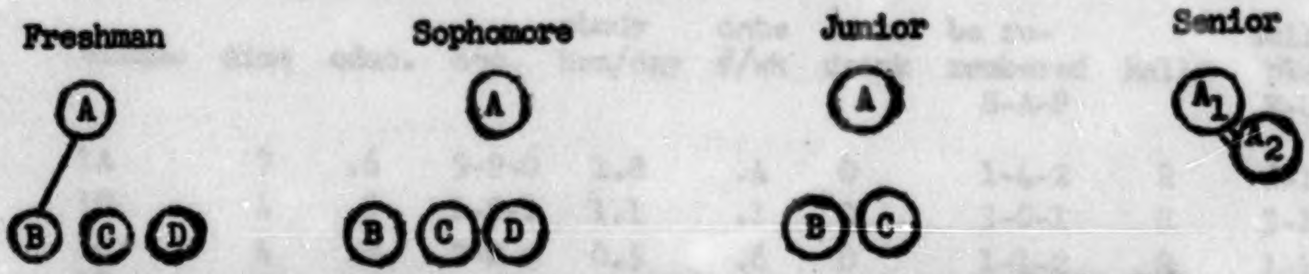
*Girls in two cliques are counted twice in calculating the average size, so it is slightly higher than col.4/col.3, except in school 4, where there were no overlaps.

This table shows that school 2 has both the largest number of cliques, the largest ratio of cliques to total girls, the largest proportion of girls involved in cliques, and the smallest average clique size. School 1 is at the opposite extreme in every one of these ways. It has the smallest number of cliques, the smalles proportion of all its girls involved in cliques, and the cliques that it does have are largest in size. Schools 3 and 4 are in the middle, more like school 1 in having a larger average clique size and in the smaller ratio of cliques to total girls, and more like 2 in proportion of girls involved in cliques. A crucial similarity, however, between 1 and 3 on the one hand, and 2 and 4 on the other, is in the connections between cliques. It is this difference, more than any other, which makes the sociograms of schools 1 and 3 look alike, and those of schools 2 and 4 look alike. Schools 1 and 3 have autonomous, tightly-knit cliques, with almost no connection between them, while 2 and 4 have a far more interconnected system. Looking further at the sociogram of school 2, we see that most of the interconnections come among the "good" girls in the upper half of the sociogram, the girls who in school 1 (and as we shall see, school 3 as well) would be formed into larger, more cohesive, and separate cliques, in dominant positions in the school.

The structure in school 3 is simple, with a pattern of unchallenged dominance in every grade. The cliques are pictured in the diagram below, showing this pattern. Only among the seniors are there two A-cliques, and they are closely connected, even having a member in common.

Figure 7.4

Status and Connections among Girls' Cliques in School 3.



The general characteristics of the cliques are shown in Table 7.7.

The difference in background between the dominant cliques here and those in school 2 is great. In every grade, the A-cliques are primarily white collar, containing only 4 girls of working class backgrounds, out of 43 members. In every grade, the most white collar clique is the dominant one. These girls are almost all college-going, and all the cliques conform to middle class patterns in not smoking and drinking.

Since the dominance pattern in school 3 is so much the same in each grade, and the composition of the leading cliques so similar in background, it is useful to compare the leading cliques from freshman to senior, and to infer changes from the trends. One change, not indicated in the table, is the increasing involvement of these girls with school activities--the chorus, the yearbook, the newspaper, and others--as a common focus of group activity. None of the 1A girls mentions some school activity as a common focus of interest with her friends (I, q. 38a), three of the ten 2A girls mention this, and half of each of the junior and senior A-clique members mention it. A similar trend occurs in school 1, but in contrast, there is no such trend evident in school 2. (Only two A-clique girls, both in the school-oriented $2A_1$ clique, mention school activities, though the school

Table 7.7*

Characteristics of Girls' Cliques in School 3

clique	size	educ.	occ.	study hrs/day	date #/wk	smoke drink	be remembered S-A-P	Rally	college plans Y-U-N
1A	7	.6	5-2-0	1.8	.4	0	1-4-2	R	6-1-0
1B	4	.3	1-2-1	1.1	.1	0	3-0-1	R	3-1-0
1C	4	.3	2-2-0	0.5	.6	0	1-1-2	R	1-1-2
1D	5	.5	1-2-2	1.3	1.0	0	0-1-4	R	2-3-0
2A	10	.9	10-0-0	1.4	1.2	.1	1-4-5	R	10-0-0
2B	4	0	1-1-2	0.7	1.8	.1	0-4-0	R	0-1-3
2C	4	0	1-2-0	1.5	1.3	.3	1-1-2	R	0-2-2
2D	4	0	1-3-0	1.4	0.3	0	1-3-0	R	2-0-2
3A	12	.4	7-0-5	1.0	1.4	.1	2-7-3	R	10-2-0
3B	8	.3	4-1-2	1.2	0.8	0	1-3-4	R	6-0-2
3C	5	.0	3-2-0	2.4	0.3	0	3-2-0	R	2-1-2
$4A_1$	8	.4	7-1-0	1.2	1.5	.2	3-3-2	R	8-0-0
$4A_2$	6	.5	3-1-2	1.5	0.7	.3	0-4-2	R	5-1-0
4B	9	.3	3-2-3	1.4	1.8	0	4-4-0	R	4-1-4

---

*Explanation of each column in the table is provided in a footnote to Table 7.3.

sponsors more clubs and formal activities than any of the other small schools. The source of this paradoxical situation will be examined at the end of this chapter.) One important change from the freshman to senior A-cliques, which was evident as well in the leading cliques of school 1, is the shift in dating frequency, from almost none to more than once a week. It is significant, however, of the fact that the adolescents in school 1 are under tighter adult control, and treated more nearly as children, that the real increase in dating among the A_1 cliques in school 1 comes between the junior and senior years, while the increase here in school 3 comes between the freshman and sophomore years. (This is not to say that there is not an increase in dating at the sophomore year among some girls in school 1, for the $2A_2$ and $3A_2$ date heavily. But these cliques are not the top cliques in school 1.)

Corresponding to the increase in dating over the four years among the A-cliques in school 3 is a slight--but very slight--tendency to begin smoking, and a decline in the hours devoted to studying. This decline, it should be noted, does not occur among the A_1 cliques of school 1, nor those of school 2.

This decline in studying among the A-cliques in this school is symptomatic of their general orientation. Though college-bound, these cliques are quite socially oriented, interested in a good time--in a reasonably circumspect and middle class way, but nevertheless, in a good time. In the senior year, there is a bifurcation of the A-cliques into two, with the A_2 group more interested in studying and in school activities, less in dating and partying. All six of these A_2 girls say they would take another course in school if they had a choice between a course and an activity, study hall, or athletics; only three of the eight A_1 girls say this. Members of both groups are mentioned with equal frequency as "best student"; but while the $4A_1$ girls are mentioned an average of three times each or 24 times altogether, as most attractive to boys, the $4A_2$ girls are mentioned less than once apiece, only 5 times altogether.

A number of the non-leading cliques in the school are of the general "background" variety, girls who are around without anyone really being aware of it, girls who are never in the limelight for any reason. Cliques 4B, 3C, 2C, and 2D are of this variety. The only cliques which show the essentially out-of-school, anti-school, and hedonistic orientation characteristic of so many cliques in school 2, is the small 1C clique, which hangs out at the skating rink.

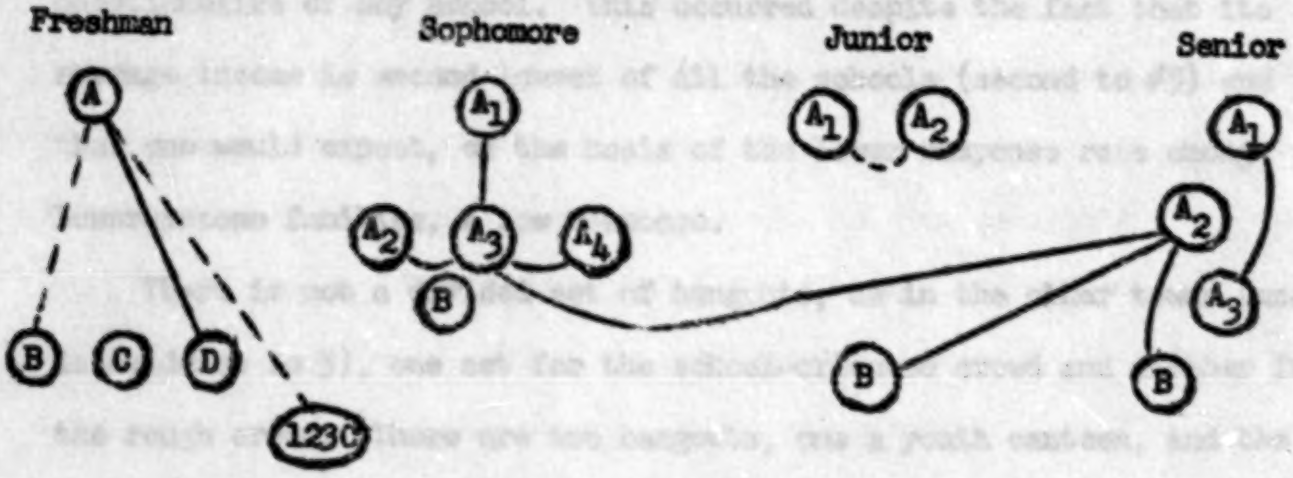
In summary, then, the association structure among the girls in this school shows in every grade the middle-class, college-going, activities girls in control. Their interests are highly centered around the school, but also around social affairs. They maintain an interest in school activities (although their studying decreases) and in social activities. Among the seniors, these two emphases are pulled apart into two groups.

Girls in school 4:

School 4 is between schools 1 and 2 in its social class composition (less white collar than school 1, more so than 2) and has almost the same number of girls as school 2. It is also somewhere between 1 and 2 in most aspects of its clique structure, as Table 7.6 indicates. However, in one respect, it is at the extreme of all the schools: in the interconnectedness of its cliques. Fig. 7.5 shows this interconnectedness, along with the general status structure among the cliques.

Figure 7.5

Status and Connections among Girls' Cliques in School 4.



A particularly interesting aspect of this structure, shown in Fig. 7.5, and better, in the sociogram of Fig. 7.2.4, is the fact that only a few cliques, and a few individuals, are not connected in some way with a large complex of cliques and chains. Not all individuals are pictured in the sociogram (37, who were not involved in any mutual choices are left out), but even considering these girls, the degree of interconnection of cliques and individuals is impressive. There are four large connected complexes, each consisting of predominantly one grade (though the sophomore complex is more a half-and-half combination with seniors). Only two small cliques are unconnected to one of these complexes.

The general "connectedness" of this system, in contrast to the others (even school 2, where the connectedness was confined to one large complex, leaving most cliques separate) conforms to an observer's general impression of this school and community. The school newspaper appears once a week, not simply as a school paper, but as a page in the community newspaper. The adult community is highly identified with the school, as evidenced by the fact that the parents had the highest response rate on the mail questionnaire of any school. This occurred despite the fact that its average income is second lowest of all the schools (second to #5) and thus one would expect, on the basis of the lower response rate among lower-income families, a low response.

There is not a divided set of hangouts, as in the other towns (most in evidence in 3), one set for the school-oriented crowd and another for the rough crowd. There are two hangouts, one a youth canteen, and the other a candy shop, both of which are frequented by the same girls and boys. There are, to be sure, places where some go--particularly some of the senior girls--where others do not. For the girls in the $4A_1$ group go sometimes on dates to taverns and cocktail lounges which will serve minors, while most of the other girls will not. Nevertheless, for all, the youth canteen and the candy shop serve as the central headquarters of social activity outside school. The major differences between different groups in their social activity is not, as in the other schools, so much where they go as it is how often they go.

Table 7.8 below shows the general characteristics of the cliques. The status structure is not so simple as in schools 1 and 3, as has already been suggested by the diagram showing the status and connections between the cliques, Fig. 7.5. Although it is clear in every grade but the juniors which clique is the leading crowd, there are other cliques among the sophomores and seniors which are not without status as leaders.

In the senior class, the status system is something like this: the $4A_1$ clique is clearly in power; comparing it with the $4A_2$ clique in its backgrounds and orientations, there is an upset of status from that found in schools 1 and 3, an upset similar to that which occurred among the juniors of school 2, and nearly so among the seniors there. The $4A_1$ clique, from predominantly working-class backgrounds, contains a number of girls who dated boys who have graduated, and who are either in service or working. They are interested in a good time, are not primarily college-bound. They are involved to some extent in school activities, but not nearly so much as are the girls in $4A_2$. How, then, did they gain their status? Primarily, according to reports of senior boys in interviews, through dating football stars. There are few activities in this school and no real clubs (it was the only school in which the question in the questionnaire about school clubs they belong to prompted queries due to the absence of clubs), but the one status-gaining activity is football. Since girls cannot participate, the high-status girls are those chosen by the football players.

This same source of status is evidenced again by the leading sophomore clique of five girls, $2A_1$, in a somewhat different fashion. These girls are college-oriented, active around school, and conform to adult values. In this, they are like the $4A_2$ girls and the 1D girls. But their peculiarly high status derives from the fact (again, according to interviews with senior boys) that some of the junior and senior athletes had dropped the "fast" girls in the $3A_1$, $3A_2$, and $4A_1$ cliques (girls who had ignored them so long as older boys were available) and had begun dating some "very nice" sophomore girls. Whether such a pattern will

Table 7.8*

clique	size	educ.	occ.	study hrs/day	date #/wk	smoke drink	be remembered S-A-P	Rally	college plans Y-U-N
1A	11	.4	6-6-2	1.1	.3	0	1-2-12	R	10-1-3
1B	5	.4	2-2-0	1.1	0	0	1-0-3	R	2-2-1
1C	4	.3	3-1-0	1.5	.1	.1	1-2-1	F	1-2-1
1D	8	.6	6-0-2	1.6	.1	0	2-2-4	R	7-1-0
$2A_1$	5	.3	2-2-0	1.6	1.2	0	0-2-4	R	4-1-0
$2A_2$	5	0	1-1-3	1.2	.5	.1	0-2-3	F	2-0-3
$2A_3$	5	.2	0-5-0	1.6	.8	0	0-1-4	R	2-2-1
$2A_4$	8	.1	4-2-1	1.4	.3	0	1-5-2	R	4-3-1
2B	5	0	1-0-4	1.6	.1	0	3-1-1	R	3-1-1
$3A_1$	9	.6	6-1-2	1.4	1.7	.3	3-3-3	F	5-1-3
$3A_2$	6	.3	1-4-0	1.2	1.5	.4	0-3-3	R	4-0-2
3B	6	0	1-3-2	1.6	.3	.2	0-3-3	F	1-2-3
$4A_1$	12	0	3-8-1	0.9	1.0	.6	1-4-1	F	6-2-4
$4A_2$	7	.4	4-1-2	1.5	1.1	.1	2-4-1	R	6-1-0
$4A_3$	4	.5	3-1-0	1.6	1.0	.2	1-0-3	F	3-0-1
4B	7	0	1-3-2	0.5	2.1	.3	0-2-5	F	0-1-6
123C	5	0	1-1-3	0.9	.2	0	1-3-1	F	2-1-2

repeat itself with these sophomore girls as they come to be seniors is problematical. Nevertheless, at the time of the questionnaire, they were the one clique in this school which had both very high status and were primarily not oriented to having a good time.

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*Explanation of each column in the table is provided in a footnote to Table 7.3.

The $3A_1$ and 1A cliques are somewhat similar to one another in their general orientations (except that most of the 1A clique members have not begun to date). The 1A clique still contains many who are named as best students (its members receive an average of 2.3 choices as best student, as do the 1D clique members), but the general orientation of the clique is more nearly toward popularity and a good time than toward adult-fostered goals. The 1D clique among these freshmen is the clique which by background would be most likely in a position of high status in schools 1 and 3, and by orientation conforms to adult norms.

Many of the other cliques in this school are the quiet cliques who "don't count." The 1B and 1C cliques, the 2B (a group of form girls not much in the adolescent culture) and 2C (working class girls with particularly low status backgrounds but quiet and disciplined) and probably 3B are like this. Of the cliques with low status in school, 4B appears to be the only "fast" crowd, primarily interested in the pleasures of the adolescent culture. Yet this should not obscure the relatively strong emphasis among the leading cliques in the junior and senior years on excitement, riding around, and a good time.

The $2A_2$ clique, which has been mentioned only in passing, is significant because it is so strongly oriented to school activities, and because its members seem to share a common reaction against the more carefree activities of the $4A_1$ clique.

In sum, then, the structure of status and association among girls in this school may be seen as somewhere between that of schools 1 and 3, on the one hand, and 2 on the other. There is no fixed dominance of the white collar high-status background girls as there is in schools 1 and 3.

The status system seems much more fluid, more dependent on the girl herself, than in schools 1 and 3. Yet it is not dependent so much upon her scholastic or extracurricular accomplishments with high status boys--boys who have gained their status through football prowess.

The general orientation, then, of the leading cliques varies somewhat from grade to grade, but is somewhat less concerned with propriety and adult standards and more interested in a good time than the comparable cliques of schools 3 and 1 (though no more socially oriented than the leading cliques in 3). At the same time, the elements of deviance and traces of anti-school activity to be found at all status levels among the cliques of school 2 are absent here.

In view of the differing dominance of family background in fixing the relative status of the cliques in the different schools, it is useful to complete the table begun for schools 1 and 2 showing the degree to which working class girls are "organized" into cliques in the system, or are "dispersed" and thus underrepresented in cliques. Table 7.9 completes, for schools 3 and 4, the comparison begun in Table 7.5. The generalization remains: in the two schools where white collar cliques dominate, 1 and 3, girls with working-class backgrounds are most underrepresented in cliques of 4 girls or larger, and girls with white collar backgrounds most overrepresented. The average overrepresentation of white collar background girls in schools 1 and 3 is 9.1% compared to 6.8% in schools 2 and 4. The average underrepresentation of girls with working class backgrounds in schools 1 and 3 is 8.8%, compared to 5.8% in schools 2 and 4. These differences are not large, but this is in part due to the fact that the small 4-girl cliques are included. If only girls organized into

Table 7.9

The occupational background distributions of girls in cliques of 4 girls or larger in schools 1-4

	school 1			school 2		
	all	cliques	difference	all	cliques	difference
white collar	39.3	50.0	-10.3	33.6	37.4	-3.8
working class	42.0	29.6	-12.4	52.5	43.2	-9.3
farmer	19.0	20.4	- 1.4	13.8	19.3	-5.5
	(150)	(54)		(271)	(109)	

	school 3			school 4		
	all	cliques	difference	all	cliques	difference
white collar	48.4	56.3	-7.9	31.2	40.9	-9.7
working class	31.3	24.2	-7.1	39.5	37.3	-2.2
farmer	20.3	19.5	-0.8	29.4	21.8	-7.6
	(192)	(87)		(249)	(110)	

5-person cliques are considered, the differences become greater, indicating even more the tendency of girls from lesser socioeconomic backgrounds to be "better organized" when there is not a fixed middle class dominance pattern.

Conclusion:

This concludes the extended examination of association patterns in the four schools 1-4. Many things have remained unanalyzed, in particular two very important ones: the relation between the boys' cliques and the girls', through dating patterns, and the changes in clique structure throughout the year. It is beyond the scope of this report to examine these matters, but it is hoped that later analysis of dating patterns and over-time changes will give further insight into the way these structures develop.

Unfortunate also is the fact that only the association structures of the small schools presented a manageable task of analysis. Some examination will be made of the leading cliques in the large schools, but it is again beyond the scope of this report to examine the fine detail of their structures.

These patterns of association and dominance lead to some striking conclusions, besides those which have been discussed at length in the chapter. They concern the two fundamentally different patterns of dominance which were found, the one exemplified by the girls' structures in schools 1 and 3, and the other exemplified by the girls' structures in schools 2 and 4. The boys' structures show a similar contrast, but one which requires a separate discussion because of its lesser dependence on parental background.

In schools 1 and 3, there is a rather simple and straightforward pattern of control in the schools. A clique of girls who are largely from white collar and better educated families are the center of social activities, the center of school activities, and the center of adolescent attention. Of all the cliques of girls, these are the ones the teachers would most like to see in control of the student boys and the ones most encouraged by the adult community.* And by popular consensus of the student body, they are the ones in control and the ones looked up to in these two schools. This concurrence of the student body with the adult community's choice appears to be due largely to two factors, one easily measured in this study, the other not. The easily measured factor is the general background of the student body. The more white collar and high educational background, the more likely the students are to concur in having as a leading crowd a white collar clique with high educational backgrounds. That is, the leading crowd has a constraint of being in some fashion "in touch with" the student body as a whole, though not fully representative of it. The higher the proportion of white collar, high educational background students in the school, the more likely the crowd which will emerge as the leading clique will be a predominantly white collar one--which in these schools means one more oriented to adult goals, to a college education, to school activities and interests.*

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*There are, of course, individual students, such as the girls named as best student, whom the teachers would not like to see better organized, and more able to serve as examples to the student body. But except in the cases where these best students are in the leading cliques, they appear to be quite unorganized, and as indicated earlier in the chapter for the boys, the teachers are not in favor of having these individualistic brilliant students as leaders.

The second factor influencing the emergence of a fully dominant clique with middle-class backgrounds and orientations, is less tangible to this study. It is the actions of the adult community, the school administration, and the teachers in the school. In the adult community, we can uncover some evidence from the parents' questionnaires. Table 7.10 below, showing the participation of different occupational groups in (a) community organizations generally and (b) that organization most allied to the school, the PTA, indicates the greater differential in participation between white collar and working-class groups in communities 1 and 3 than in communities 2 and 4.

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*This would not necessarily be the case in all schools, particularly those which are almost completely white collar, like school 9. There, the choice is not between a white collar active-in-school clique and a working-class clique oriented to out-of-school pursuits. There are cliques with middle class backgrounds but diverse orientations, so that the choice is not so predetermined. It may in fact be this lack of a working-class, uninterested-in-school contingent from which they must differentiate themselves which opens the way to some of the middle class delinquency which has occurred in homogeneous upper middle class schools.

Table 7.10

Participation in community organizations and in PTA of white collar, working class and farm parents of high school children in schools 1-4.

	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Average no. of organizations:				
white collar	3.4	3.6	3.5	3.5
blue collar	1.7	2.6	1.9	2.0
farmer	1.6	1.7	1.6	2.0
Percent in PTA				
white collar	40%	57%	64%	45%
blue collar	18%	47%	43%	42%
farmer	45%	33%	51%	39%
White collar minus blue collar				
Number of organizations	1.7	1.0	1.9	1.5
% PTA	25%	10%	21%	3%

Thus one factor affecting the emergence of a dominant, middle class leading crowd with adult values is simply the control that the white collar families maintain over the community and the school. This variation in control, incidentally, certainly must stem in part from the proportion of white collar families in the community, with the system of control functioning in much the same way as it does among the adolescents themselves. In other words, the leaders of the adult community must be in touch with the rest of the community just as among the adolescents, so that the existence of more white collar families in a community allows the emergence of even more highly white collar dominance than usual.

It is interesting to note in Table 7.10 that in school 4, the adult participation patterns of the different occupational groups are closer together than in any of the other schools. This corresponds to the patterns of association among the adolescent girls, who, as observed in the analysis of the association structure, were bound together in large, unbroken chains, more than in any other community.

Beyond the control of the school and the community by the white collar segment of it, the patterns of dominance are affected by the teachers and the school administration, in ways that we have only fragmentary knowledge of.

School 2 in particular illustrates one situation, which must be an important factor in allowing the emergence of generally anti-school groups as serious contenders for adolescent leadership. In interviews with girls in this school, it appeared that there was a general lack of sympathy between teachers and adolescents, and between the general community and the adolescents. For an example, the school board had just abolished the traditional senior trip, taken at the end of the senior year, a custom followed not only by this school but by a number of other small town schools in the general area. As a second example, there was, at the time of one group interview we had with a mixture of school-oriented and non-school oriented girls, a current dispute over a class play, which had been cut and rearranged by the faculty sponsor, to the irritation of the girls being interviewed. During the interview, the way in which the deterioration of relations undercut the adult-oriented and school-oriented crowd was quite evident; whenever a girl from the non-school oriented group would discuss the teachers negatively, the other girls were silent or gave assent;

whenever a positive point was mentioned by one of these latter girls, it went unsupported and was often successfully challenged by the non-school oriented group. Thus the ground was cut from under the school-oriented girls, and their bid for popular control of the student body left with little effective support from the teachers.

This deterioration of relations is evident in answer to a question asked students about the teachers and one asked teachers about the students. Teachers were asked:

T.44. In which of the following areas would you say there are problems of discipline with the students in this school? (Check items which are problems)

1 stealing (small items of little value)
2 stealing of serious nature (money, cars)
3 destruction of school property
4 sex offenses
5 impertinence and discourtesy to teachers
6 fighting
7 truancy
8 physical violence against teachers
9 using profane or obscene language
0 using narcotics
x drinking intoxicants

Answers to this question can be seen partly as accurate responses on the teachers' part and thus a measure of the amount of "problem" activities on the part of the students; but they can also be seen as a measure of the teachers' discord with and alienation from the students.

Students were asked:

I.142. Which of the items below fit most of the teachers here at school? (Check as many as apply)

5 friendly
6 too strict
7 too easy with schoolwork
8 understand problems of teen-agers
9 not interested in teen-agers
0 willing to help out in activities

Three of these items, 6, 7, and 9, are negative responses concerning the teachers, while the other three, 5, 8, and 0 are positive responses. Thus the number of responses to items 6, 7, and 9, the negative ones, should indicate, from the students' side, their discord with and alienation from the teachers. Table 7.11 shows the responses to these two questions in each of these four schools:

Table 7.11*

Responses of students to negative items about teachers and teachers to negative items about students in schools 1-4

School	Respondents	Average number of negative responses for respondent	Number
School 1	Boys	0.46	(196)
	Girls	0.26	(165)
	Teachers	1.9	(18)
School 2	Boys	0.53	(265)
	Girls	0.33	(247)
	Teachers	3.4	(25)
School 3	Boys	0.31	(175)
	Girls	0.20	(189)
	Teachers	2.2	(23)
School 4	Boys	0.37	(280)
	Girls	0.33	(258)
	Teachers	2.3	(26)

For the boys, for the girls, and for the teachers, the negative responses are highest in school 2. The deterioration of relations between students and teachers is clear. It seems very likely that this deterioration

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[*] The number of cases is reduced in school 3, since about 10% of students did not reach this question in the questionnaire, due to shorter (40-minute) periods during which the questionnaire was administered.

undercut, in the way indicated in the examples above, the possibility of unchallenged dominance by the school-oriented cliques of girls.

The "status upset" in school 4, however, is not accompanied by any such deterioration of relations. On the basis of qualitative observation, too, there seems to be a more congenial relationship between students and teachers. Here the sometimes-successful challenge of the middle class school-oriented cliques seems to come from a different source. First of all, as the chapter indicated, the cliques which challenged the dominance of the college-going cliques were not so much anti-school, and showed less deviance than the comparable cliques in school 2. The status of these girls seems to come more nearly from the attention paid them by successful athletes.

Given, then, that there are community and school factors which strongly influence the dominance of the school-oriented and learning-oriented cliques, why is there not a complete reversal of the dominance patterns? In other words, why is there not a stable dominance pattern in schools 2 and 4, except with the patterns reversed, so that the less school oriented clique was in absolute ascendance.

Undoubtedly, it would be possible to find such schools, schools in which the adolescent status system brought into unchallenged ascendance cliques which were most deviant from school and adult goals. Yet the pattern found in schools 2 and 4, where the white collar school-oriented cliques were challenged, sometimes successfully, is probably more frequent. The reasons for the apparent stability of this pattern, which is on its face, a far less stable system of status than the pure dominance formed in schools 1 and 3, seem to be these: the school is an institution which has various kinds of rewards which it can dispense and controls which it can institute. Insofar as it uses them, and manages not to create widespread rebellion, it can focus attention upon, and give prominence to those whom it chooses. Such focussing of attention is of course subject to certain restrictions, the most important of which is probably the fact that it must participate in interscholastic competition, and thus give extreme prominence to athletics and their accessory personnel, such as cheerleaders.

The school-oriented cliques, who conform to the standards and desires of teachers, are of course those who are, in turn, rewarded by the teachers and by the administration. Similarly, the administration can, by skillful use of controls, make deviants the subject of ridicule or scorn (though the developing social maturity and autonomy of adolescents, discussed in chapter 1, makes this an increasingly more difficult task). Thus so long as the administration and teachers are not faced by widespread rebellion, as they are not in any of the schools of this study, the cliques whom they "sponsor" by the use of their rewards, will gain some attention from the adolescents, and always be at least in contention for dominance of the system, if not in complete control. It is no accident, then, that these seemingly unstable systems in schools 2 and 4, with a school-oriented and a non-school oriented group both partly in positions of leadership, exists and is apparently maintained.

The use of institutional rewards and controls for such purposes of course varies from school to school, depending upon the administrative philosophy, among other factors. Among the schools of this study, the one in which such controls were most directly and consciously used is school 5, the Catholic boys' school. The rewards were given to the athletes and students in the form of special privileges, one of which was being selected as messengers for the Brothers and the principal. These boys were clearly the leaders of the system, not only through their athletic and scholastic success, but because of the privileges and power such conformity to school goals reaped. They were, nevertheless, called "brownies" by some of the student body, because of these special benefits, indicating the ambivalent character of the status accorded them. Punishments were also swifter andless hesitant in this school, simply because there was not the problem, as there ordinarily is in public schools, of parents resisting the authority of the school over their children. The Brothers' religious status gives them a special legitimacy of authority which is not held by public school teachers.

The discussion above has focussed in general on the status system among girls, and has not dealt with that among boys. There is one extremely important added factor in the boys' systems, which divorces it far more from that of the parental community. This is athletic achievement, which plays such an important role in the boys' status systems in all the schools of this study. At the same time, it is likely that athletics makes less likely a challenge and status upset by a non-school oriented group. For athletic achievement, unlike the dimensions by which a girl gains status, is a clear-cut and objective achievement on the part of the boys, in an area which is held to be important by most teen-agers themselves. Consequently, the status of the successful athlete is seen as far more legitimate than the status of the girl who is in a comparable position in the leading crowd. This greater legitimacy is evidenced by the fact that in response to the question, "Agree or diagree: 'there are a few who control things in this school and the rest of us are out in the cold,'" (I.156.II.78.), the girls agreed 43% of the time in the fall and 48% of the time the next spring, while the boys agreed only 34% of the time in the fall and 32% of the time in the spring. This despite the fact that, as will be shown in Chapter 9, there is more consensus in naming the leading crowd, that is, more of a hierarchy in who is named, among the boys than among the girls.

The reason athletics is held to be important by the teen-agers is not intrinsic to the state of being a teen-ager, as the examples of schools 10 and 11 indicated. In the status systems of these boys and girls, coming from a social background very much like that of the very athletic-conscious teen-agers in school 9, athletics was of far less importance--particularly in school 10, where there was no interscholastic competition.

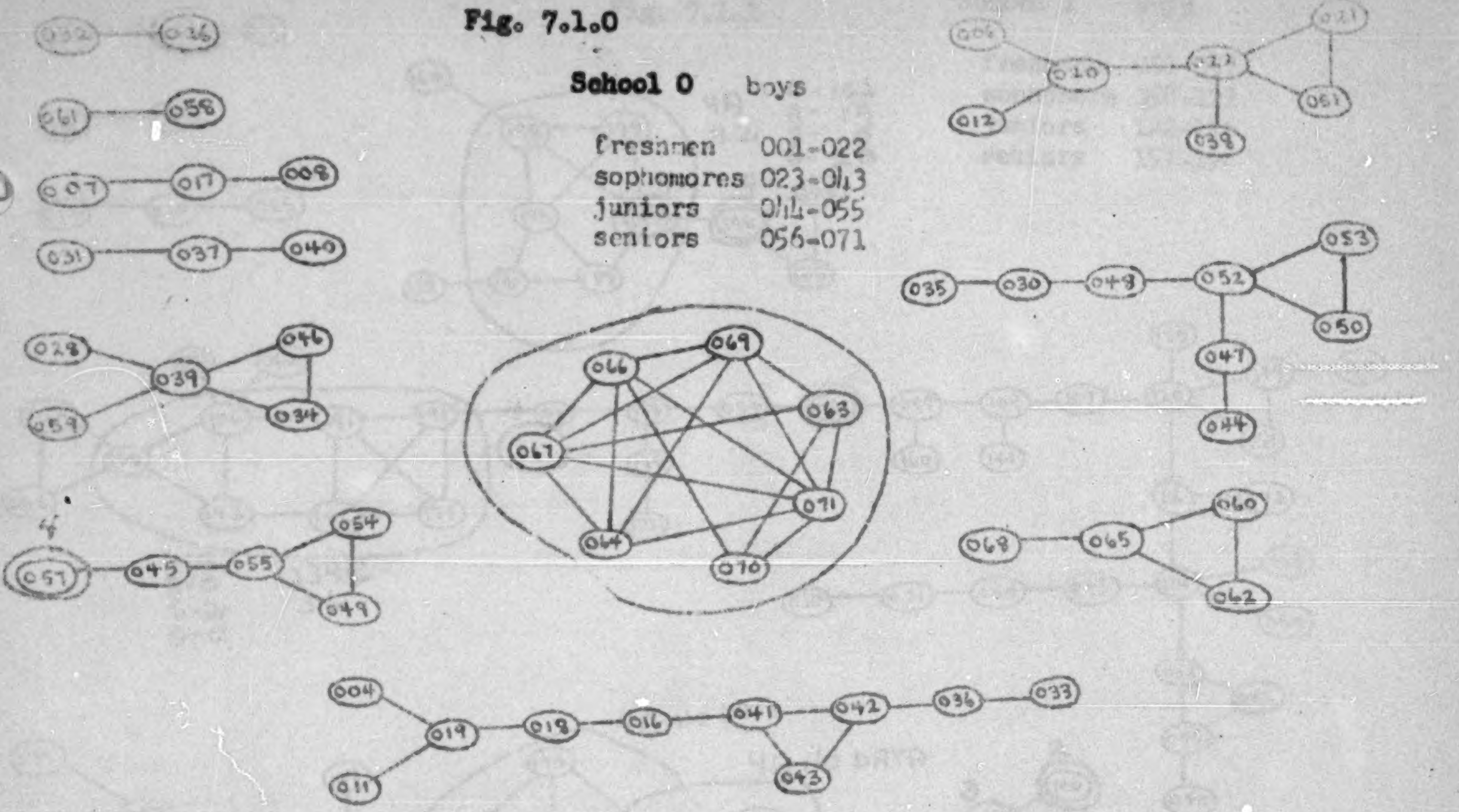
The importance of interscholastic competition in making athletics such an important element in the status system, has a clear and important source. These teen-agers are highly identified with their respective schools and communities. This identification stems in part from the fact that the school and the community of adolescents are synonymous to them. In part, it stems from the fact that they strive as a school in games against other schools, and thus develop common goals and a common identity. The few such games and contests which exist are athletic ones. Thus the heroes of the system, those who have status within it, are the boys who win for the school and for the community of adolescents, and thus make all feel better about themselves. It is natural for this community to reward these boys by giving them status.

This general process has important implications for those concerned with modifying the system of secondary education. These implications will be discussed in some detail in the final chapter.

Fig. 7.1.0

School 0 boys

freshmen 001-022
sophomores 023-043
juniors 044-055
seniors 056-071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School 0 girls

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sophs 025-054
juniors 055-082
seniors 083-098

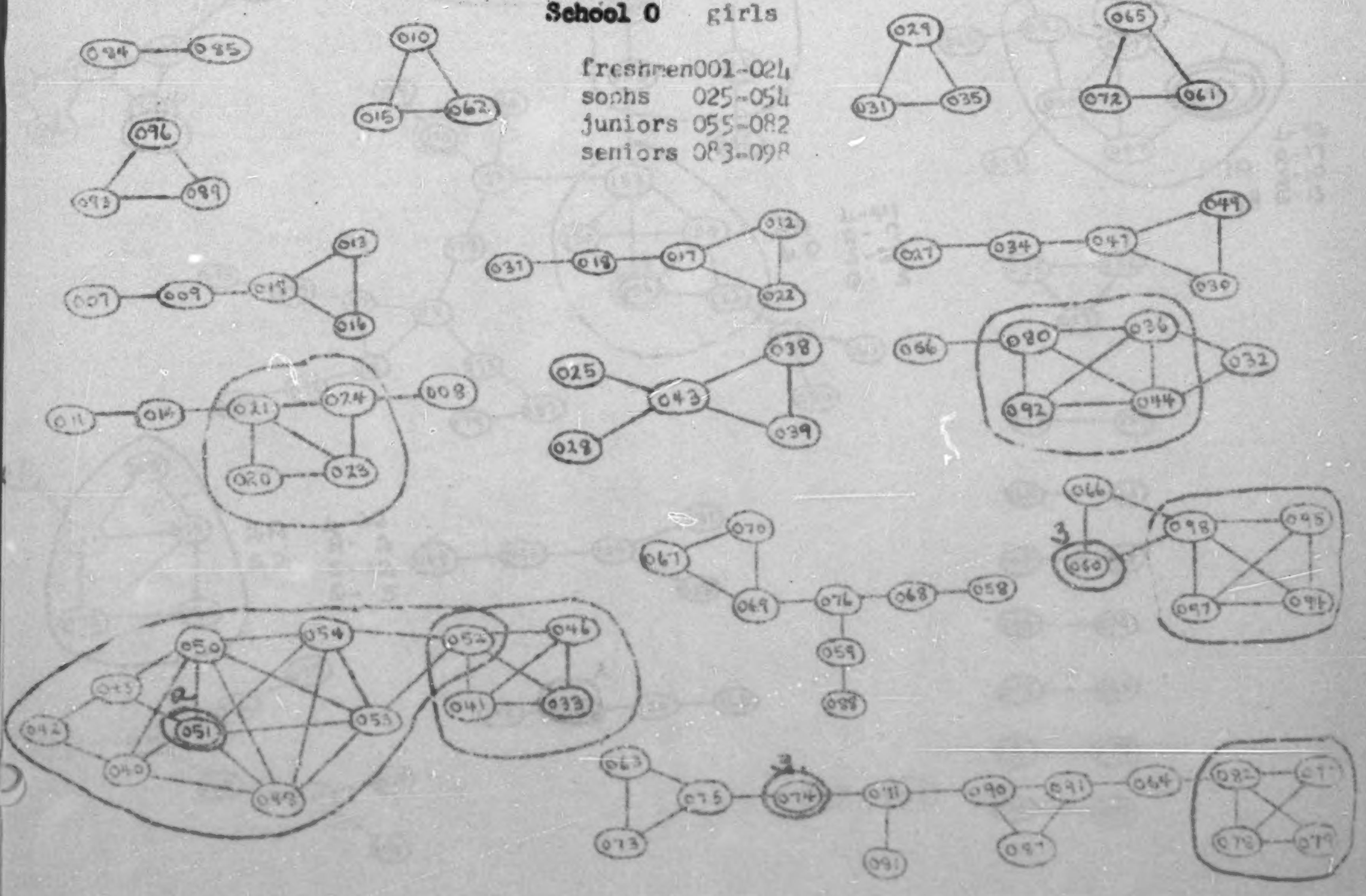
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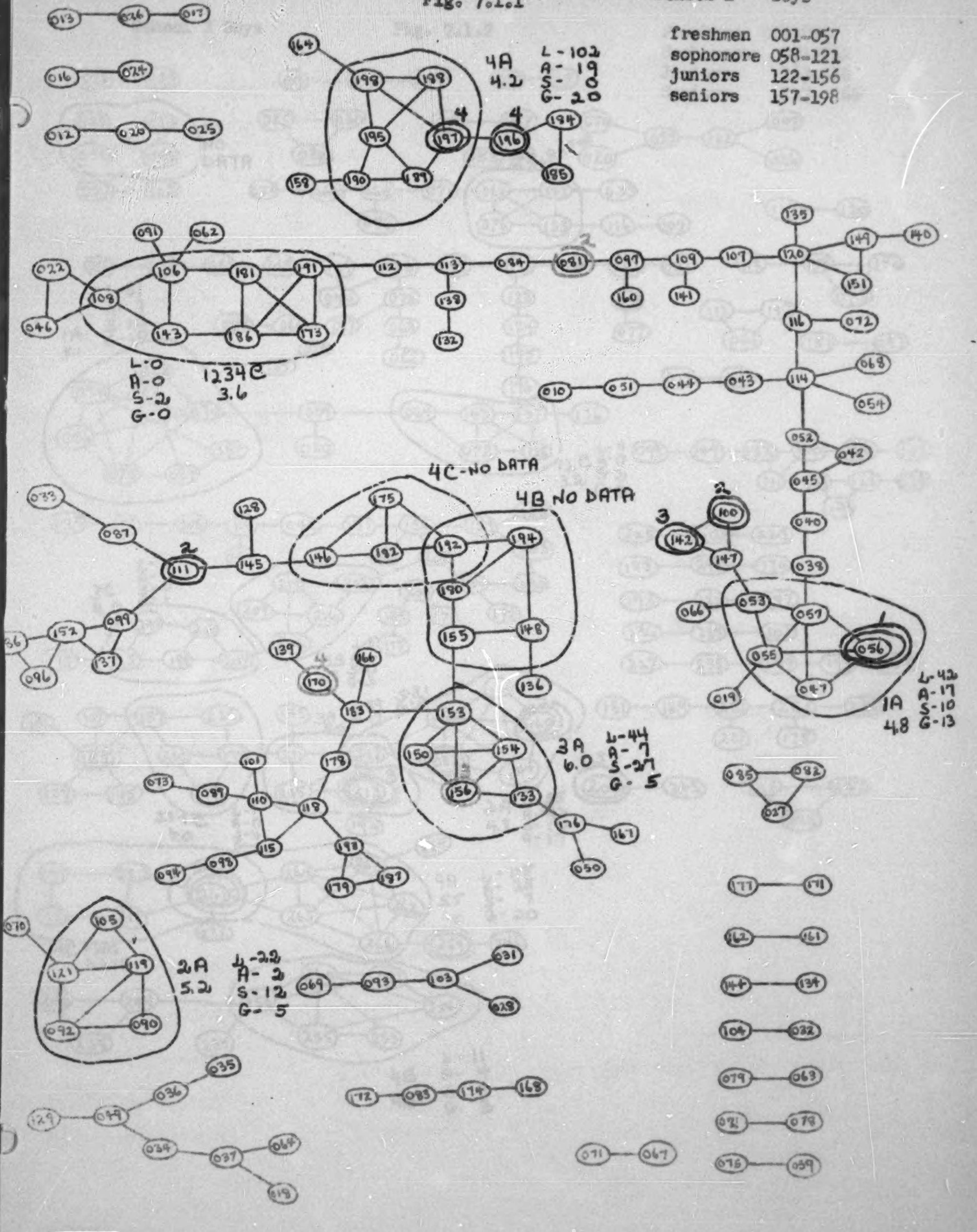
Fig. 7.1.1

School 1 Boys

freshmen	001-057
sophomore	058-121
juniors	122-156
seniors	157-198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School 2 Boys

Fig. 7.1.2

Freshmen	001-090
Sophomores	091-162
Juniors	163-216
Seniors	217- 266

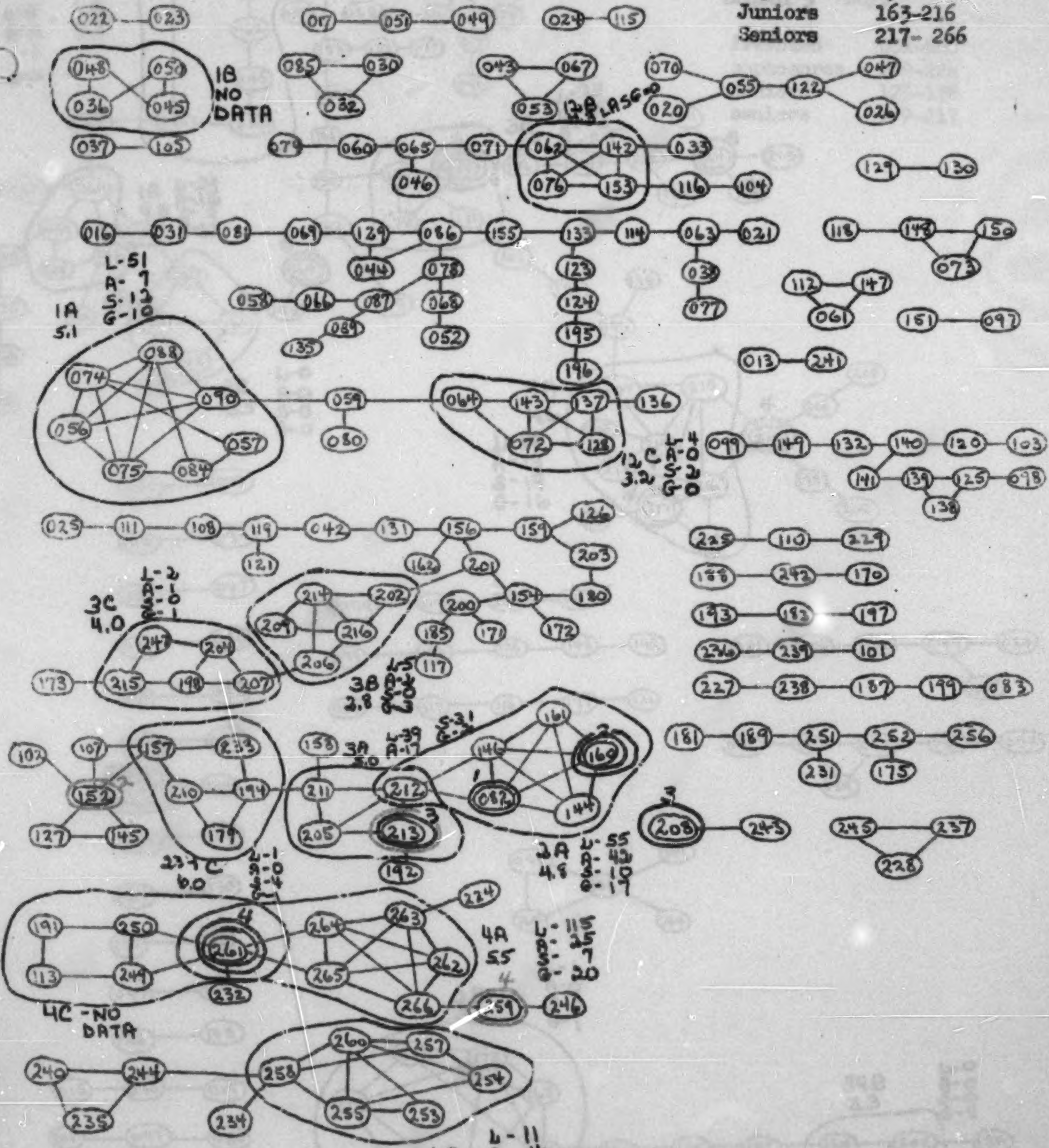
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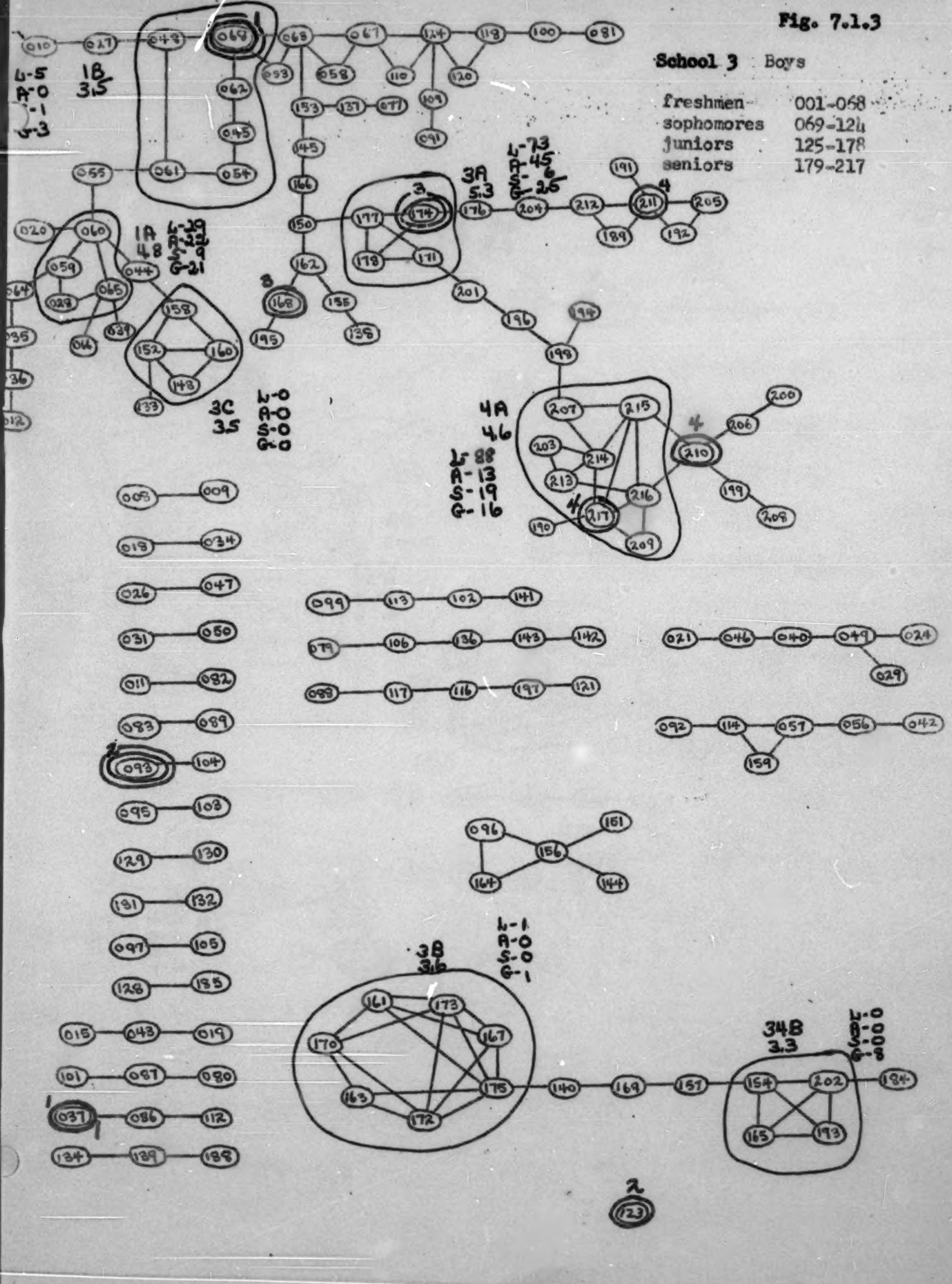
Fig. 7.1.3

School 3 Boys

freshmen	001-068
sophomores	069-124
juniors	125-178
seniors	179-217



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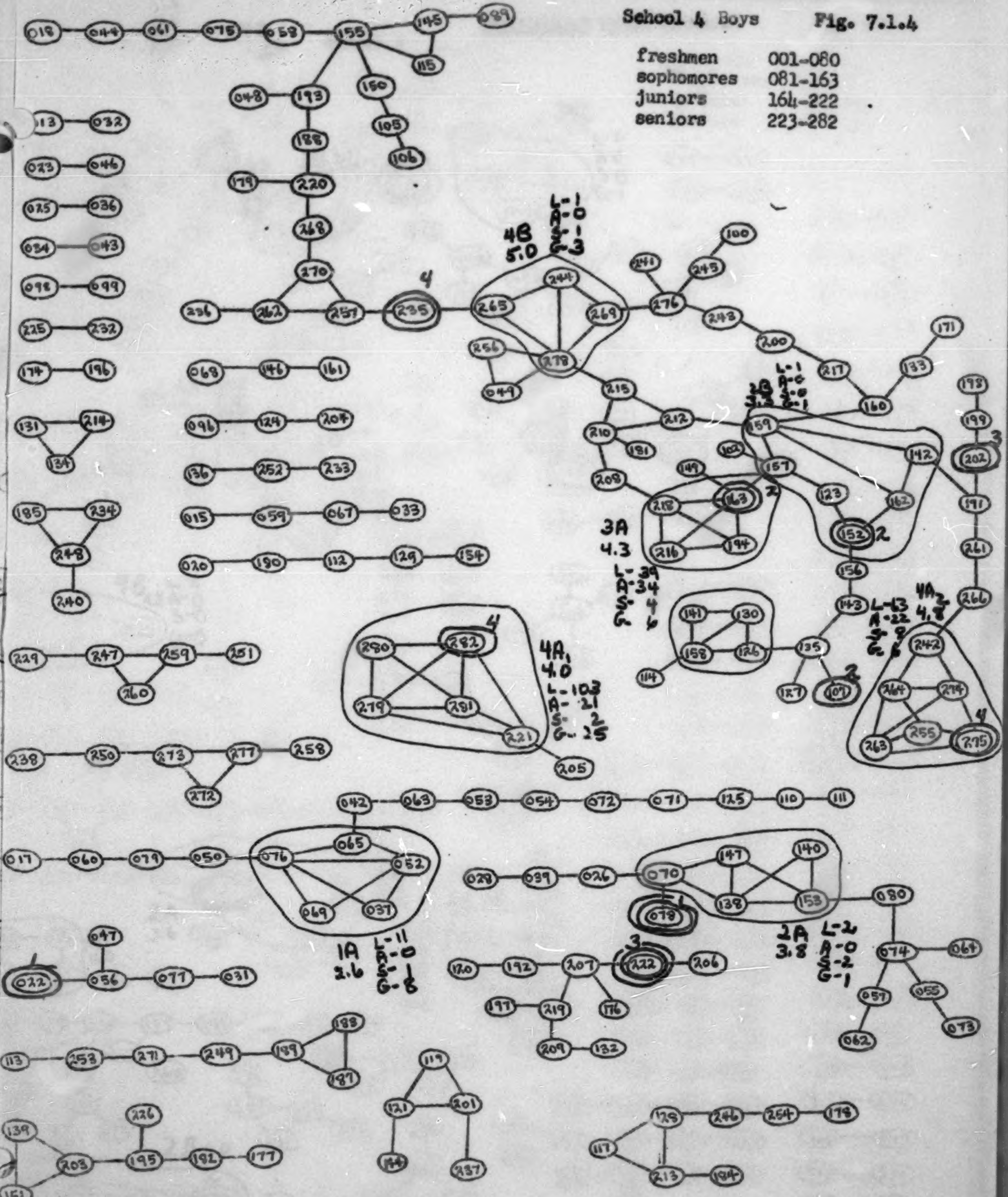
School 4 Boys **Fig. 7.1.4**

freshmen	001-080
sophomores	081-163
juniors	164-222
seniors	223-282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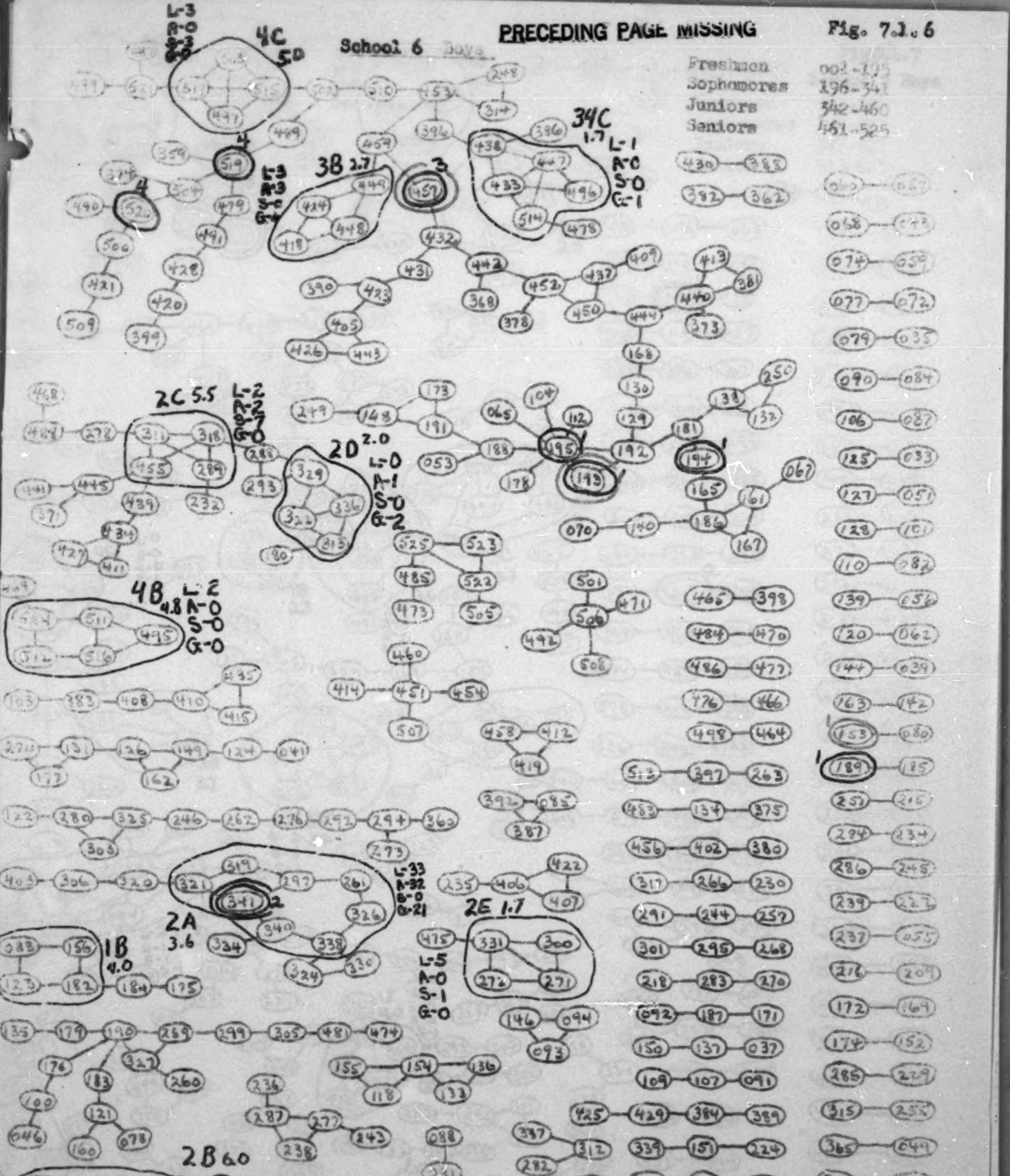
School 6 Boys

Fig. 7.1.6

Freshmen	001-195
Sophomores	196-341
Juniors	342-460
Seniors	461-525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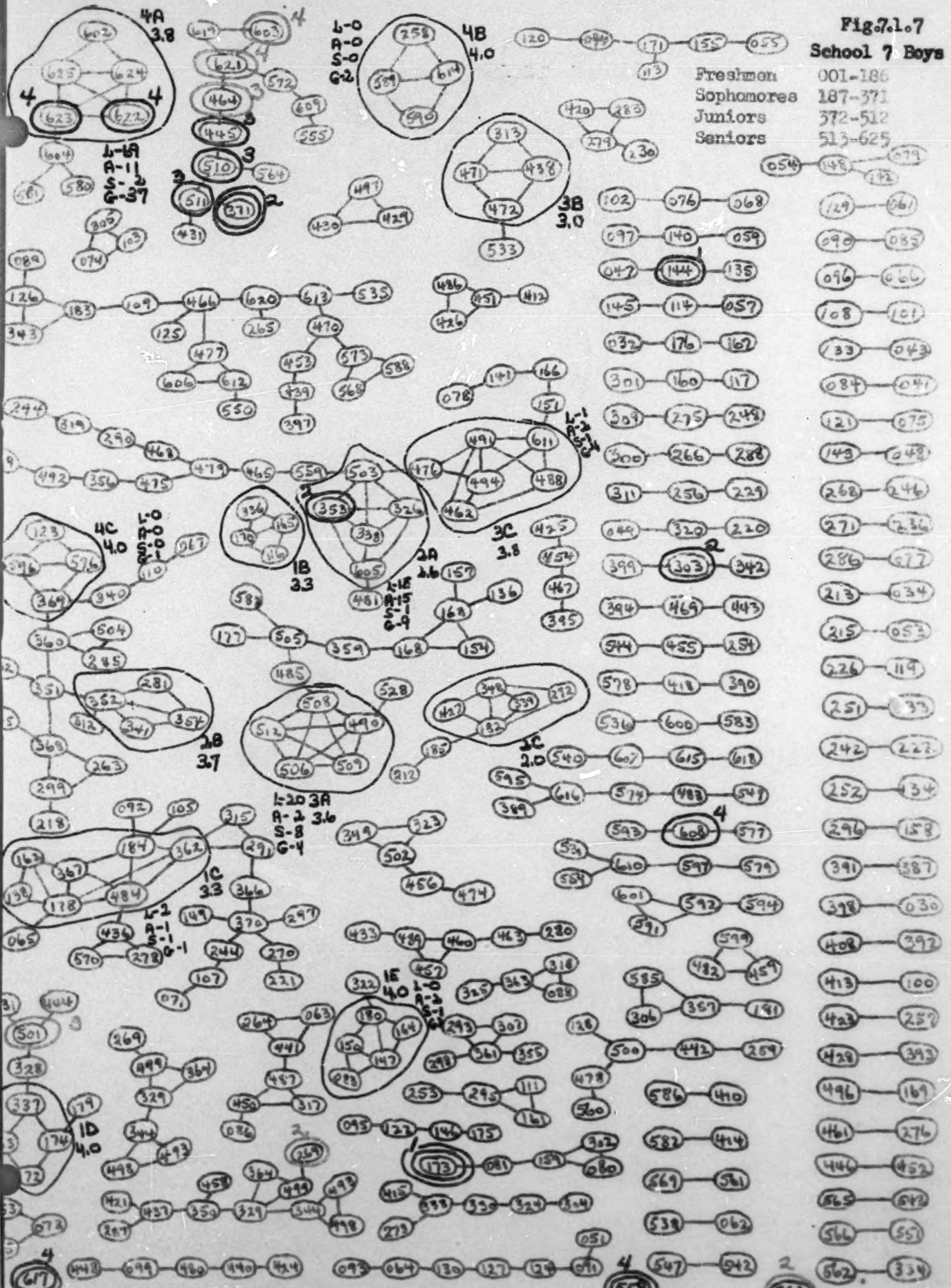
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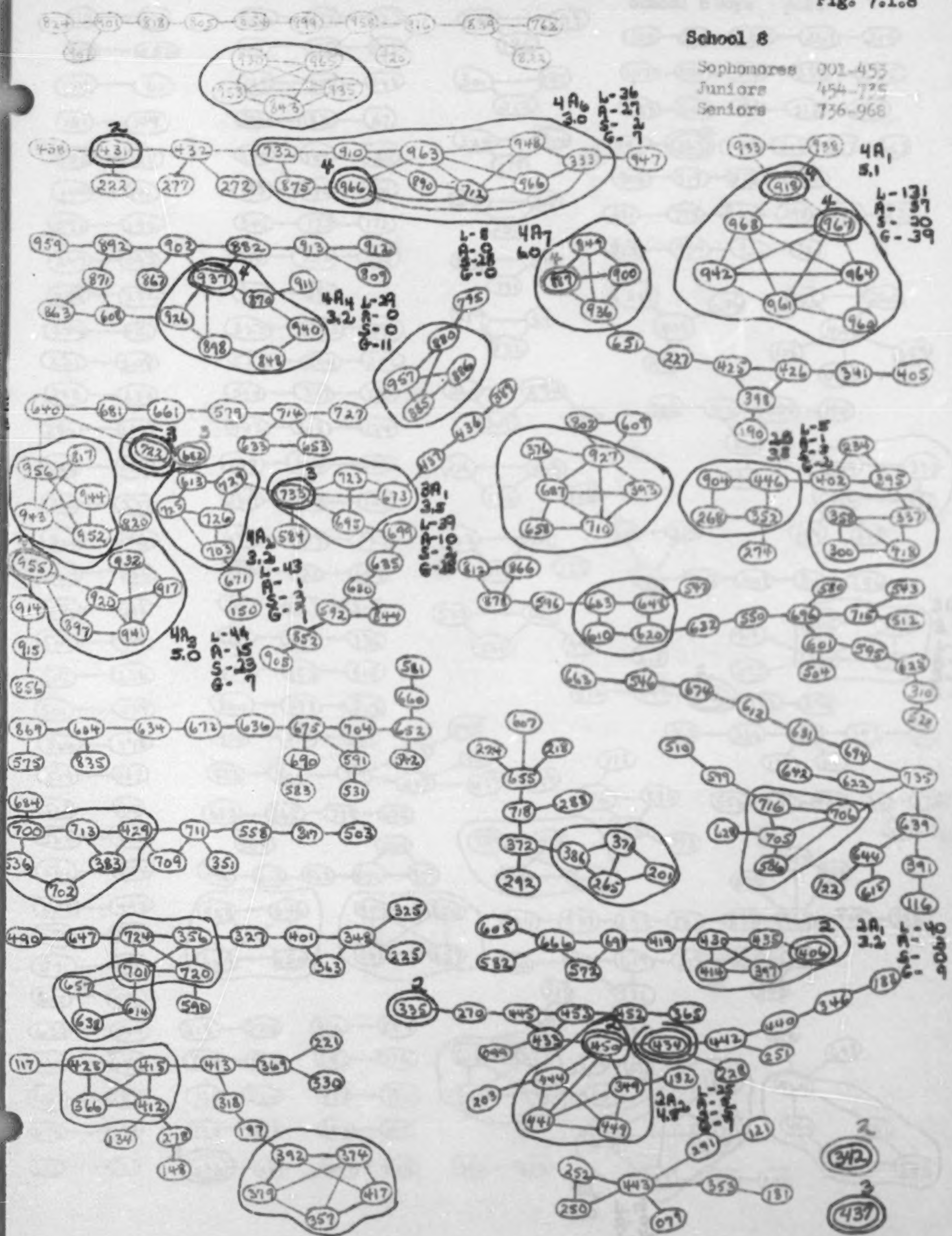
Fig.7.1.7
School 7 Boys

Freshmen	001-186
Sophomores	187-371
Juniors	372-512
Seniors	513-625

Fig. 7.1.8

School 8

Sophomores	001-453
Juniors	454-735
Seniors	736-968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School 8 Boys p.2.

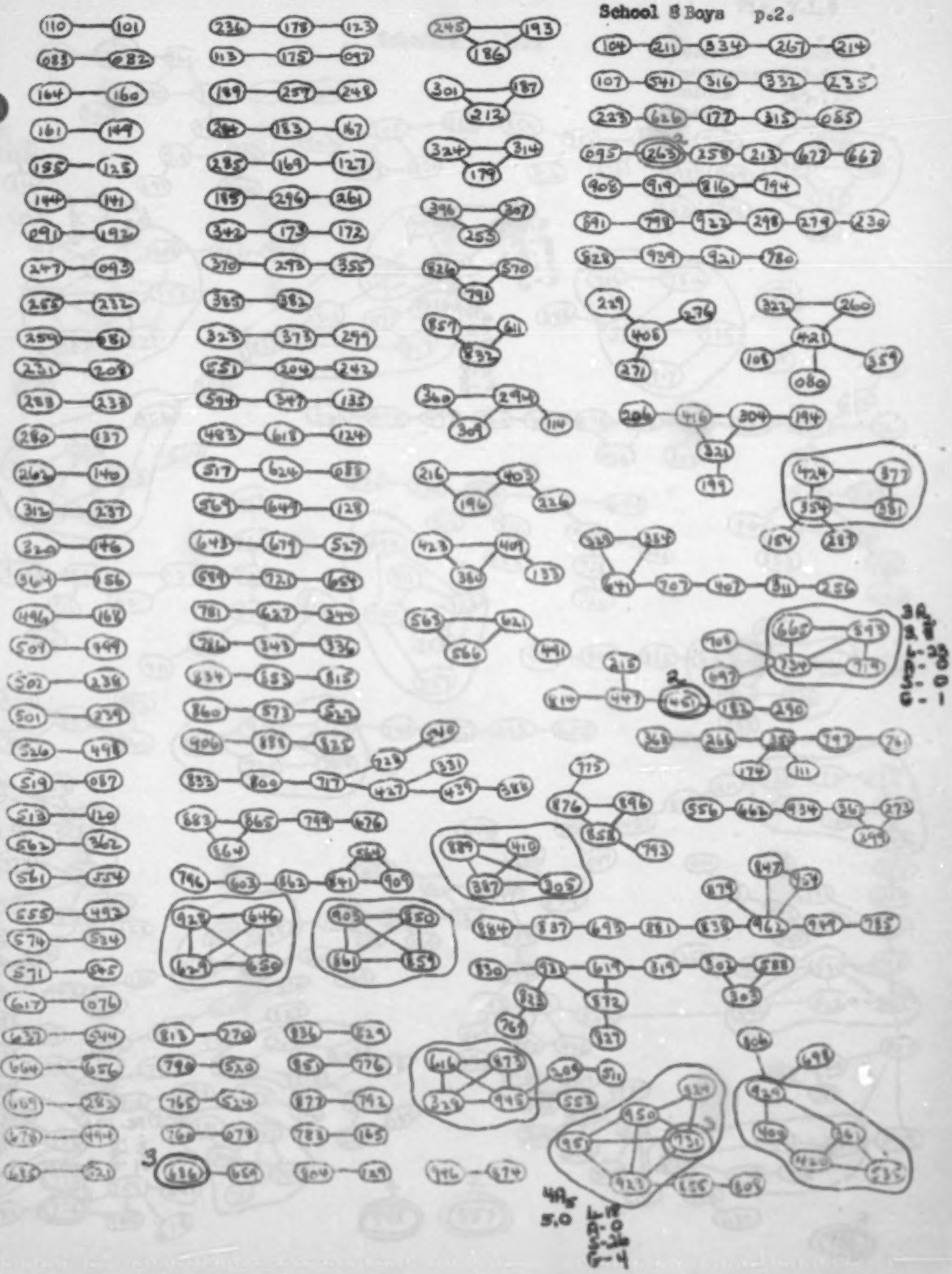
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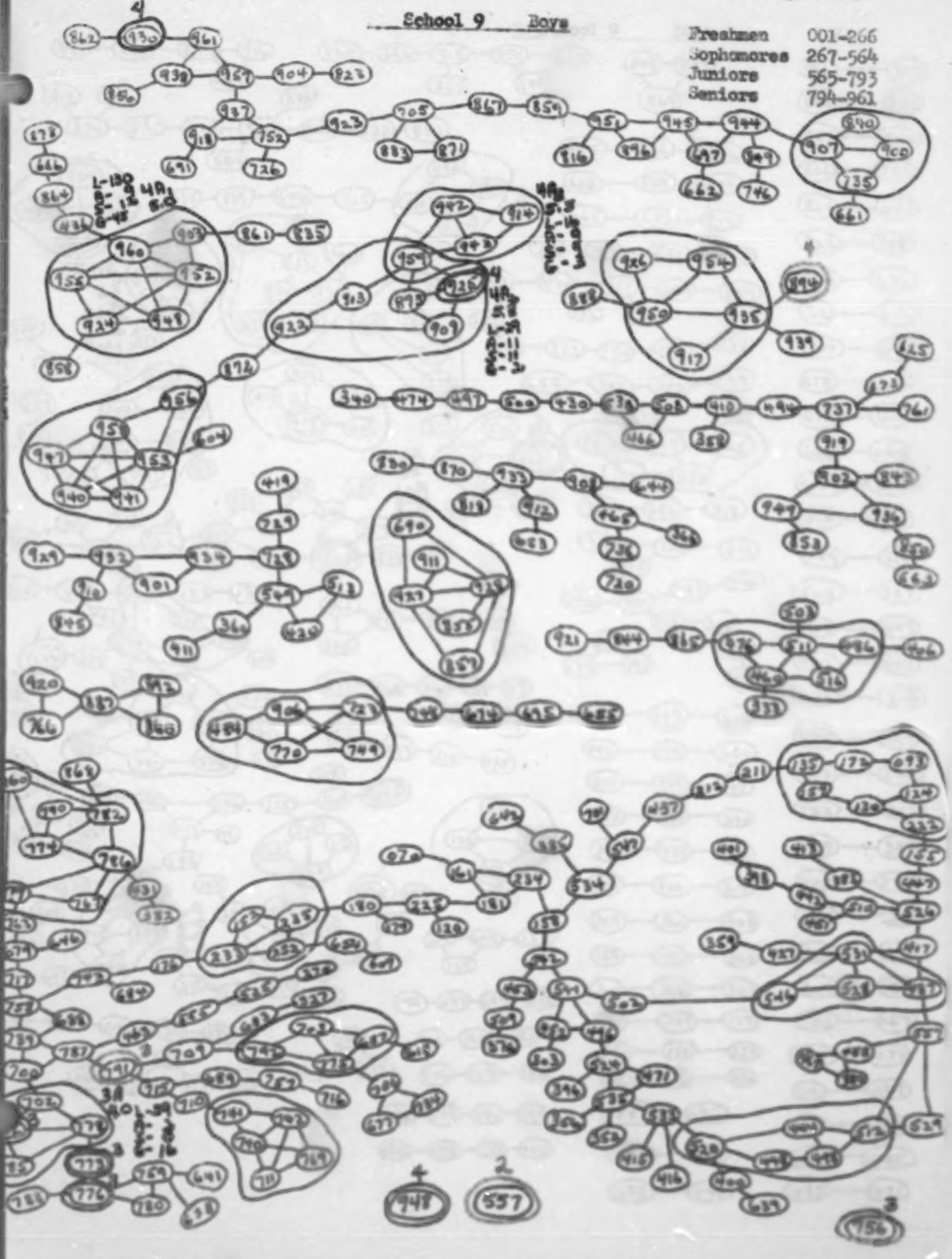
Fig. 7.1.9

School 9 Boys

Freshmen	001-266
Sophomores	267-564
Juniors	565-793
Seniors	794-961



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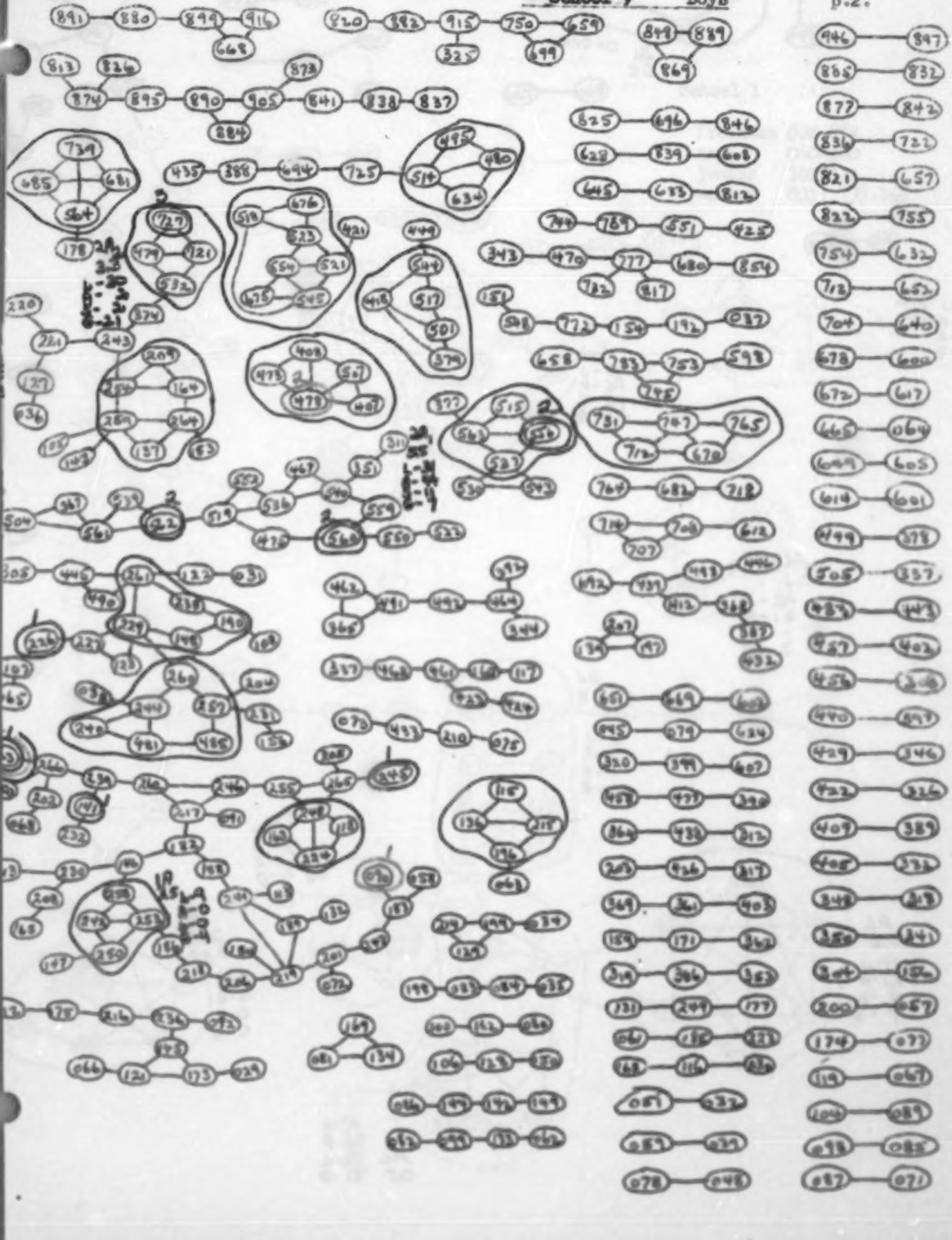
School 9 Boys p.2.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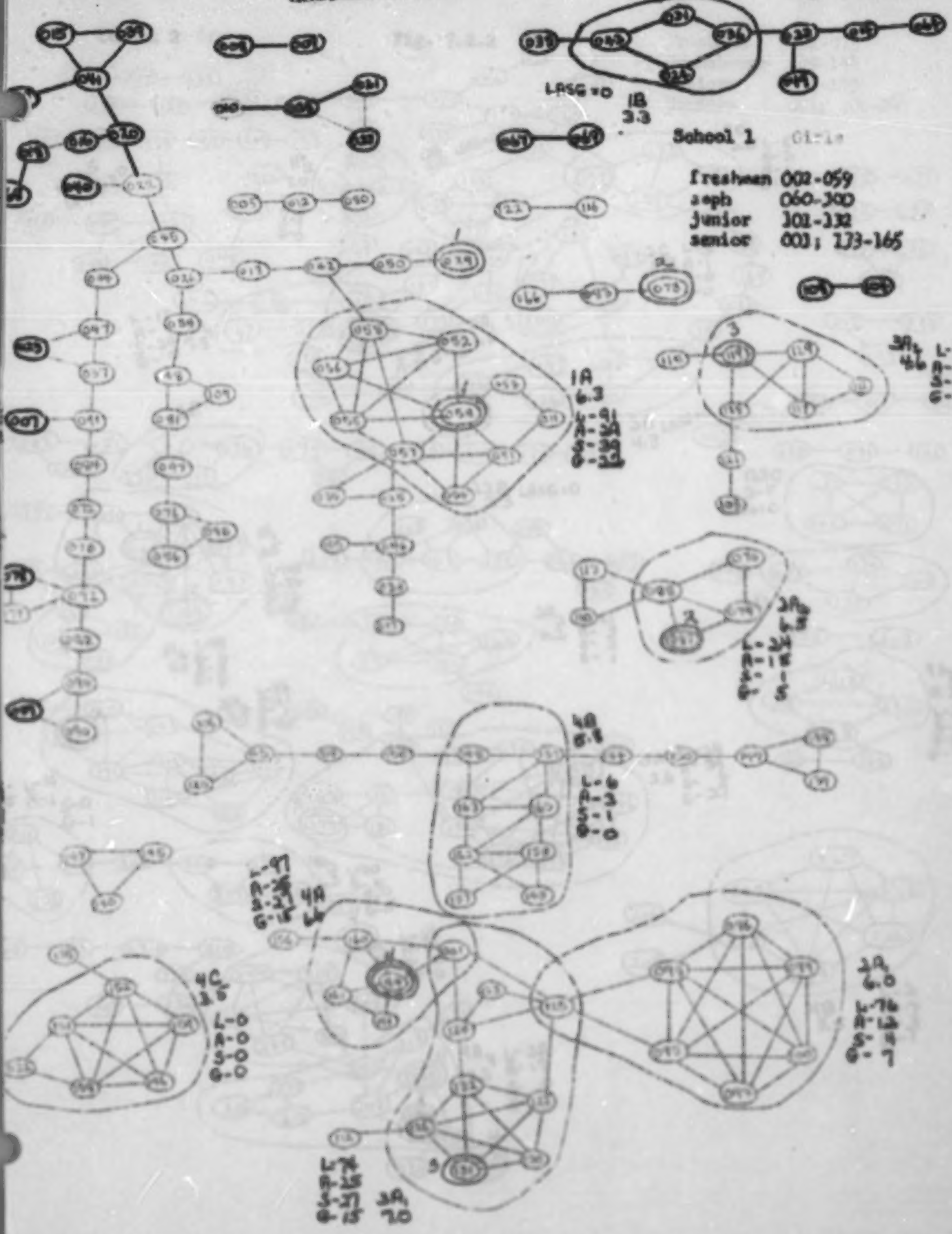
104
089
098
085
087
071

PRECEDING PAGE MISSING

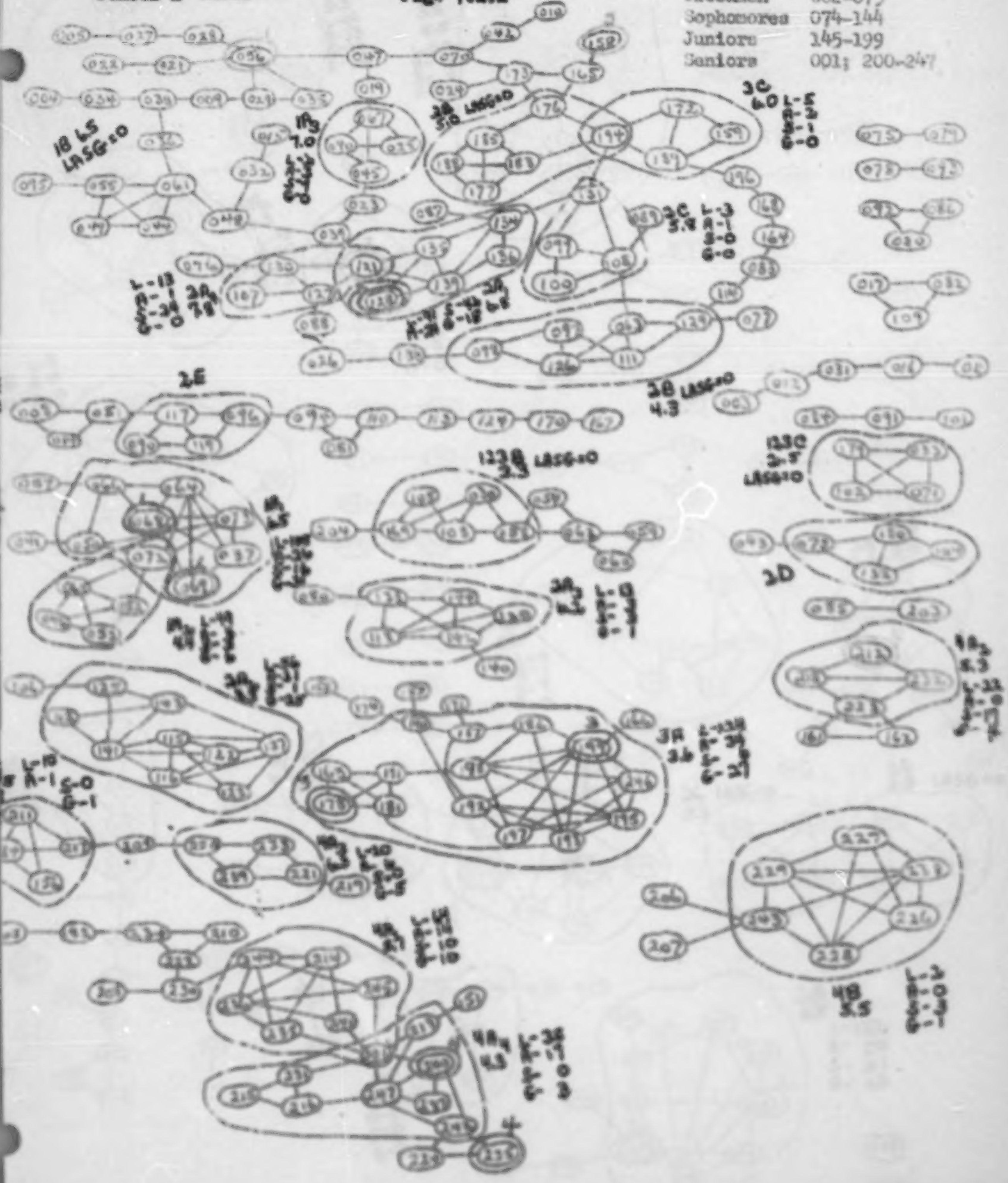
Fig. 7.2.1


School 1 Girls
freshmen 002-059
soph 060-300
junior 301-332
senior 001; 333-365
LASG = 0
1B
3.3
2
078
1A
6.3
L-91
A-38
S-39
G-22
3
3A4
4.6
L-11
A-3
S-0
G-8
2
3A3
6.5
L-34
A-15
S-1
G-5
4B
5.8
L-6
A-3
S-1
G-0
L-97
A-36
S-27
G-15
4A
6.6
4C
3.5
L-0
A-0
S-0
G-0
2A
6.0
L-76
A-12
S-4
G-7
L-76
A-15
S-27
G-15
3A1
7.0

School 2 Girls

Fig. 7.2.2

Freshmen	002-073
Sophomores	074-144
Juniors	145-199
Seniors	001; 200-247



1B 6.5 LASG=0
1B3 7.0
3A 5.0 LASG=0
3C 6.0 L-5 A-2 S-1 G-0
3C 5.8 L-3 A-1 S-0 G-0
L-13 A-1 S-34 G-0 3A 7.8
3A 6.8
3B LASG=0 4.3
2E
123B LASG=0 3.3
123C 2.5 LASG=0
2D
3A
3A 3.6
4A 5.3
4A 4.3
4B 5.5
L-10 A-1 S-0 G-1
4

Fig. 7.2.3

School 3 Girls

freshmen	002-057
sophomores	058-113
juniors	114-164
seniors	165-205

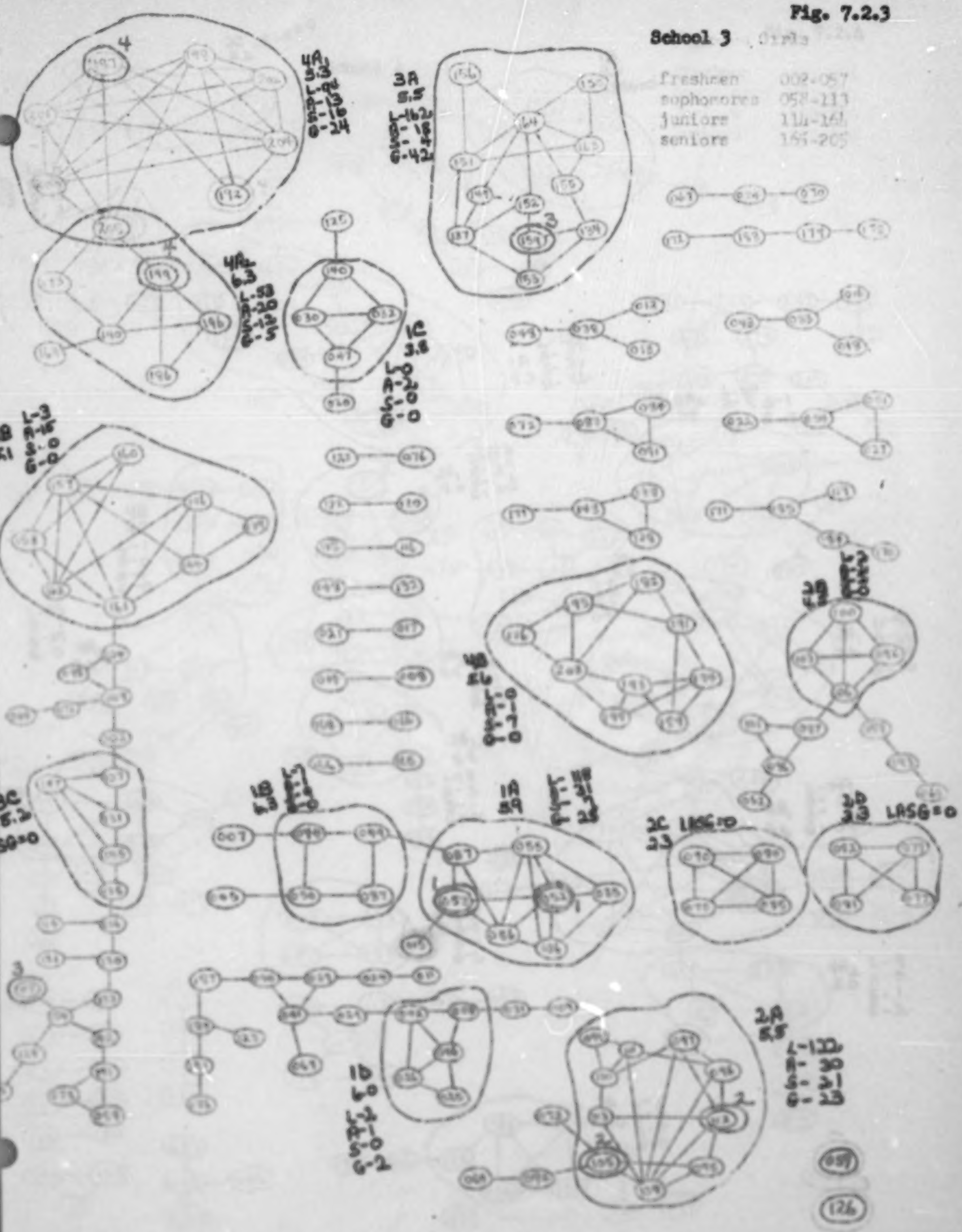
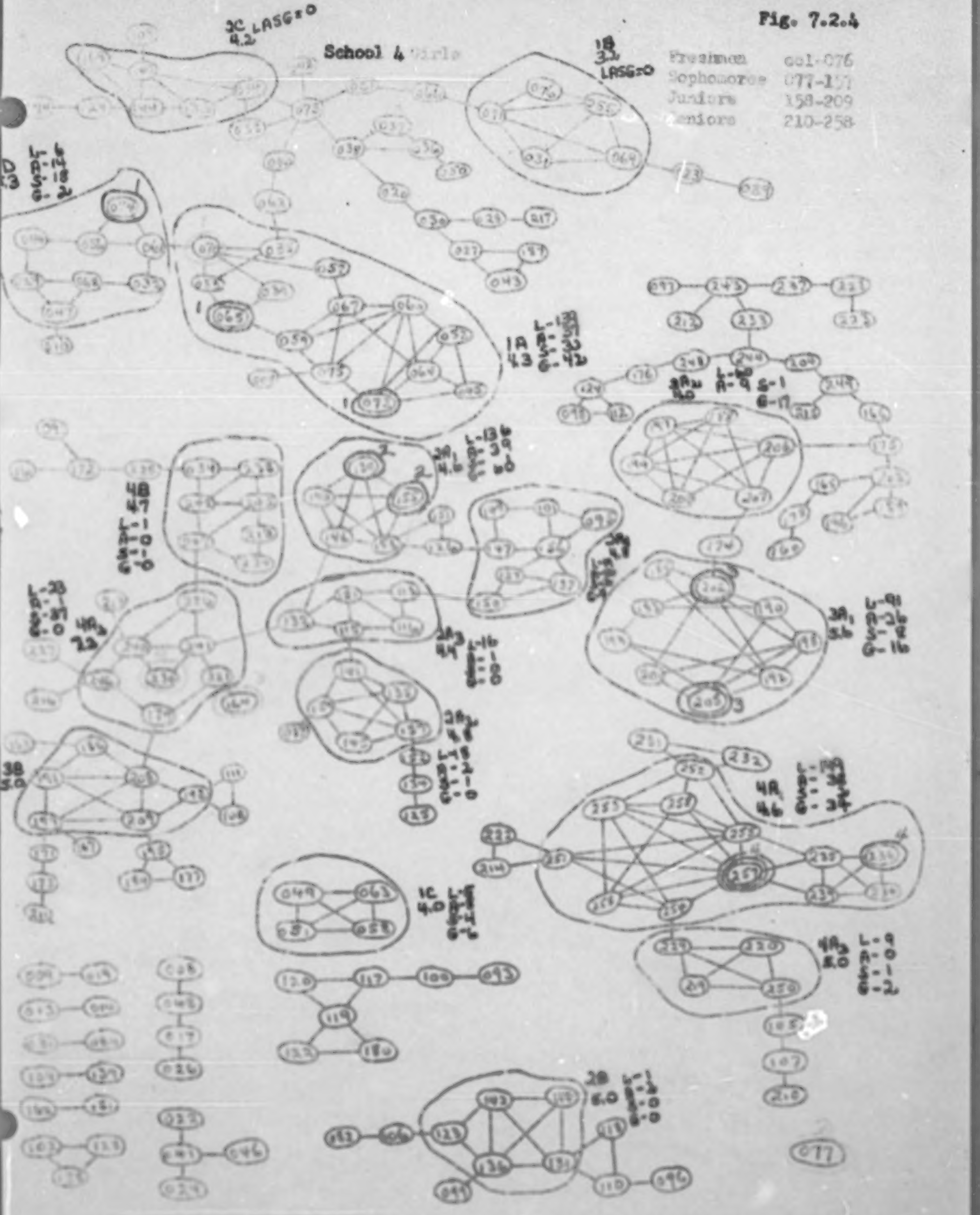

4A1
5.3
L-92
A-13
S-16
G-24
3A
5.5
L-162
A-18
S-4
G-42
4A2
6.3
L-58
A-20
S-12
G-5
1C
3.8
L-0
A-2
S-0
G-0
3B
5.1
L-3
A-15
S-0
G-0
4B
5.6
2B
4.3
3C
5.2
SG=0
1B
4.3
1A
5.9
L-118
A-31
G-28
2C LASG=0
2.3
3D
3.3
LASG=0
1D
6.0
L-2
A-0
S-0
G-2
2A
5.5
L-122
A-30
S-21
G-23
059
126

Fig. 7.2.4

School 4 Girls


2C LASG=0
4.2
1B
3.2
LASG=0
1A
4.3
2A1
4.6
4B
4.7
3A1
3.6
4A2
2.3
2A3
4.4
3B
5.0
1C
4.0
4A1
4.6
4A3
5.0
2B
6.0

Freshmen	001-076
Sophomores	077-157
Juniors	158-209
Seniors	210-258

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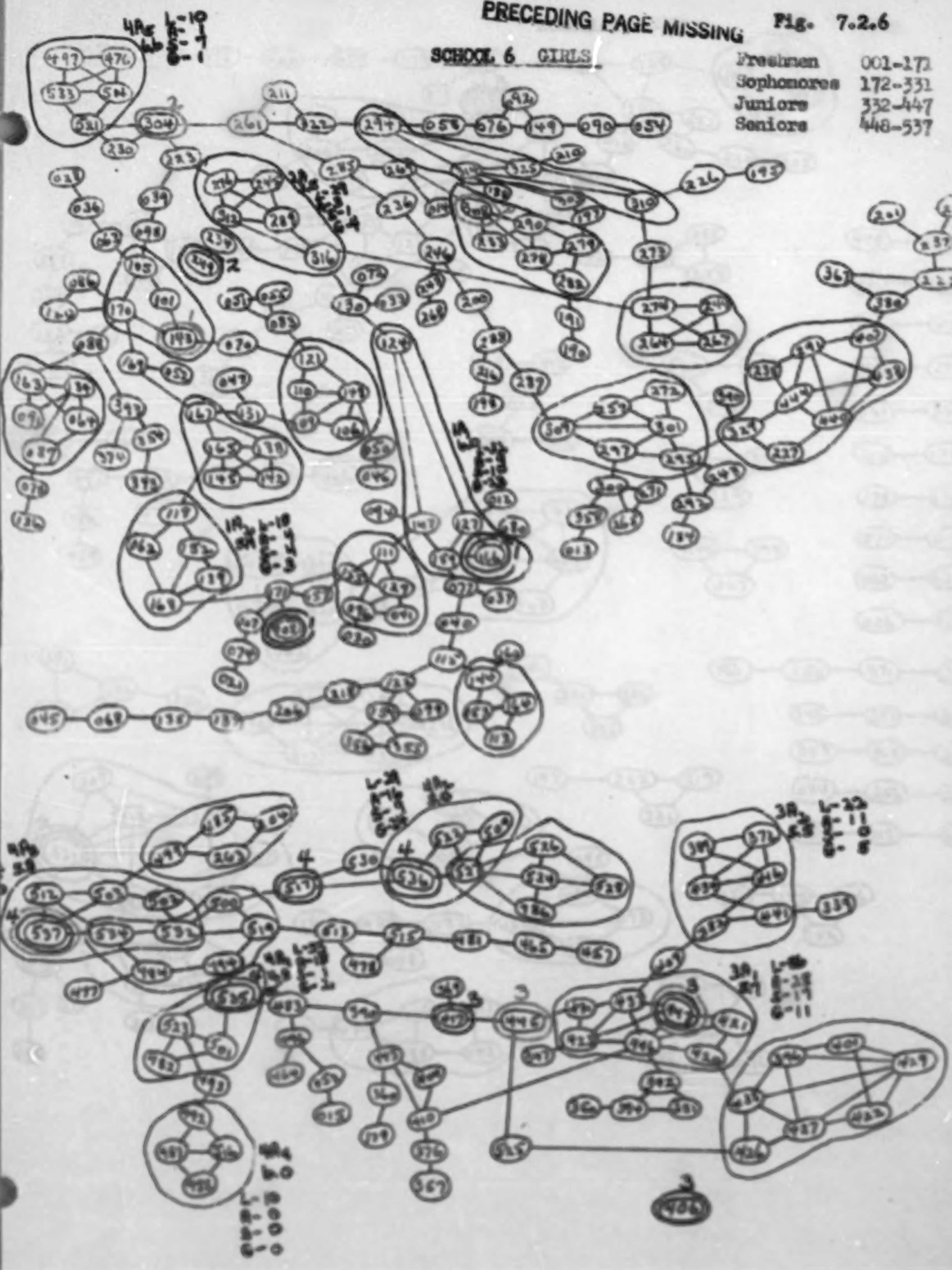
Fig. 7.2.6

SCHOOL 6 GIRLS

Freshmen	001-171
Sophomores	172-331
Juniors	332-447
Seniors	448-537



SCHOOL 6 GIRLS P.2.

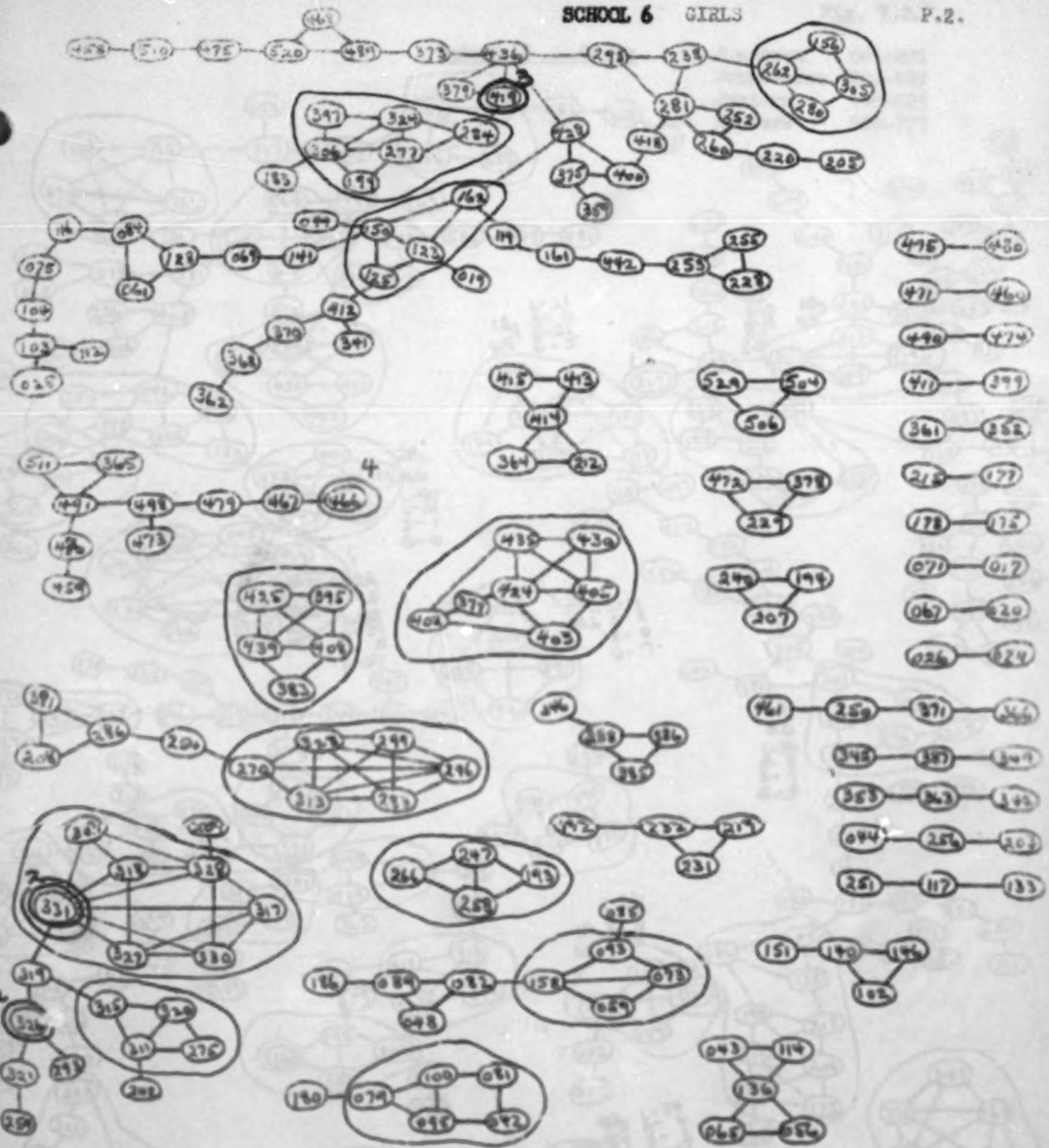
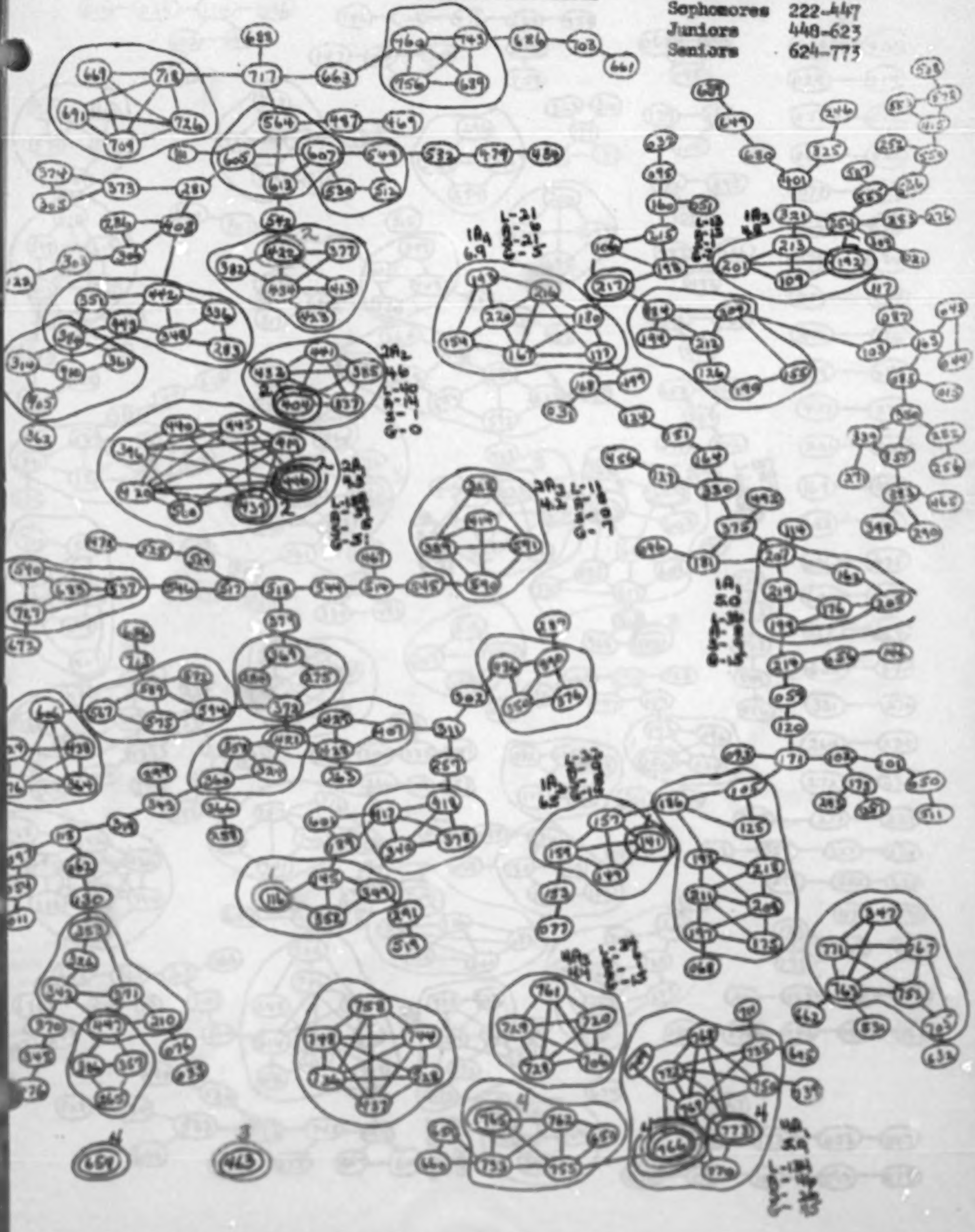

462
458
510
475
520
489
373
436
298
239
156
262
305
280
379
419
3
281
252
418
260
220
205
429
375
400
359
397
324
284
306
277
183
199
162
099
150
122
125
019
119
161
442
253
255
228
116
084
075
128
065
141
060
104
103
112
025
412
270
341
368
362
495
480
471
466
490
474
411
399
361
352
212
177
178
172
071
017
067
020
026
024
415
413
414
364
212
529
504
506
472
378
229
249
194
207
511
365
4
441
498
479
467
466
496
473
459
425
395
439
409
382
435
430
424
405
377
408
403
391
286
204
206
328
299
270
296
313
293
246
258
326
385
461
250
371
366
348
387
349
353
363
342
094
256
202
251
117
133
301
208
318
329
3
331
317
327
330
319
2
326
315
320
311
276
321
293
242
258
261
247
193
259
192
232
219
231
085
093
158
073
059
186
089
082
048
151
140
196
102
190
079
100
081
095
092
043
114
136
065
056

Fig. 7.2.7

School 7 - Girls

Freshmen	001-221
Sophomores	222-447
Juniors	448-623
Seniors	624-773



School 7 Girls p.2.

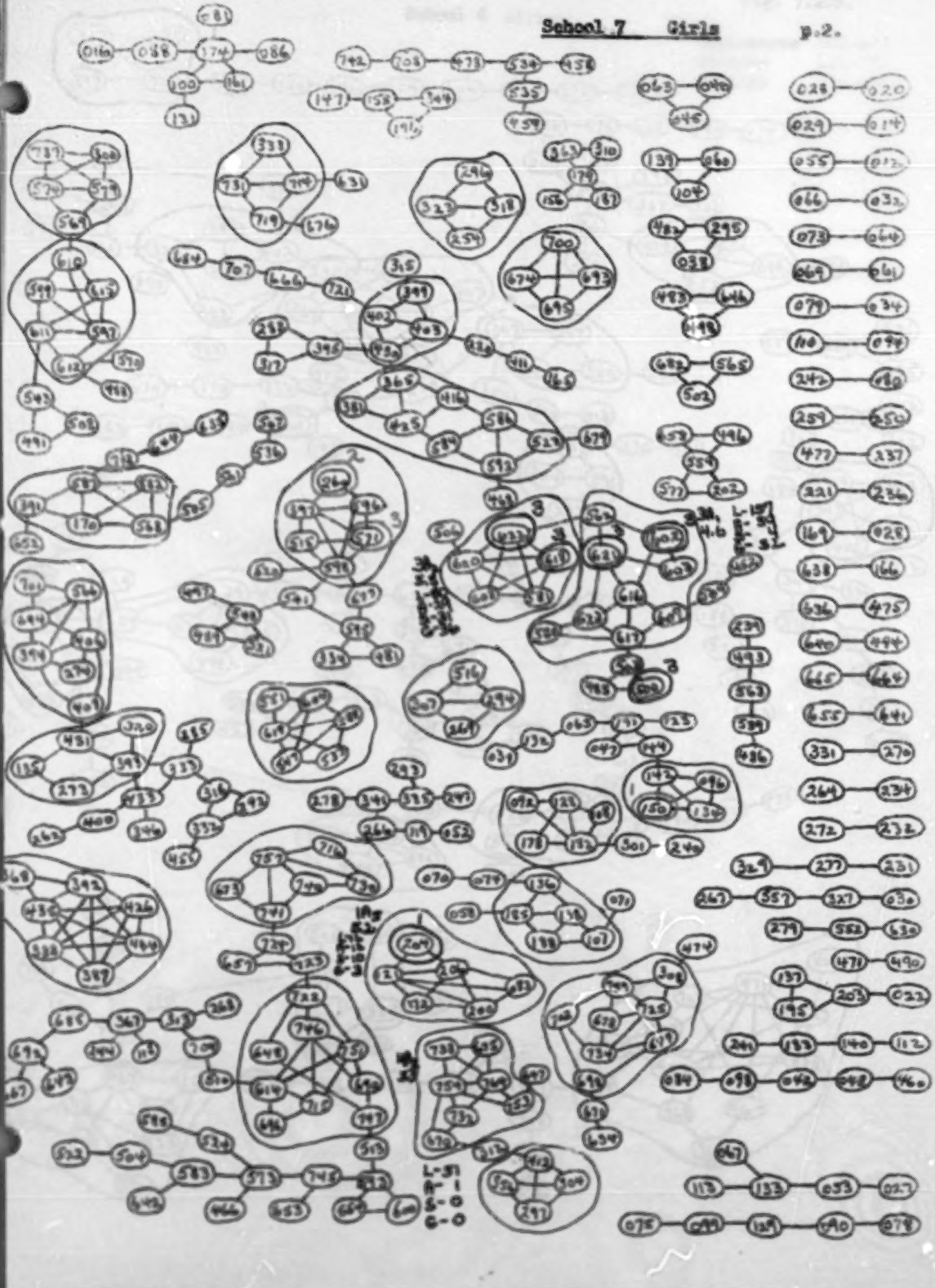
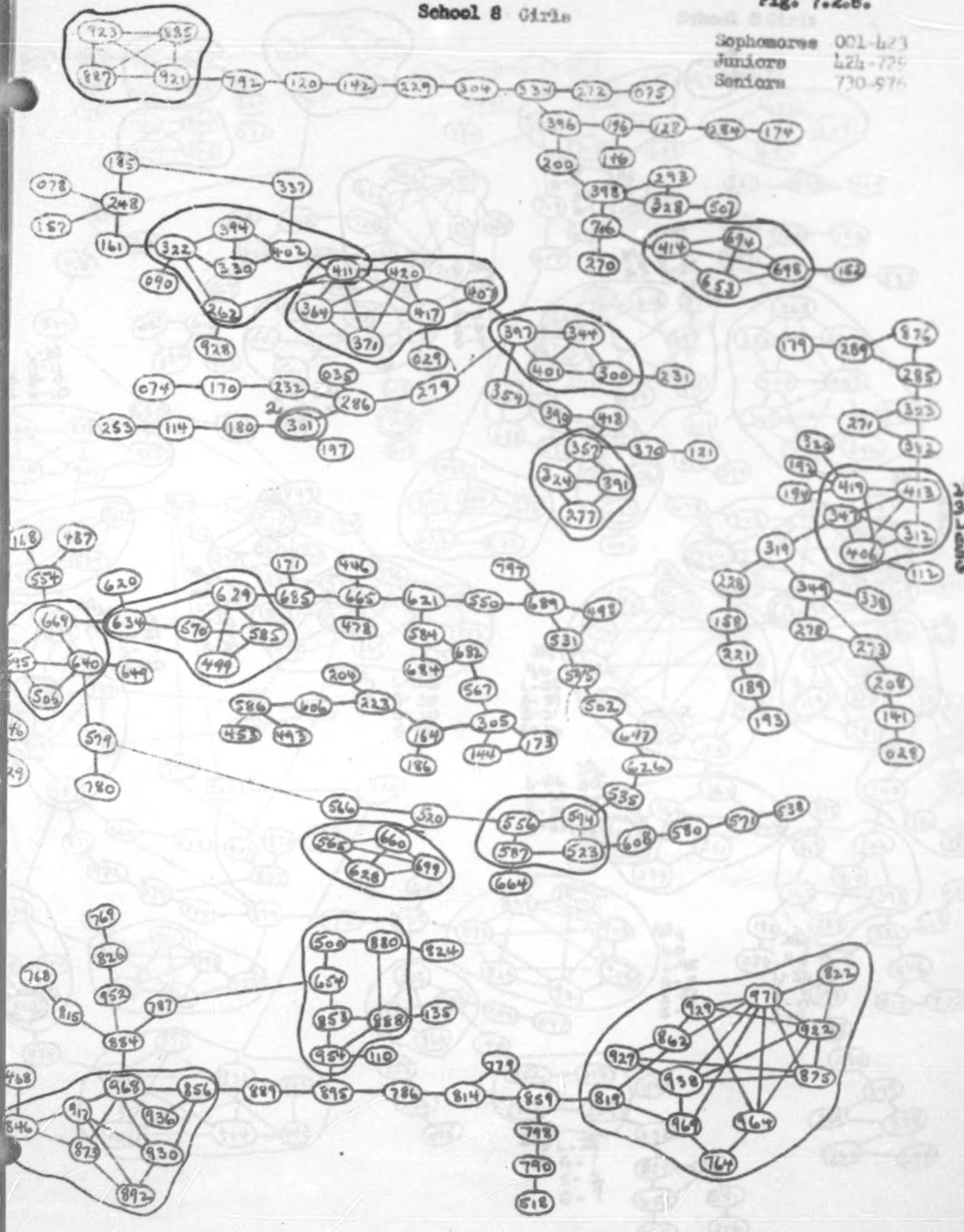


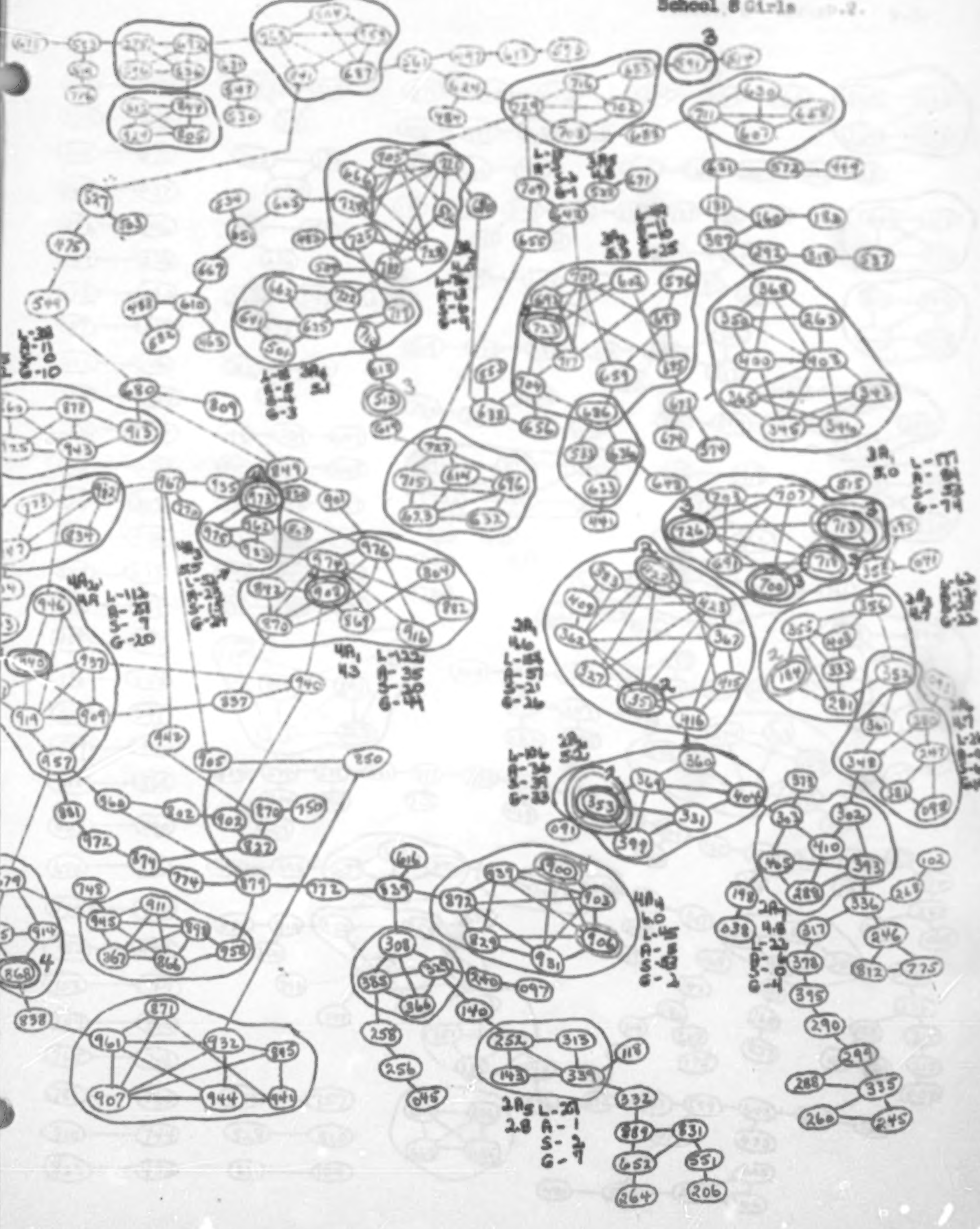
Fig. 7.2.8.

School 8 Girls

Sophomores 001-423
Juniors 424-725
Seniors 730-976


923
885
887
921
792
120
142
229
304
334
272
075
396
196
128
284
174
200
146
398
293
328
507
716
270
414
694
653
698
162
185
337
078
248
157
161
322
394
330
402
090
411
420
407
364
417
371
262
928
029
397
344
401
300
231
635
074
170
232
286
279
354
390
418
2
253
114
180
301
197
357
370
121
324
391
277
179
289
376
285
323
271
342
326
192
419
413
194
347
312
406
112
319
228
344
338
278
273
158
221
189
193
208
141
028
168
487
554
620
669
634
629
570
585
499
695
640
649
506
46
579
780
29
171
685
446
665
478
621
550
797
689
498
584
682
684
531
575
204
567
586
606
223
455
493
164
305
144
173
186
502
647
626
535
566
520
556
594
565
660
628
699
587
523
664
608
580
571
538
769
826
768
952
815
787
884
500
880
824
654
853
888
135
954
110
468
968
856
917
936
846
873
930
892
889
895
786
814
779
859
798
790
518
819
971
822
929
862
922
927
938
875
969
964
764
L-28

School 8 Girls p.2.



4A₁ 4.3 L-122 A-35 S-20 G-44
2A₁ 4.6 L-158 A-57 S-21 G-26
2A₂ 5.2 L-106 A-36 S-39 G-33
2A₅ 2.8 L-201 A-1 S-2 G-9
4A₄ 6.0 L-45 A-8 S-83 G-2
4A₂ 4.8 L-112 A-201 S-9 G-20
2A₁ 5.0 L-177 A-84 S-53 G-74

School 8 Girls

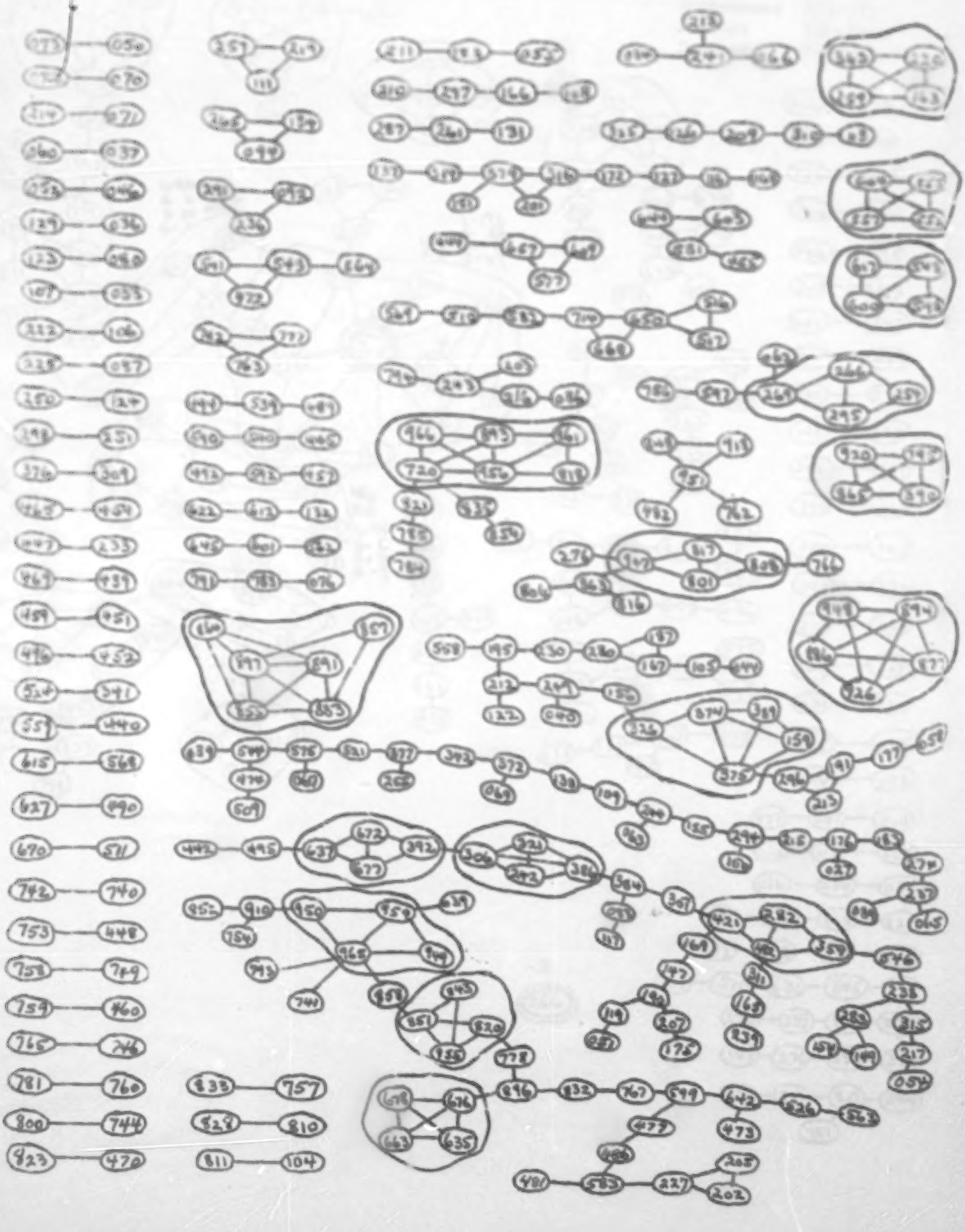
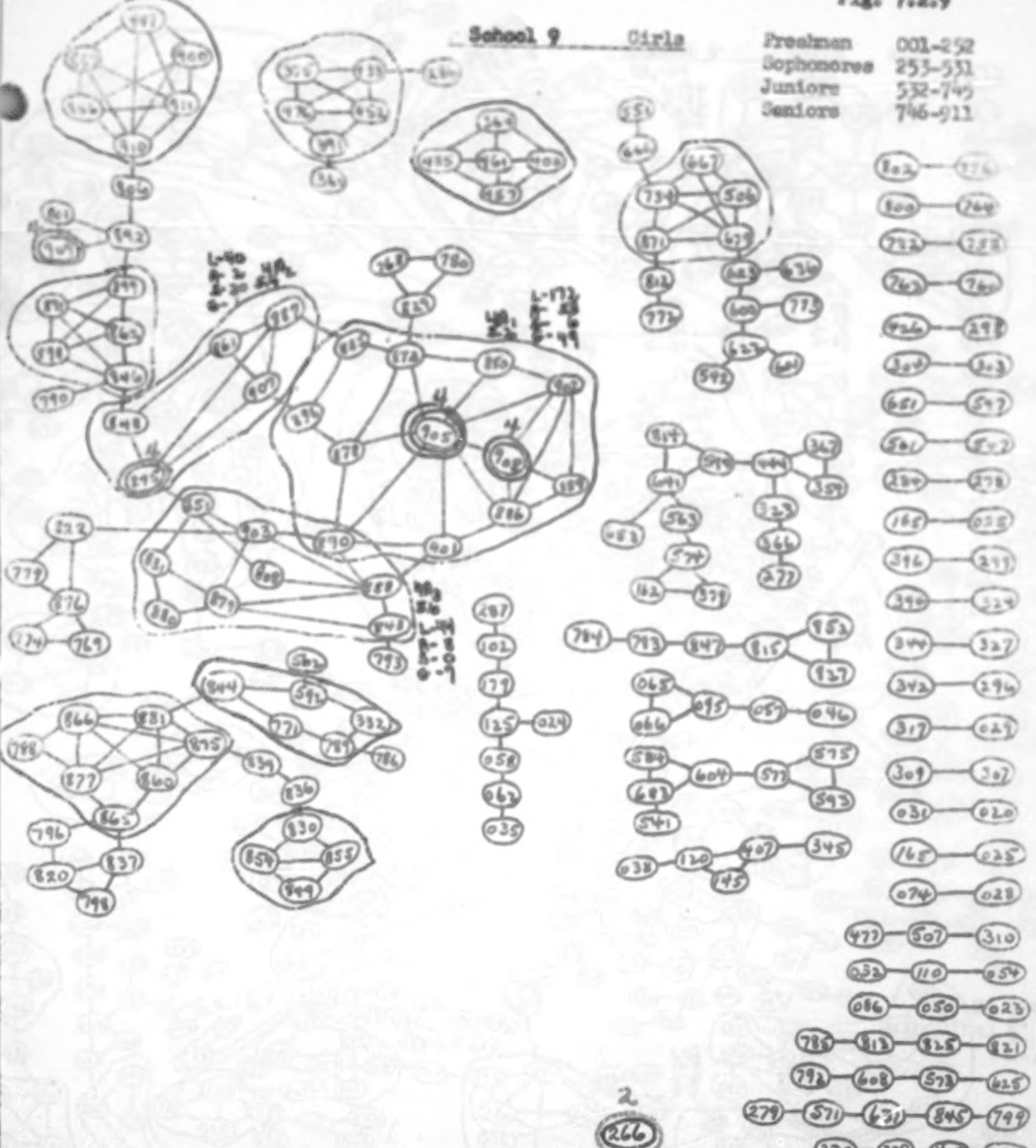


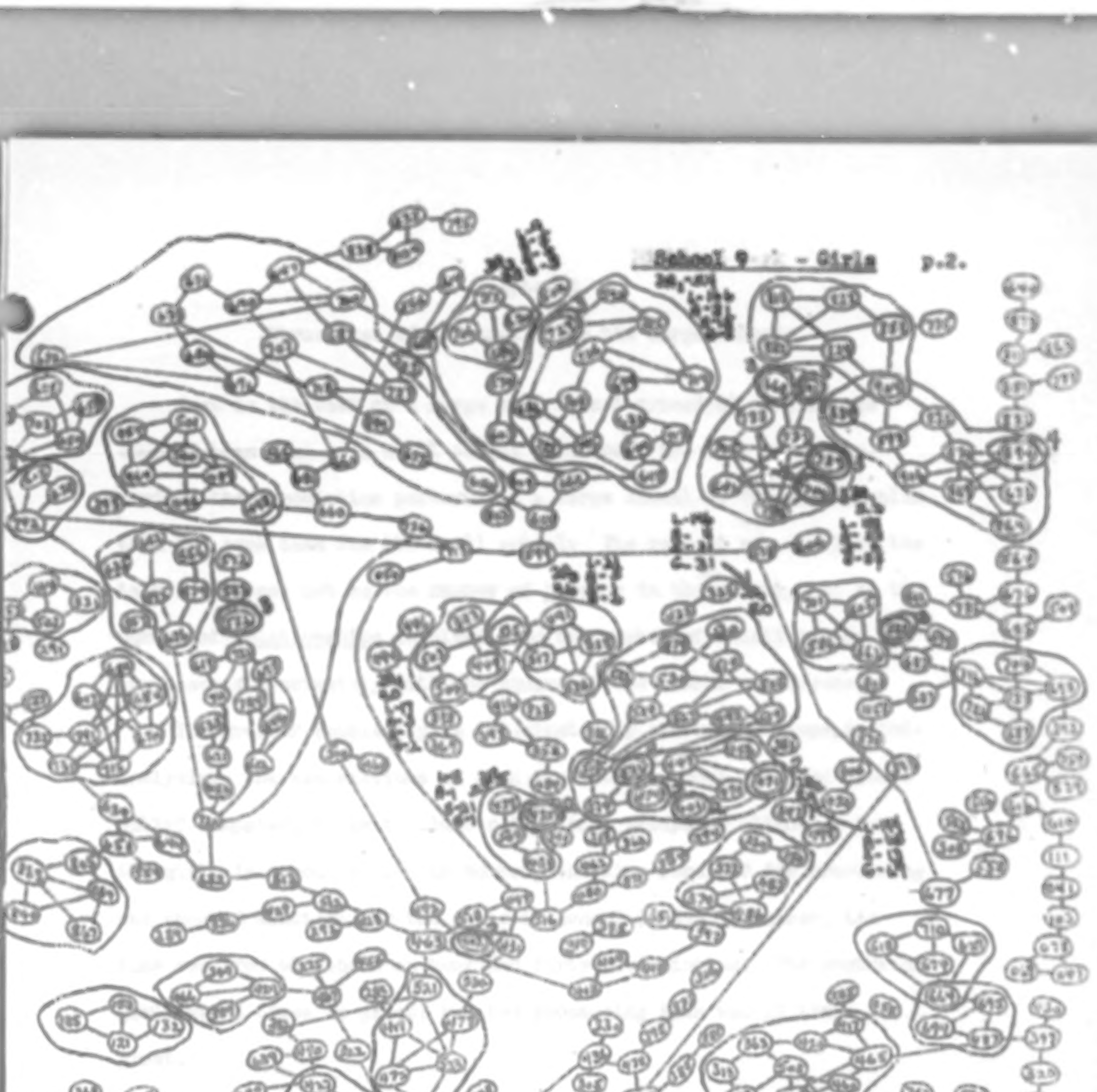
Fig. 7.2.9

School 9 Girls

Freshmen 001-252
Sophomores 253-531
Juniors 532-745
Seniors 746-911


802—776
800—764
772—758
763—760
426—298
304—303
651—547
561—572
284—278
165—035
296—293
390—324
344—327
342—294
317—029
309—307
031—020
165—025
074—028
477—507—310
232—110—054
086—050—023
785—813—825—821
792—608—573—625
279—571—631—845—799
270—339—415—274
548—376—337—300
378—819—807—544
787
2
266
784—793—847—815—852—827
065—066—095—057—046
584—683—604—577—575—593
541
038—120—145—407—345
287—102—179—125—024—058—062—035
905
908
895
4
4
4

School 9 [illegible] - Girls p.2.


199
229
403
388
045
333
112
157
155
156
168
203
180
104
079
132
093
182
117
080
082
136
108
057
200
164
225
253
237
209
212
243
239
231
214
171
183
194
090
234
059
216
1A,
5.2

Chapter 8

Structures of Association in the Large Schools

Just as the task of a large high school principal is far more complex than that of a small school principal, the task of comprehending the association patterns in a large school is far more complex than the same task for the small school. The reasons are similar: the task increases, not as the number of persons in the school, but as the number of relationships involved, and the number of relationships increases approximately with the square of the number of persons.

The greater complexity is illustrated by one of the steps in this analysis. The associations of each student in school were fed into a UNIVAC computer, so as to cluster them into groups or cliques. For the girls in school 1, 165 in number, the time required for processing was about 8 minutes; for the girls in school 9, 898 in number, the time required was about an hour and forty-five minutes. The number of girls was 5 times as great; but the processing time was 13 times as great.

Faced with such problems of complexity, a high school principal manages some way, for he must; faced with this complexity, the present research has reduced its sights to merely laying out the structures and making a few comments upon them.

At the end of Chapter 7 are included the complete sociograms for each school-sex group. These sociograms are designed exactly like those in the small schools, with "LASG" numbers indicating the number of leading-crowd choices, best-athlete (or, for girls, best-dressed) choices, best student choices, and choices as most attractive to the opposite sex. Also, the average grades of the cliques are listed. This is done, however, only for the A-cliques in these large schools, the cliques whose members received an average of two or more mentions as being in the leading crowd.

By leafing through these sociograms, comparing boys with girls and one school with another, several striking differences become apparent. By far the greatest complexity occurs among the girls in schools 8 and 9. In every school, the girls show a vast abundance of associations compared to the boys in the same school.

In fact, in looking at the "stars" of the system--those named as best athletes, most popular with girls, and best student--it becomes apparent that the definition of "clique" which we have used excludes many important clusters. The best example of this is a chain of boys at the top of Fig. 7.1.7 (boys in school 7). This chain is not included as one of the cliques by our definition; but it certainly must draw a great number of the mentions as leading crowd, among the sophomores, juniors and seniors.

Thus especially for these large-school boys, the important parts of the structure slip through the net of analysis which has been fabricated to catch them. This is illustrated as well by charting the A-cliques in each school as units, in Fig. 8.1. Beside each of these cliques are its "LASG" numbers, and below each is the average grade of its members. In school 6, there is an A-clique only in the junior year, and even this clique does not receive a great number of choices as the leading crowd. In school 7, almost the same phenomenon occurs, with cliques which receive barely enough choices to be classified as A-cliques. None of these A-cliques, in school 6 or in school 7, has grades even equal to a C average. This cannot be interpreted, however, as indicating that the "leading crowd" makes grades this low, for the leading crowds of boys in these large schools simply do not cluster into "cliques" in the same way that the girls do--nor even as do the leading crowds of boys in the small schools.

The boys in school 8 and school 9 illustrate well the development of a more tightly-knit structure over the four years of school. In both these schools, there are several A-cliques among the seniors, though only one or two in the earlier years. School 8 has by far the most proliferated structure of A-cliques among the senior boys. Four of these, $4A_1$, $4A_3$, $4A_5$, and $4A_7$, include 20 or more choices as best student, and two, $4A_1$ and $4A_6$, include twenty or more as best athlete. The only one with 20 or more choices as most popular with girls is the $4A_1$ clique, which appears to star in all three areas. The most interesting aspect of this senior class, however, consists of two parts: (a) the best students are in fact in cliques, rather than dispersed. No other boys' A-clique in these four schools, 6-9, receives as many as 20 choices; (b) the best students are not only organized into cliques, and recognized by being among the A-cliques; there are four such cliques in this class which receive 20 or more mentions as best student. Thus there is not one "good student" A-clique in this class; there are four.

Among the seniors in school 9, the A-cliques also received some best-student choices. The numbers are small, however, compared to those in school 8, though the total number of best-student choices made in these two schools was almost identical. It is true, however, that in both 8 and 9 it is only among the seniors that the best students become both organized into cliques and recognized as members of the leading crowd. In none of the earlier classes in these schools (or in 6 and 9 as well) are there as many as ten best-student choices in any A-clique.

Among the girls, cliques are far more abundant in these schools. The least complex among the structures of A-cliques (Figs. 8.2 - 8.5) is about as complex as the most involved structure of all cliques among the small-school girls. There is also a great difference between these schools, that is, a greater connectedness among the A-clique in school 8 than any of the others, and much less than the others in school 7. Beyond this, these structures will not be compared here, but are to be used only for reference purposes in connection with other chapters which discuss the value systems held among the boys and girls of these schools.

Figure 8.1
Boys

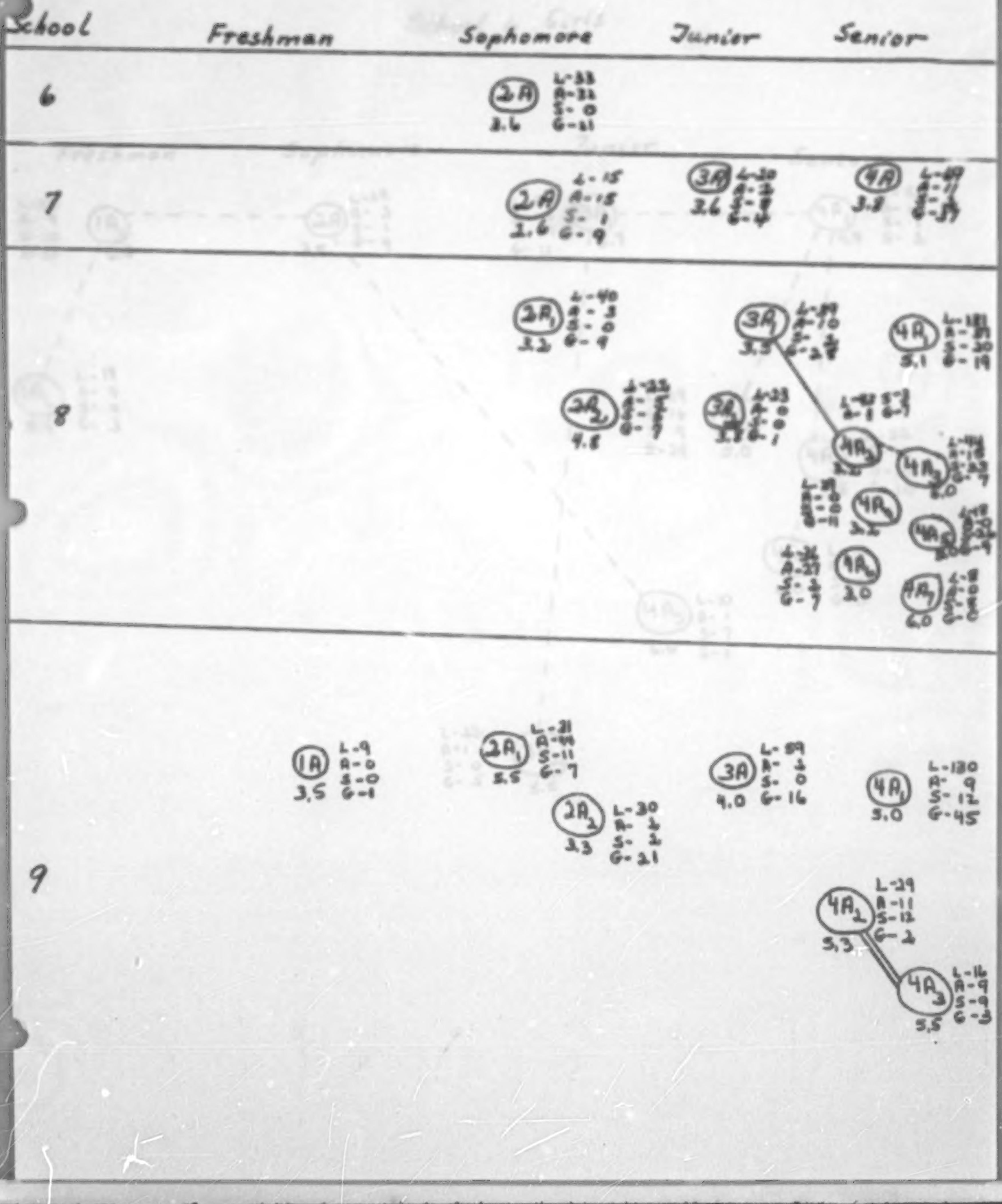

School
Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior
6
2A
L-33
A-32
S-0
G-21
3.6
7
2A
L-15
A-15
S-1
G-9
2.6
3A
L-20
A-2
S-8
G-4
3.6
4A
L-89
A-11
S-1
G-37
3.8
8
2A1
L-40
A-3
S-0
G-9
3.2
2A2
L-22
A-5
S-5
G-7
4.8
3A1
L-89
A-10
S-2
G-28
3.5
3A2
L-23
A-0
S-0
G-1
3.3
4A1
L-181
A-39
S-30
G-19
5.1
L-47 S-7
A-1 G-1
4A2
3.2
4A3
L-44
A-15
S-23
G-7
5.0
L-31
A-0
S-0
G-11
4A4
3.2
4A5
L-18
A-0
S-24
G-9
5.0
L-36
A-27
S-2
G-7
4A6
3.0
4A7
L-8
A-0
S-8
G-0
6.0
9
1A
L-9
A-0
S-0
G-1
3.5
2A1
L-21
A-44
S-11
G-7
5.5
2A2
L-30
A-2
S-2
G-21
3.3
3A
L-89
A-2
S-0
G-16
4.0
4A1
L-130
A-9
S-12
G-45
5.0
4A2
L-29
A-11
S-12
G-2
5.3
4A3
L-16
A-9
S-9
G-3
5.5

Figure 8.2

School 6 Girls

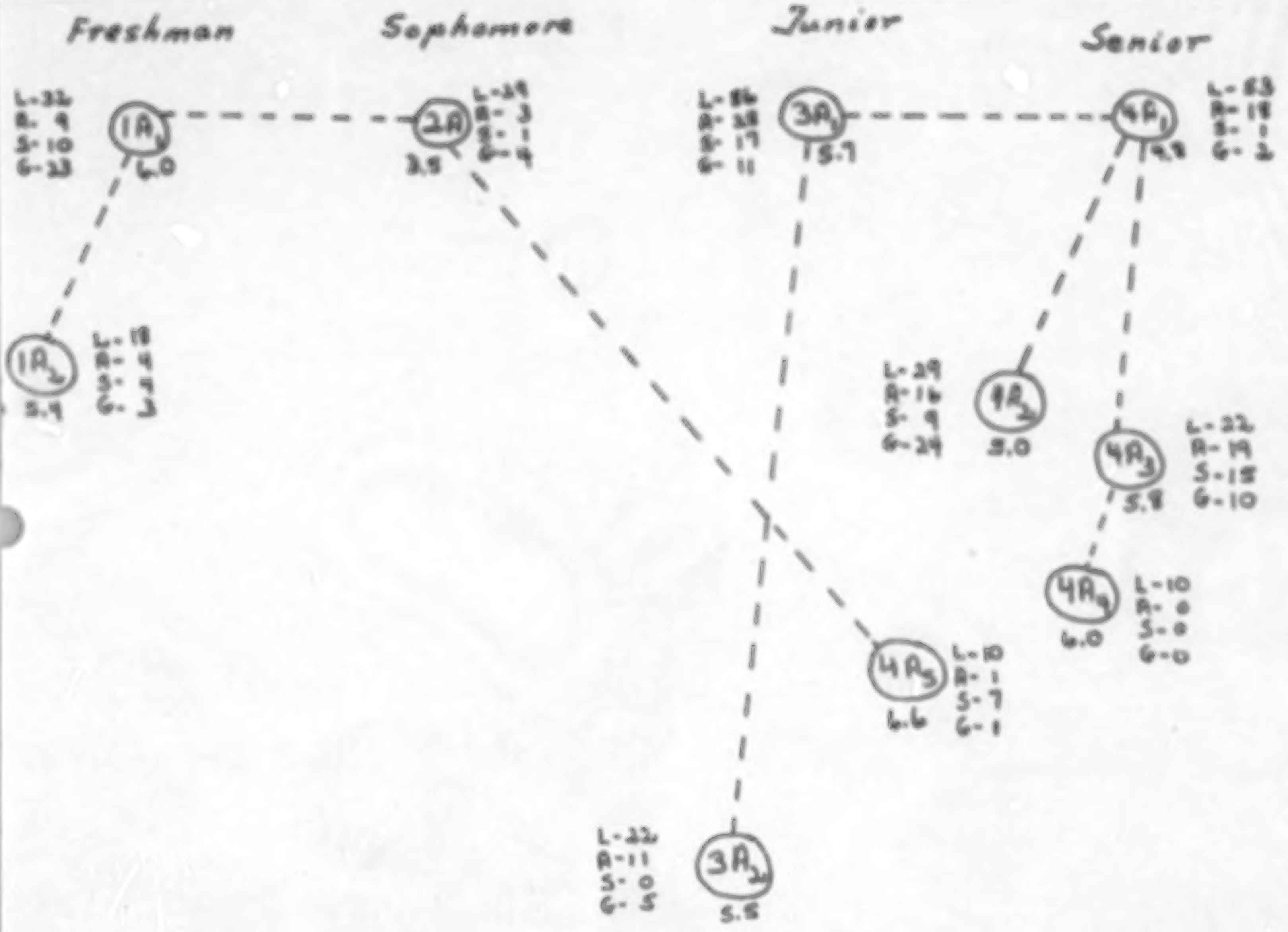

Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior
1A1
L-26
A-9
S-10
G-23
6.0
2A
L-29
A-3
S-1
G-4
3.5
1A2
L-18
A-4
S-4
G-3
5.9
3A1
L-86
A-38
S-17
G-11
5.7
4A1
L-83
A-18
S-1
G-2
4.8
4A2
L-29
A-16
S-9
G-24
5.0
4A3
L-22
A-19
S-15
G-10
5.8
4A4
L-10
A-0
S-0
G-0
6.0
4A5
L-10
A-1
S-7
G-1
6.6
3A2
L-22
A-11
S-0
G-5
5.5

Figure 8.3

School 7 Girls

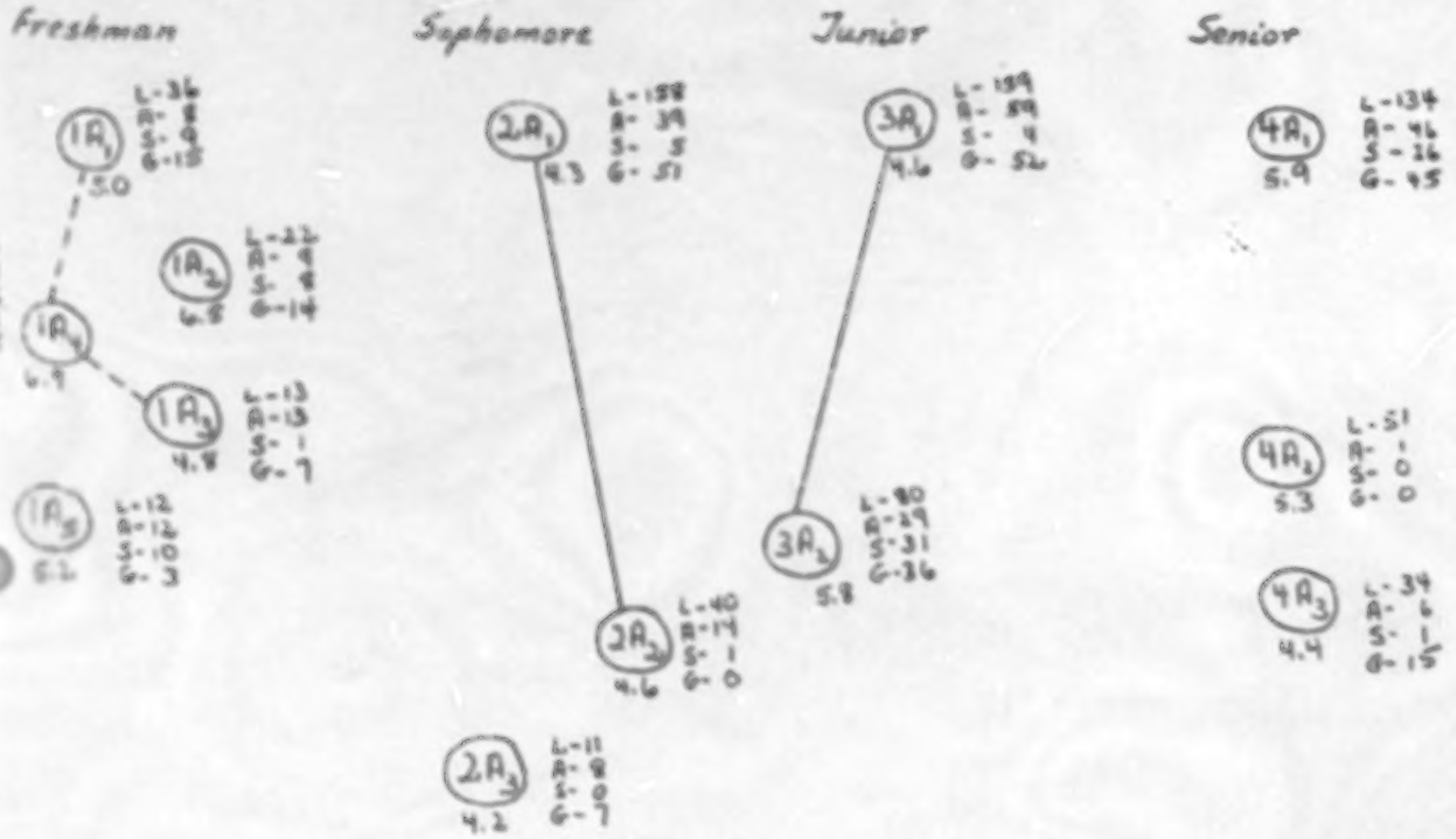

Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior
$1A_1$
L-36
A- 8
S- 9
G-15
5.0
$1A_2$
L-22
A- 9
S- 8
G-14
6.8
$1A_4$
6.9
$1A_3$
L-13
A-13
S- 1
G- 7
4.8
$1A_5$
L-12
A-12
S-10
G- 3
5.2
$2A_1$
L-158
A- 39
S- 5
G- 51
4.3
$2A_2$
L-40
A-14
S- 1
G- 0
4.6
$2A_3$
L-11
A- 8
S- 0
G- 7
4.2
$3A_1$
L- 159
A- 59
S- 4
G- 52
4.6
$3A_2$
L-80
A-29
S-31
G-36
5.8
$4A_1$
L-134
A- 46
S- 26
G- 45
5.9
$4A_2$
L-51
A- 1
S- 0
G- 0
5.3
$4A_3$
L- 34
A- 6
S- 1
G- 15
4.4

Figure 8.4

School 8 Girls

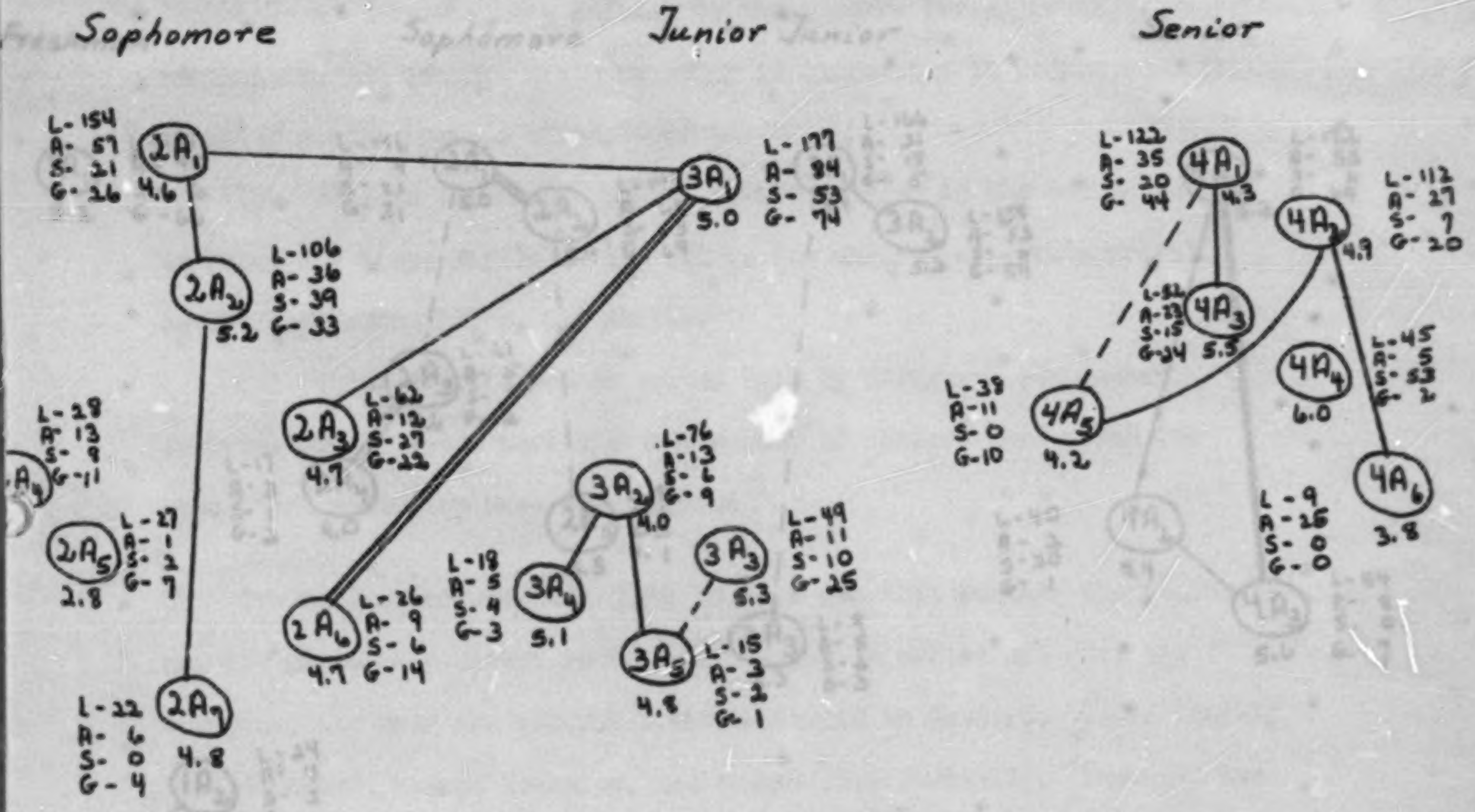
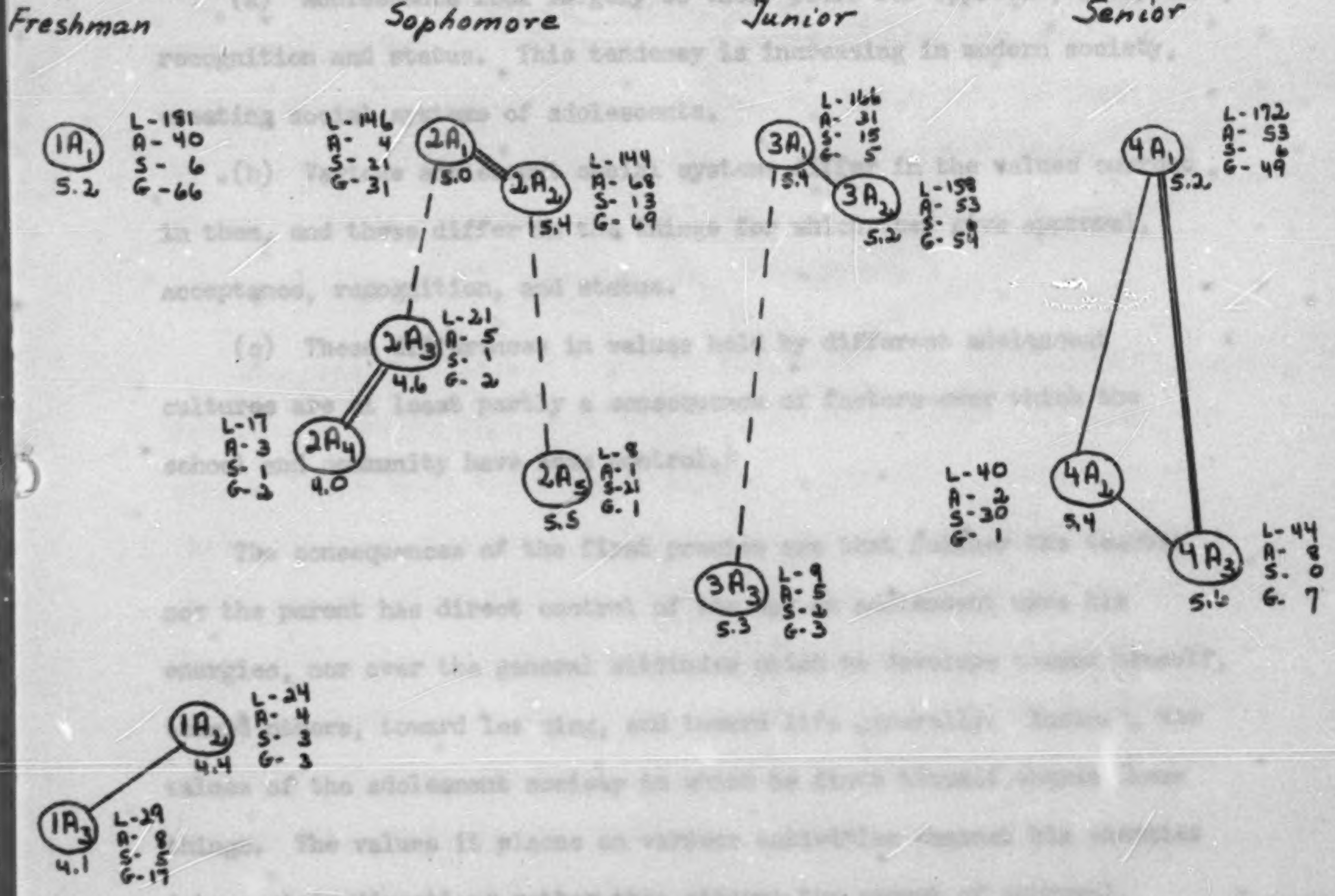

Sophomore
Junior
Senior
L-154
A-57
S-21
G-26
2A1
4.6
L-106
A-36
S-39
G-33
2A2
5.2
L-62
A-12
S-27
G-22
2A3
4.7
L-28
A-13
S-9
G-11
A4
L-27
A-1
S-2
G-7
2A5
2.8
L-26
A-9
S-6
G-14
2A6
4.7
L-22
A-6
S-0
G-4
2A7
4.8
L-177
A-84
S-53
G-74
3A1
5.0
L-76
A-13
S-6
G-9
3A2
4.0
L-49
A-11
S-10
G-25
3A3
5.3
L-18
A-5
S-4
G-3
3A4
5.1
L-15
A-3
S-2
G-1
3A5
4.8
L-122
A-35
S-20
G-44
4A1
4.3
L-112
A-27
S-7
G-20
4A2
4.9
L-82
A-33
S-15
G-34
4A3
5.5
4A4
6.0
L-45
A-5
S-53
G-2
L-38
A-11
S-0
G-10
4A5
4.2
L-9
A-26
S-0
G-0
4A6
3.8

Figure 8.5

School 9 Girls


Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior
1A1
L-181
A-40
S-6
G-66
5.2
1A2
L-24
A-4
S-3
G-3
4.4
1A3
L-29
A-8
S-5
G-17
4.1
2A1
L-146
A-4
S-21
G-31
5.0
2A2
L-144
A-68
S-13
G-69
5.4
2A3
L-21
A-5
S-1
G-2
4.6
2A4
L-17
A-3
S-1
G-2
4.0
2A5
L-8
A-1
S-21
G-1
5.5
3A1
L-166
A-31
S-15
G-5
5.4
3A2
L-158
A-53
S-6
G-54
5.2
3A3
L-9
A-5
S-2
G-3
5.3
4A1
L-172
A-53
S-6
G-49
5.2
4A2
L-40
A-2
S-30
G-1
5.4
4A3
L-44
A-8
S-0
G-7
5.6

Chapter 9

Effects of the Adolescent Cultures

The fundamental thesis of this research ~~is~~ was composed of the following premises:

(a) Adolescents look largely to their peers for approval, acceptance, recognition and status. This tendency is increasing in modern society, creating social systems of adolescents.

(b) Various adolescent social systems differ in the values current in them, and these differ in the things for which they give approval, acceptance, recognition, and status.

(c) These differences in values held by different adolescent cultures are at least partly a consequence of factors over which the school and community have some control.

The consequences of the first premise are that neither the teacher nor the parent has direct control of the way an adolescent uses his energies, nor over the general attitudes which he develops toward himself, toward others, toward learning, and toward life generally. Instead, the values of the adolescent society in which he finds himself shapes these things. The values it places on various activities channel his energies into certain directions rather than others; the amount of approval, status, and recognition it gives him has a profound effect upon his views of himself, others, and perhaps upon his general feeling toward society.

The consequences of the second premise, taken in conjunction with the first is that different adolescent societies have very different effects upon the adolescents within them, both as a result of their different values and as a result of their different structures. Thus it matters greatly which one of these adolescent cultures a boy or girl is thrust into by accident of residence.

Finally, the consequences of the third premise, taken in conjunction with the first two, is that the adult society can have some effect in shaping the adolescent social systems, not as it once had, by direct effect upon the individuals within it, but by shaping the general structure of activities in and around the institution which encompasses more and more of an adolescent's life, that is, the high school.

The preceding chapters have attempted to document the first two premises, first the general strength of the adolescent societies, and the overall values which these societies have, and second the variations in these societies--both variations in the content of their status systems, and in the actual socail structures of which the societies are made up. In so doing, some insight has been gained into the third premise as well: the factors which shape the content and structure of the various adolescent societies. However, the final chapter will be devoted to examining other factors and summarizing the results found earlier.

Also in the process of describing these cultures, some of their effects upon the adolescents within them have been examined as well. Nevertheless, these effects have not been examined systematically or in any detail, and it is this task to which the present chapter is directed. This chapter, then, constitutes the crux of the analysis, because the matters examined in the earlier chapters become important only through their effects upon the adolescents themselves. The fundamental concern of the research is with these effects; the hpes which set this research in motion were that these effects, powerful as they are, can be made to implement the goals of education, and to make the adolescents' high school experience more fruitful for later life.

Consequences for self-conception:

"If I could trade, I would be someone different from myself."

The sombre sadness which lies in this statement has peculiar relevance for a teen-ager. He cannot choose, as yet, the social situation or the activity which will make him feel at one with himself, but must see himself through the eyes of a world he did not make, the world of his particular adolescent society. If, in its eyes, he has done well, then he can be in internal equilibrium; if he is not accepted, nor recognized, nor looked up to, nor given status of any sort, then he finds it hard to escape into a different world, but must instead, turn his eyes inward, and question his very self, asking whether it would not be better if he were someone quite different from the person he actually is.

This research has no way of singling out those boys and girls who are fully deprived of status, recognition, and respect by their peers. It can examine separately, however, the impact of several attributes upon a boy's or girl's self-conception; some of these attributes which are general throughout the adolescent society, and others dependent upon the specific dimensions of status which differ from one adolescent society to another.

One element in the acceptance or approval an adolescent society gives its members is simply the number of friends he or she has. In Fig. 9.1, the effects of these friends or lack of them are shown by charting the proportion in each category who say they would trade with another to be someone different. For both boys and girls there is some effect--apparently an effect which occurs at a different point in the distribution of friends. For girls, the sharpest effect seems to occur between having no friends or one, and having 2, 3, or 4. For boys, the effect seems to occur at a higher level, between 2, 3, or 4 friends and more than that. It is as if the lack of friends increases a girl's tendency to want to be someone different, while the special attention of many friends decreases a boy's tendency to want to be someone else. This is shown with more strength by examining, in Fig. 9.2, the small schools, 0-4, and the large ones, 6-9, separately. The most powerful relationship is among the small schools, for both boys and girls, but it is at its peak for the small school girls. Among the small-school girls, the percentage who want to be someone else rises to 36.5 if they are named by no one, or only one other girl, as a friend. The same tendency, though reduced, is evident for the large-school girls, which among both sets of boys the major difference comes between those with 2 - 4 friends and those with more than 2 - 4.

These results apparently show, for the girls, the effect of social deprivation, and for the boys, the effect of special social attention. In the large schools, all but #7 located where a boy or girl has some access to friends from other schools, the effect is not so great. But in the small communities, where there are no other adolescents but those in their school, the number of friends within the school makes more difference.

Figure 9.1

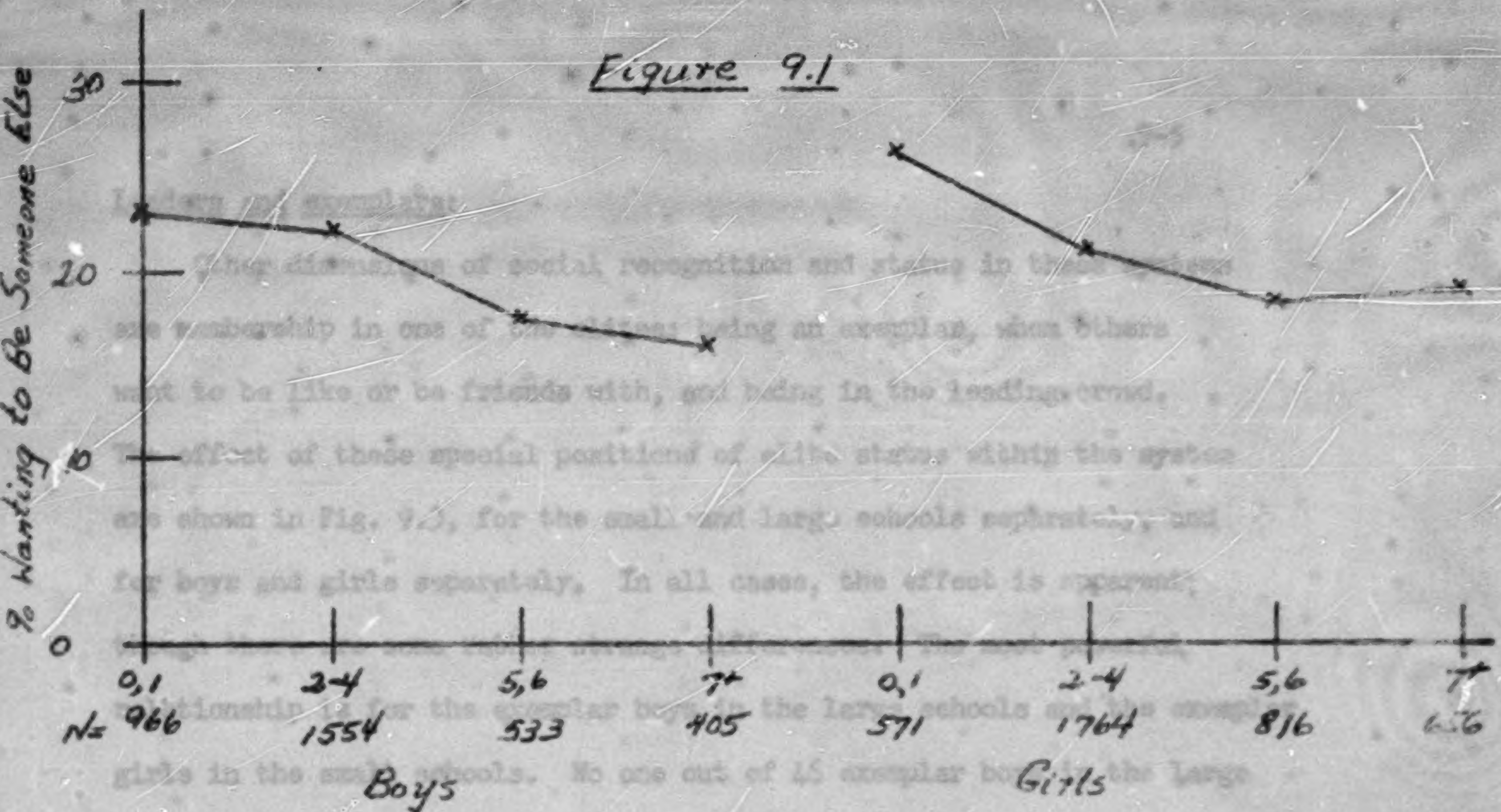
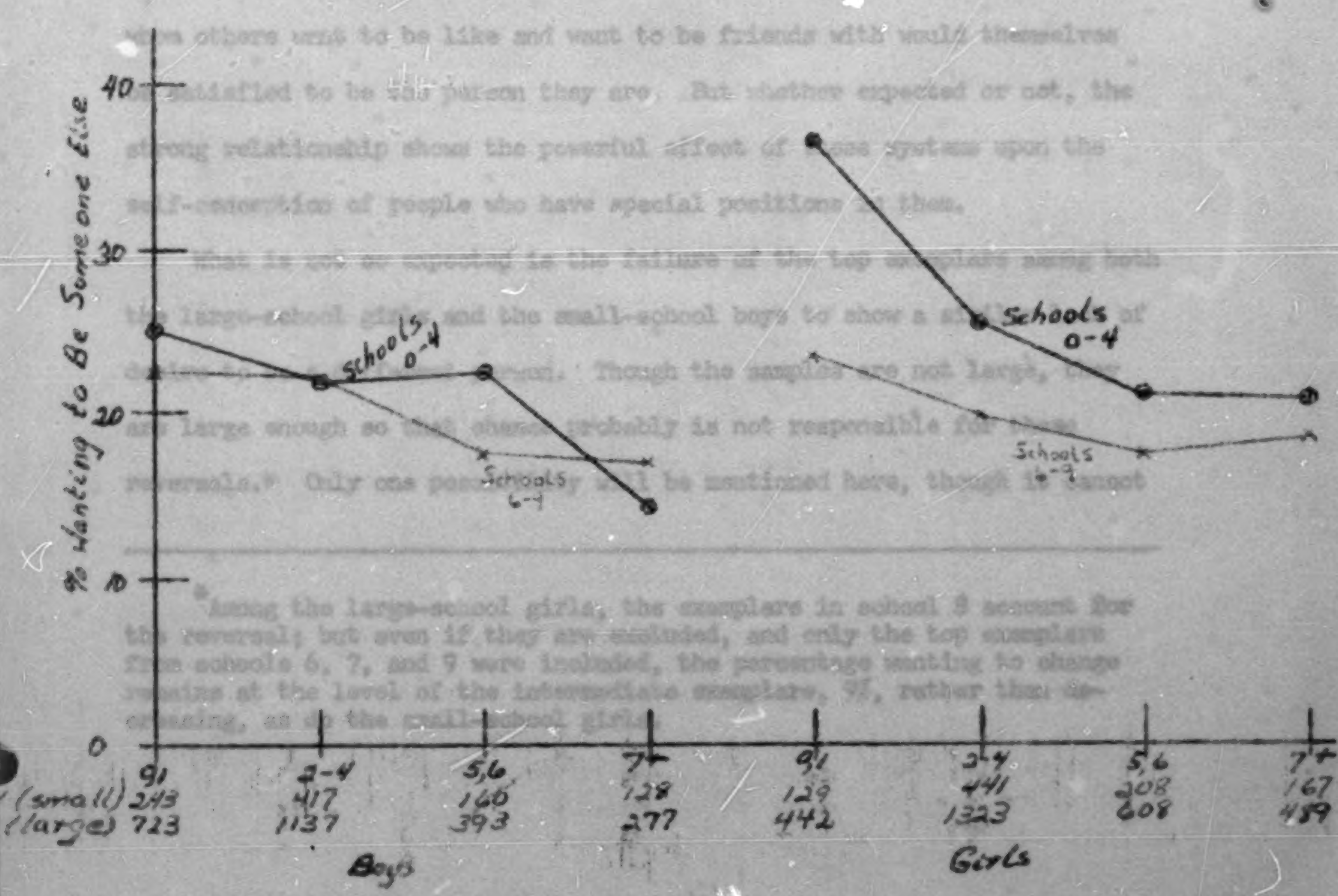


Figure 9.2



Leaders and exemplars:

Other dimensions of social recognition and status in these systems are membership in one of the elites; being an exemplar, whom others want to be like or be friends with, and being in the leading crowd. The effect of these special positions of elite status within the system are shown in Fig. 9.3, for the small and large schools separately, and for boys and girls separately. In all cases, the effect is apparent, though there are some [illegible] differences. The most powerful relationship is for the exemplar boys in the large schools and the exemplar girls in the small schools. No one out of 45 exemplar boys in the large schools wants to be different, and only 1 out of 70 exemplar girls in the large schools wants to be different. One might expect that the exemplars whom others want to be like and want to be friends with would themselves be satisfied to be the person they are. But whether expected or not, the strong relationship shows the powerful effect of these systems upon the self-conception of people who have special positions in them.

What is not so expected is the failure of the top exemplars among both the large-school girls and the small-school boys to show a similar [illegible] of desire to be a different person. Though the samples are not large, they are large enough so that chance probably is not responsible for these reversals.* Only one possibility will be mentioned here, though it cannot

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*Among the large-school girls, the exemplars in school 8 account for the reversal; but even if they are excluded, and only the top exemplars from schools 6, 7, and 9 were included, the percentage wanting to change remains at the level of the intermediate exemplars, 9%, rather than decreasing, as do the small-school girls.

Leaders and exemplars:

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What is not so expected is the failure of the top exemplars among both the large-school girls and the small-school boys to show a similar lack of desire to be a different person. Though the samples are not large, they are large enough so that chance probably is not responsible for these reversals.* Only one possibility will be mentioned here, though it cannot

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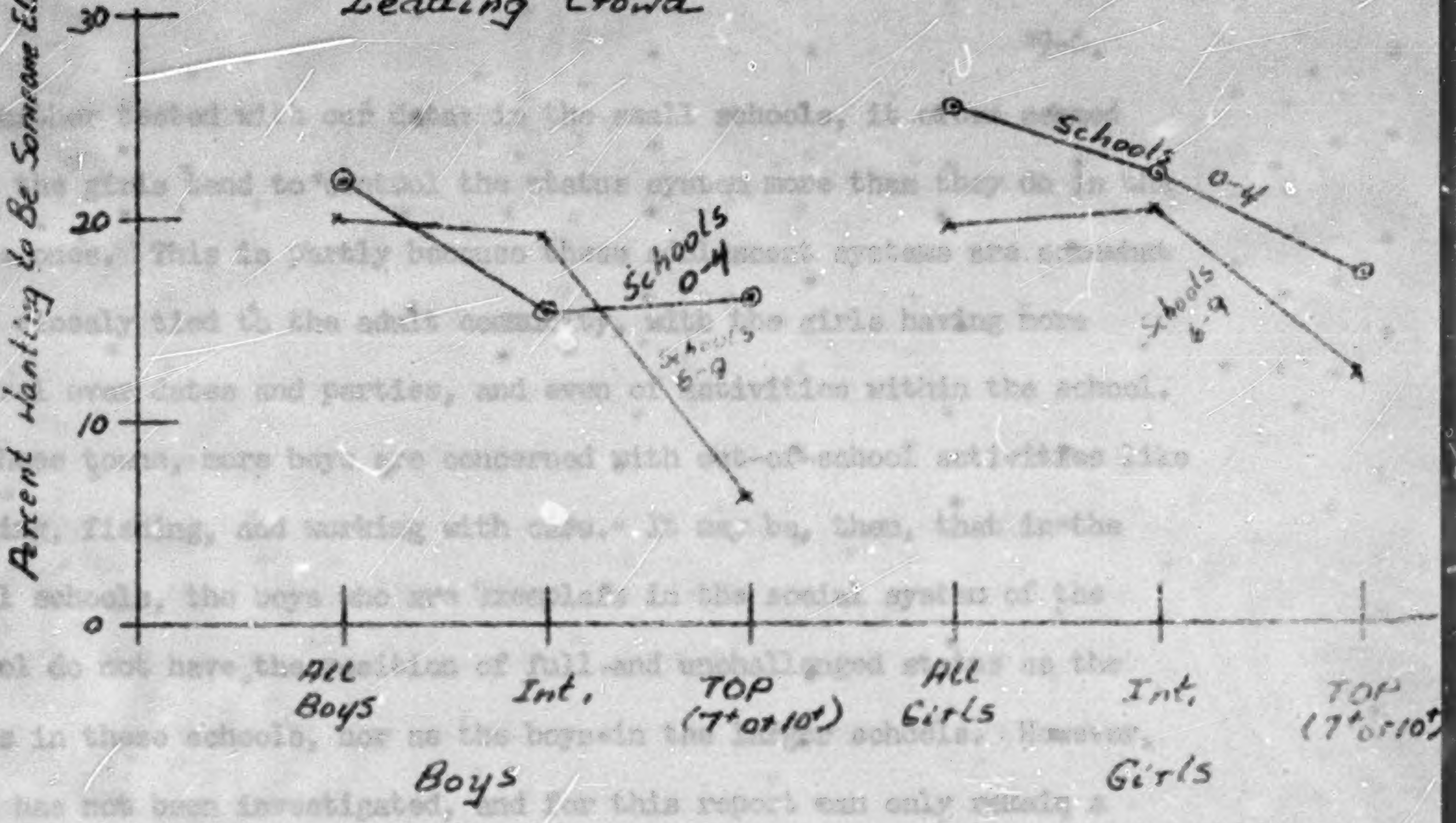
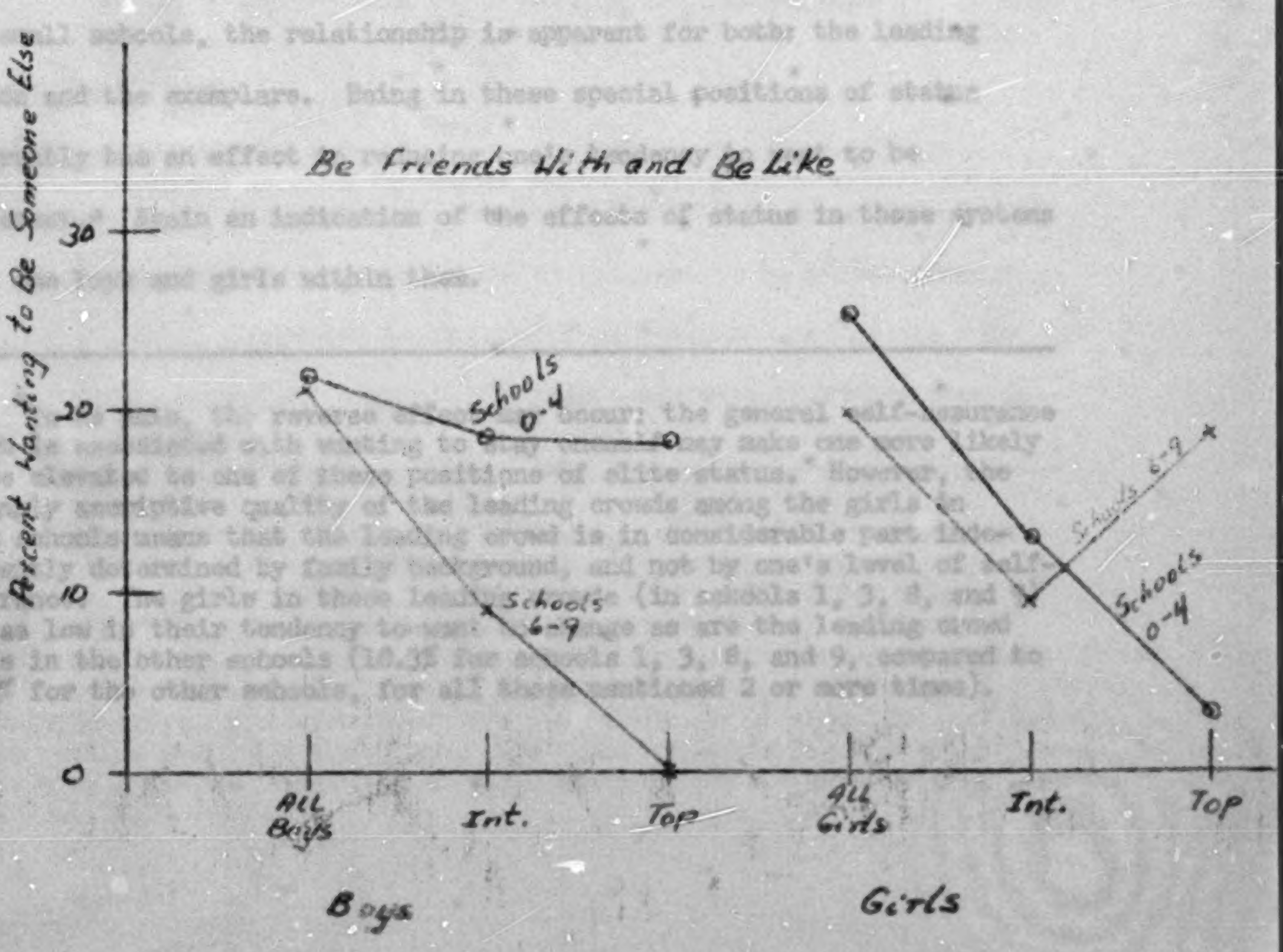
*Among the large-school girls, the exemplars in school 8 account for the reversal; but even if they are excluded, and only the top exemplars from schools 6, 7, and 9 were included, the percentage wanting to change remains at the level of the intermediate exemplars, 9%, rather than decreasing, as do the small-school girls.

Figure 9.3


Leading Crowd

Be Friends With and Be Like



be further tested with our data: in the small schools, it often seemed that the girls tend to control the status system more than they do in the large ones. This is partly because these adolescent systems are somewhat more closely tied to the adult community, with the girls having more control over dates and parties, and even of activities within the school. In these towns, more boys are concerned with out-of-school activities like hunting, fishing, and working with cars. It may be, then, that in the small schools, the boys who are exemplars in the social system of the school do not have the position of full and unchallenged status as the girls in these schools, nor as the boys in the larger schools. However, this has not been investigated, and for this report can only remain a conjecture.

Despite the differences between boys and girls, and between the large and small schools, the relationship is apparent for both: the leading crowds and the exemplars. Being in these special positions of status apparently has an effect in reducing one's tendency to want to be different.* Again an indication of the effects of status in these systems upon the boys and girls within them.

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*To be sure, the reverse effect may occur: the general self-assurance which is associated with wanting to stay oneself may make one more likely to be elevated to one of these positions of elite status. However, the strongly ascriptive quality of the leading crowds among the girls in some schools means that the leading crowd is in considerable part independently determined by family background, and not by one's level of self-assurance. The girls in these leading crowds (in schools 1, 3, 8, and 9) are as low in their tendency to want to change as are the leading crowd girls in the other schools (18.3% for schools 1, 3, 8, and 9, compared to 18.6% for the other schools, for all those mentioned 2 or more times).

The "outsiders" and their self-conception:

That the self-conceptions of the elites is so good is fine—for them. What about those who are not among the elites, but aspire to be? There are boys and girls who were not only "outsiders" in these systems, they had not fully reconciled themselves to being outside. Earlier in the report it was mentioned that the fundamental competition is competition for acceptance and status with one's peers. What about the boys and girls who have lost out in this competition, but who have not rejected it for another? Such boys and girls cannot be singled out with perfect accuracy; but one question in the questionnaire does very much what we want. The question is:

I.49-50. Would you say you are a part of the leading crowd?
Yes
No
If no: Would you like to be part of the leading crowd?
Yes
No
Don't care

Suppose we consider only those who are not named as being in the leading crowds. Of those who are not in the leading crowd, some would like to be, some don't care, and others do not want to be in the crowd.* The first of these groups can be thought of as those who are on the outside looking in; those who have not yet made peace with their position in the society of adolescents. What impact has the system made upon their feelings about themselves? Fig. 9.4 shows, for both boys and girls. On the left are the students who are in the leading crowd, first those with 10 or more choices, then those with 2-9 choices; then those who are not in, but would like to be; next those who are not in but don't care; and finally those who are not in and don't want to be. The girls or boys who are not in but want in are in the crucial position of tension; these results show that this tension is often manifested by turning inward to question themselves, by wanting to be someone different. The effect is strongest for the girls, and strongest for the small schools. The cumulative impact of these two facts upon the small-school girls who are not in, but want in, is very great. They say 43% of the time, that they would like to trade and be someone different from themselves. This is three times as often as the girls in the center of the leading crowd; and it is about 2½ times as often as the girls who are not in, but do not want in. The effect for the others is not so great as this, but nevertheless great compared to the impact of other factors on this self-conception.

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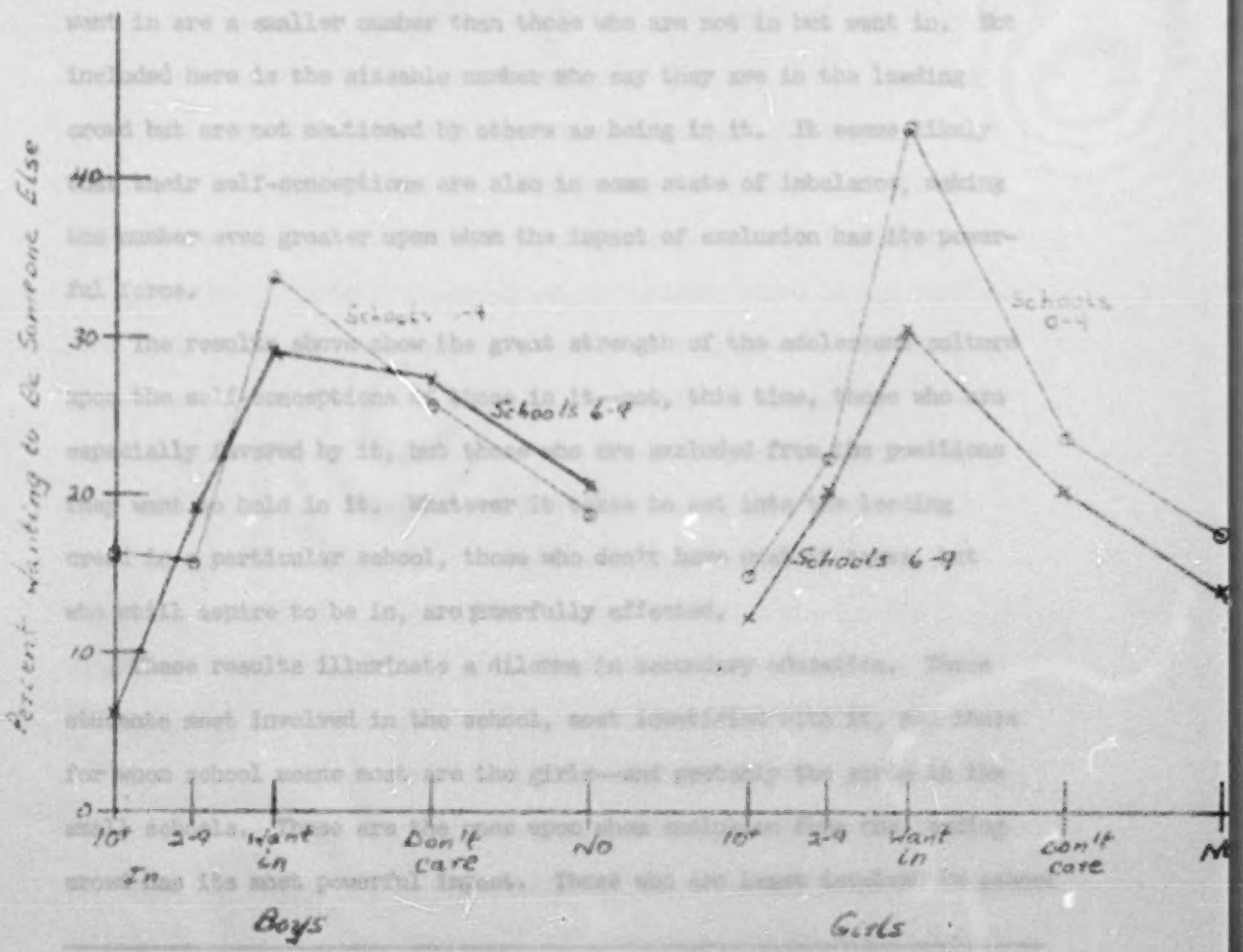
*A sizeable number in each school say they are in, but are named by no one as being in. Though this is a group whose self-conception might be expected to be in some turmoil, they have not been analyzed for this report, because it was not realized that there were so many such people. At the same time, a girl may feel in the leading crowd when others fail to see her there, for a special reason: she may not be "part of the crowd," but through a separate friendship with one of the girls in it, be included in its parties and other functions. One would expect such girls not to have the negative self-conceptions which characterize the girl who is, and feels, truly excluded.

The implications of this for the internal equilibrium of adolescents would not be important if most boys or girls were in the leading crowd or else out and did not want to be in. But this is not so at all. Among all four groups--boys in large schools, boys in small schools, girls in large schools, and girls in small schools, those who want in constitute at least a third of all those who are not in the leading crowd. The group which has made peace with themselves, that is the ones who are not in but at the same time are content to be out, constitute only 15%

Figure 9.4


Percent wanting to be Someone Else
40
30
20
10
0
Schools ‹-4
Schools 6-9
Schools 6-9
Schools 0-4
10+
2-9
In
Want in
Don't care
No
Boys
10+
2-9
Want in
Don't care
No
Girls

of the student body among the girls, 16% among the boys (small and large schools are nearly alike).[*] Thus the pwerful impact of exclusion from the leading crowd is not merely upon a few who are on the fringes, but upon a great many. The ones who have settled the matter, and do not want in are a smaller number than those who are not in but want in. Not included here is the sizeable number who say they are in the leading crowd but are not mentioned by others as being in it. It seems likely that their self-conceptions are also in some state of imbalance, making the number even greater upon whom the impact of exclusion has its powerful force.

The results above show the great strength of the adolescent culture upon the self-conceptions of those in it--not, this time, those who are especially favored by it, but those who are excluded from the positions they want to hold in it. Whatever it takes to get into the leading crowd in a particular school, those who don't have what it takes, but who still aspire to be in, are powerfully affected.

These results illuminate a dilemma in secondary education. Those students most involved in the school, most identified with it, and those for whom school means most are the girls--and probably the girls in the small schools. These are the ones upon whom exclusion from the leading crowd has its most powerful impact. Those who are least involved in school are the ones least likely to be hurt by its social system. Thus attempts to pull more and more of a boy's or girl's interests toward school and the activities within it makes him more and more vulnerable to the whims of its social system, less able to find internal peace through some alternative means.

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[*] The proportion wanting in, of those who are not, is highest among the small-school girls and the large-school boys (40% and 41% compared to 34% and 33% for the small-school boys and large-school girls). This reinforces the conjecture made earlier that in the small schools the girls are more dominant, while more boys have outside interests, and in the large ones, boys are more nearly in control.

These results suggest another dynamic: that is, such a situation of internal disequilibium as indicated for those who are excluded but want in is not easy to maintain. Rather than to continue to hold a negative image about oneself, a boy or girl will seek elsewhere, and will focus his interests on out-of-school matters, where he can feel good about himself. Note that this is not feeling good or bad about himself as a consequence of doing well or poorly in schoolwork; it is feeling good or bad as a consequence of being accepted and given status by one's fellows, or being excluded from such acceptance and status. Once again, this suggests that the psychological ill effects which a high school can have upon a boy or girl who is "doing poorly" are a result of doing poorly not so much in his studies but doing poorly in the social system of the school, that is, not being accepted by it.

In short, a boy or girl with any strength of ego will not sit still, while his or her self-conception is being eaten away by the social system of the school. They may attempt to gain status through those activities which give status--or if this is not possible, either because status is ascribed, or because they have no talents in those activities which bring status, they will take their psychological selves elsewhere, leaving only a physical self in the school. This is suggested by two results: the proportion of those who are not in the leading crowd, but want in goes down sharply over the four years, from 21.3% for freshman to 12.4% for seniors among the boys, and from 24.5% to 11.0% among the girls (spring questionnaire). It goes down sharply over the school year as well, from 23.2% in the fall to 18.1% in the spring for boys; and from 25.1% to 18.8% for girls. A few of these boys and girls have found their way into the leading crowds in their schools; but some have taken their interests and activities in other directions, to keep their egos from being too greatly damaged.

A second fact which shows that these boys or girls will find psychological peace even if they must look outside the social system of the high school for it is a fact that the proportion of students who want to be someone different is greatest for freshmen and goes down over the four years: For girls, it begins at 24.0% as freshmen and goes down to 15.5% as seniors (fall). The boys reduce much less, going from 21.6% as freshmen to 18.3 for seniors.

Thus the incoming feshmen are those particularly vulnerable, and the ones who feel the hurt most: they want most to be in the leading crowd if they are not in, and they are the ones whose self-conception is lowest. As they stay in the system, equilibrating processes take place—some of them beneficial for the adolescent and for the educational goals, others not. He may strive to achieve in the activities which will gain him status with others and repair his self-conception. If these status-gaining activities are consistent with educational aims, then the social system is reinforcing these aims. If these activities are not, as we have seen in preceding chapters, many are not, then he is striving toward goals which will be of little help to him as an adult.

Or he may try to find his status elsewhere, perhaps in deviant subgroups, perhaps in vicarious experiences in leisure, perhaps in turning his attention completely away from school. It is worth noting that the girls, upon whom this system has most impact, are the ones who, as noted in Chapter 2, most often list the vicarious pleasures of reading, listening to records, watching television, as their favorite leisure pursuit. This suggests what will be strongly confirmed in the next section: that such leisure gratifications serve as a substitute for the status a girl or boy lacks in the system--as an escape from a system which fails to give him the social support so necessary to the transitional period of life which is adolescence.

The most powerful effect of these social systems in making a person feel bad about himself one would expect to find among those who have neither status in the system as a whole, nor the social support of his own friends. Thus, those outside the leading crowd, but bereft of friends as well, should show the greatest decrement in self-conception. The combined effect of these two elements of social support is shown in Fig. 9.5, which first divides boys and girls into those who received two or fewer mentions from others, as those who received three or more--and then examines the self-conception of those who are outside the leading crowd and want in, compared to those who are in, those who aren't in but don't care, and those who are not in but do not want to be in. The effect of these two variables together is quite strong, again particularly for the girls in the small schools. The girls in the small schools who have neither friends nor the status of being in the leading crowd say they would like to be someone different 48% of the time. Even those girls who

Figure 9.5

Girls

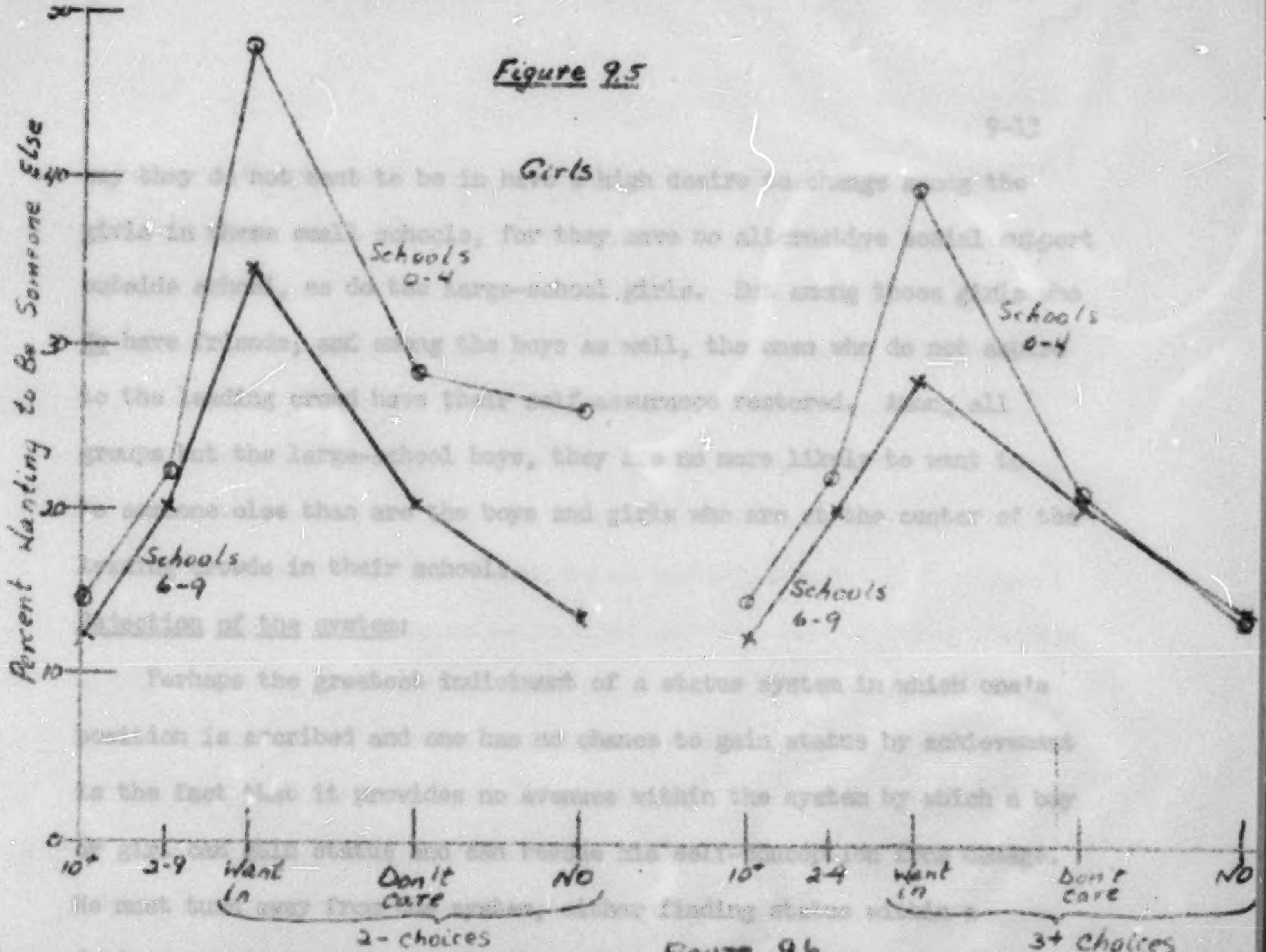
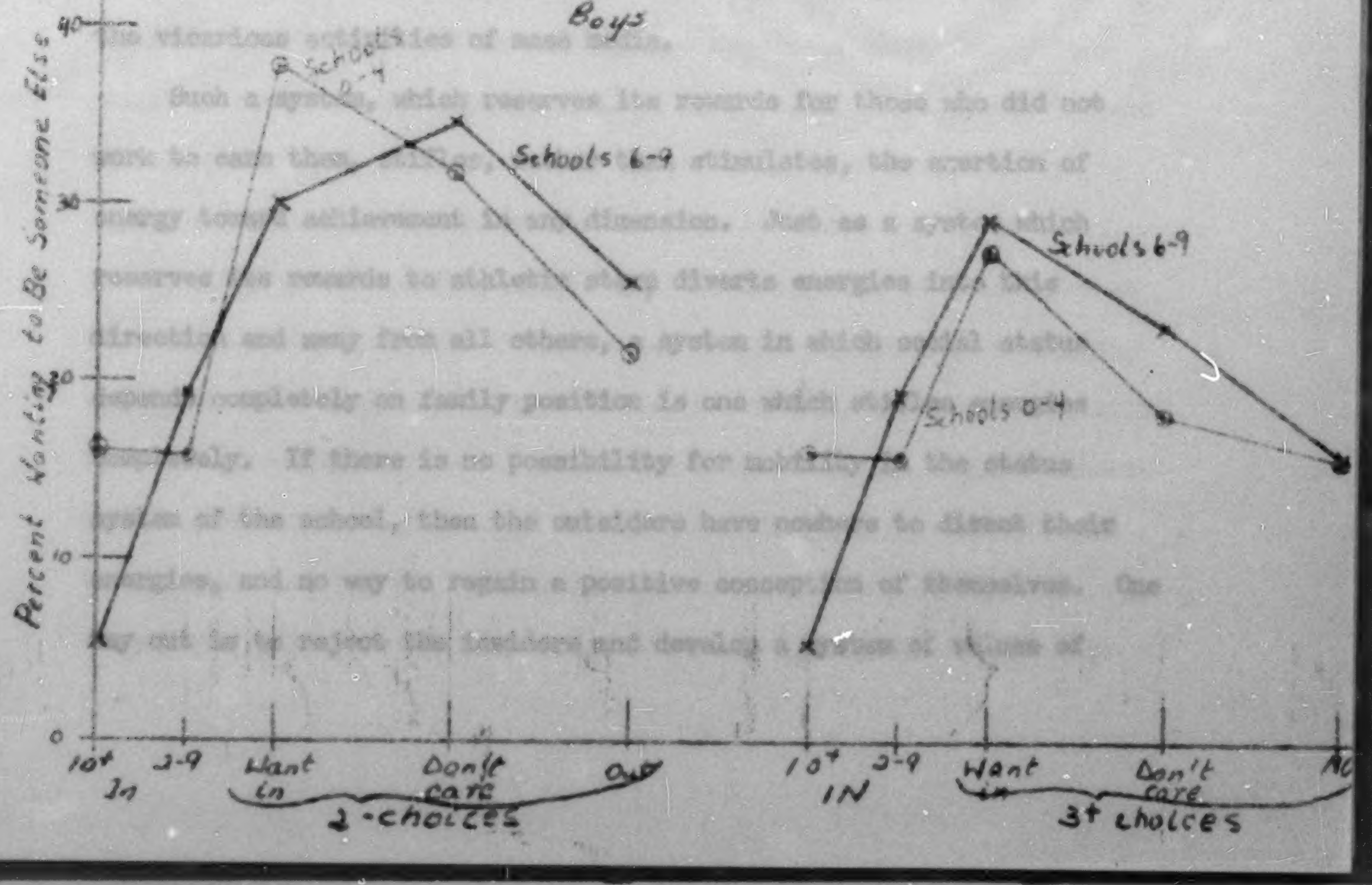


Figure 9.6

Boys



say they do not want to be in have a high desire to change among the girls in these small schools, for they have no alternative social support outside school, as do the large-school girls. But among those girls who do have friends, and among the boys as well, the ones who do not aspire to the leading crowd have their self-assurance restored. Among all groups but the large-school boys, they are no more likely to want to be someone else than are the boys and girls who are at the center of the leading crowds in their schools.

Rejection of the system:

Perhaps the greatest indictment of a status system in which one's position is ascribed and one has no chance to gain status by achievement is the fact that it provides no avenues within the system by which a boy or girl can gain status and can rescue his self-conception from damage. He must turn away from the system, either finding status within a deviant subgroup which rejects the system, or finding escape through the vicarious activities of mass media.

Such a system, which reserves its rewards for those who did not work to earn them, stifles, rather than stimulates, the exertion of energy toward achievement in any dimension. Just as a system which reserves its rewards to athletic stars diverts energies into this direction and away from all others, a system in which social status depends completely on family position is one which stifles energies completely. If there is no possibility for mobility in the status system of the school, then the outsiders have nowhere to direct their energies, and no way to regain a positive conception of themselves. One way out is to reject the insiders and develop a system of values of their own. Fortunately for these schools, in none of them is status fully ascribed. In all, an athletic star or a good-looking, well-dressed girl with a good personality stand a high chance of being looked up to, though in some, he (or particularly, she) may still find it hard to gain entrance into the leading crowd. It is likely that if these systems were highly ascriptive, really deviant subgroups would develop in these schools on a large scale, with values of their own which bore little resemblance to those of the school authorities or the leading crowd. It may be that athletics performs an extremely important function in these schools, particularly those in stable stratified communities, of maintaining a path for the outsiders to become insiders, thus undercutting the development of deviant subgroups.

The way in which an ascriptive system tends to develop negative attitudes toward the insiders can be seen in these schools, even though they all have large components of achievement in the status systems. The schools fall into two clusters in the degree to which family background is important for status: schools 1, 3, 8, and 9, where it is; and schools 0, 2, 4, 6, and 7, where it is not. The classification is the same for the leading crowds of boys and girls. Table 9.1 shows the degree of rejection of the leading crowds in these two groups of schools--that is, the proportion, of all those who saw themselves outside the leading crowd, who said they did not want to be in it. This table shows relation for both sexes between the importance of coming from the right neighborhood, or the right family--that is, an ascriptive quality which cannot be achieved--and (a) the proportion who see themselves outside the leading crowd, and (b) the proportion of those who see themselves outside, who

Table 9.1*

The Percent who Feel Out of the Leading Crowd and of "Outsiders" who Reject the Leading Crowd in Systems which are More and Less Ascriptive

	Boys		Girls	
	More Ascriptive (1, 3, 8, 9)	Less Ascriptive (0,2,4,6,7)	More Ascriptive (1, 3, 8, 9)	Less Ascriptive (0,2,4,6,7)
Proportion who feel outside	64.1%	60.4%	70.5%	62.5%
Number of cases	(2228)	(1742)	(2236)	(1998)
Proportion of outsiders who want in	33.5%	31.0%	41.0%	38.3%
Number of cases	(1469)	(1051)	(1576)	(1239)

reject the crowd. For both sexes, the more ascriptive systems have a higher number who see themselves outside, and a higher proportion of outsiders who reject the system. The relationship is not strong, but it is evident, and does indicate the way in which a lack of possibilities for achievement alienates the "outsiders" from the system. It is important to note that the responses upon which the "ascriptiveness" of the leading crowds is based are not given by the same persons as those who reject the leading crowd; the low frequency with which "coming from the right neighborhood" is mentioned in the earlier question precludes this. The point is rather that the degree to which the leading crowd is "closed" to ambitious outsiders, indicated by answers to what it takes to get in the leading crowd, creates an alienation on the part of outsiders, most of whom did not even mention coming from the right neighborhood as a criterion for membership.

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*School 5 has been excluded from the less ascriptive group of schools for boys to make comparison possible with the girls. If included, the percentages would be 59.5% (N--2473) and 30.1% (N--1471)

One point to be learned from this relationship, though slight, between the more nearly closed status systems and alientation is that if high schools are to effectively motivate all students, they must provide avenues for status which are open to all. The close correspondence between the academically-oriented schools and those in which status is ascribed suggests that these paths cannot be completely academic. Athletic achievement is the most important avenue which presently functions to provide a path for mobility open to all boys, and is probably effective in helping to maintain a cohesive system.

This concludes the examination of the impact of the status system upon the self-conception of outsiders. The impact is extremely strong upon those who have not yet rejected the system, and shows the powerful social forces which these systems exert upon those within them.

Dimensions of Achievement:

Besides the elite positions among the exemplars and in the leading crowds, and the positions of exclusion, outside the crowd, other students with special recognition have been isolated in this research. These are the students named as "best" in several dimensions: for boys, best athlete, best student, and most popular with girls; for girls, best dressed, best student, and most popular with boys. What is the effect of these various dimensions of achievement in making those named as "best" more satisfied to be themselves?

The general result for all schools together has been shown in Chapter 2 (Fig. 2.6) and is reproduced below as Fig. 9.6. It shows that people named in any one of these ways have a better self-conception than those not named. But for both boys and girls, there are differences among the dimensions of achievement: those named as "best students" are most likely, among these special groups, to want to be someone different from themselves, both among the girls and among the boys. For the boys, the best athletes are least likely to want to change, and the boy who's popular with the girls is between the athlete and the student. For the girls, the ones who are least likely to want to change are the girls most popular with boys; the girls named as best dressed are in the middle.

These results are completely consistent with the analysis of Chapters 7 and 8, which showed the attention and status received by the best students, best athletes, best dressed, and most popular with the opposite sex. For the boys, the boy who was only an athlete got greatest attention and status from his fellows, in the sense of being named most often as a friend and on the elite criteria;* the boy popular with girls received second most attention; and the boy who was only the best student received third most attention. For the girls as well, the relative status positions correspond to their relative self-conceptions.

This result emphasizes again the way in which status in these systems affects a boy's or a girl's self-conception. The status positions and the self-conceptions correspond fully, showing the dependence of a boy's or girl's self-conception upon his status with his fellows.

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*Excluding, of course, the athlete-student.

Over the period of the school year, these self-conceptions of various people changed somewhat. Over all the boys, the desire to be different decreased from 21.3% to 19.4%; for the girls, it decreased from 21.2% to 20.2%, in both cases very slight decreases, which are consistent from the freshman to sophomore to junior to senior classes. For those who achieved in the various dimensions above, self-conceptions changed as well; Fig. 9.7 shows for the athlete-students, the athletes-only, the students-only and the boys popular with firls, the changes over the school year. Though various boys within these groups shifted, the shifts cancelled each other out almost completely, except in the case of the boy popular with the girls.* For the athlete-student, there was a very slight betterment of self-conception; for the athlete-only, no change at all; for the student-only, a very slight increase in the desire to change; but for the boy popular with girls, a strong increase in the desire to be different, changing from lowest to almost as high as the student-only.

This analysis will not attempt to discover the source of this decrement in self-conception; it is enough for us at this point to note that except for the boys most popular with girls, these self-conceptions held

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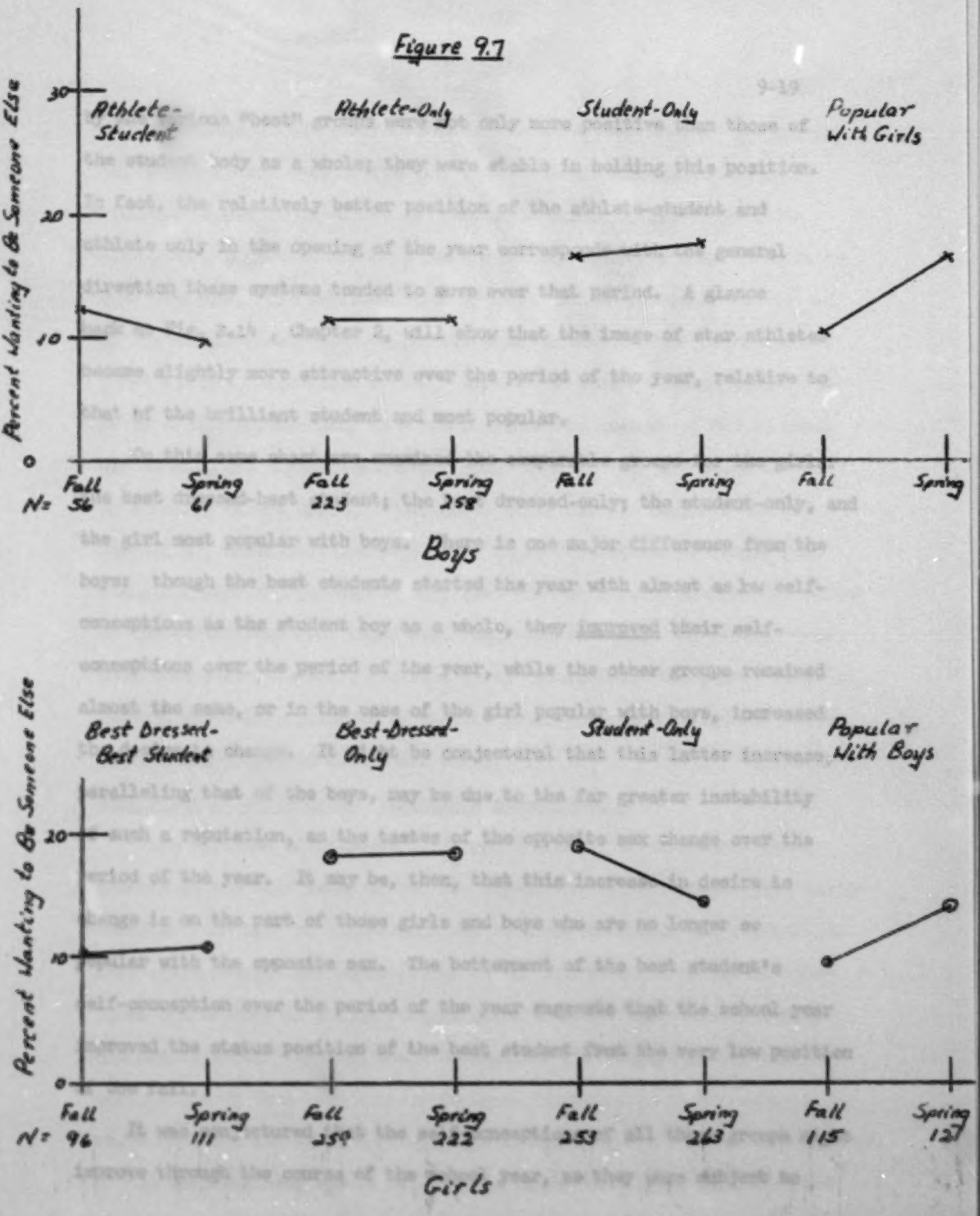
*His lower position in the fall than that of the athlete-only and the athlete-student is due to inclusion of the whole group of those who received 2 or more choices; in Fig. 9.6 it is only among the top athletes that self-conceptions are highest. Because of the small numbers involved, the analysis with athletes-only, students-only, etc., includes all who received 2 or more choices. It might be, however, if only the top groups in each dimension had been included, betterment of self-conception over the period of the year would have been discovered in these groups.

Figure 9.7


Percent Wanting to Be Someone Else
30
20
10
0
Athlete-Student
Athlete-Only
Student-Only
Popular With Girls
Fall
Spring
Fall
Spring
Fall
Spring
Fall
Spring
N= 56
61
223
258
Boys
Percent Wanting to Be Someone Else
20
10
0
Best Dressed-Best Student
Best-Dressed-Only
Student-Only
Popular With Boys
Fall
Spring
Fall
Spring
Fall
Spring
Fall
Spring
N= 96
111
259
222
253
263
115
121
Girls

by the various "best" groups were not only more positive than those of the student body as a whole; they were stable in holding this position. In fact, the relatively better position of the athlete-student and athlete only in the opening of the year corresponds with the general direction these systems tended to move over that period. A glance back at Fig. 2.14 , Chapter 2, will show that the image of star athletes became slightly more attractive over the period of the year, relative to that of the brilliant student and most popular.

On this same chart are examined the comparable groups for the girls: the best dressed-best student; the best dressed-only; the student-only, and the girl most popular with boys. There is one major difference from the boys: though the best students started the year with almost as low self-conceptions as the student boy as a whole, they improved their self-conceptions over the period of the year, while the other groups remained almost the same, or in the case of the girl popular with boys, increased the desire to change. It might be conjectural that this latter increase, paralleling that of the boys, may be due to the far greater instability of such a reputation, as the tastes of the opposite sex change over the period of the year. It may be, then, that this increase in desire to change is on the part of those girls and boys who are no longer so popular with the opposite sex. The betterment of the best student's self-conception over the period of the year suggests that the school year improved the status position of the best student from the very low position of the fall.

It was conjectured that the self-conceptions of all these groups might improve through the course of the school year, as they were subject to the attentions of the other students. The fact that they do not appear to, except in the case of the girl best students and the boy athlete-students should not be taken as conclusive evidence, for it is quite likely that some of these boys and girls were no longer considered to be best students, best athletes, best dressed, and most popular at the end of the school year. The statistical expectation, in fact, would be for there to be a "regression effect," with these groups tending toward the level of the student body as a whole, since the measure of "best" which was an accurate classification of reputations in the fall would not be as accurate in the spring. Therefore, until further analysis can be carried out which excludes those boys whose reputations as "best" fell along the wayside, the matter must rest without knowing the precise effect of the school year upon these boys' self-conceptions. The results which have been shown, however, indicate quite conclusively the stable relation between the self-conception of various achievement groups and the status rewards they received from their peers.

Dimensions of Achievement: Variations among schools:

The analyses of Chapters 3, 7, and 8 showed the variations among schools in the importance of various dimensions of achievement--the degree to which each type of achievement was rewarded by status and recognition from one's peers. The implications of all the analysis so far are that these differences in social rewards given the high achievers in various dimensions should leave as their consequence differences in the self-conceptions of those who achieve in these dimensions. In the schools where athletic achievement brings most social rewards, the self-conceptions of the star athletes should not only be higher than those of the student body as a whole, but should be higher by a greater amount than in the schools where athletes receive fewer social rewards. Similarly with academic achievement: the best students' self conceptions should be highest in those schools where the social system rewards academic achievement most. Similarly with achievement in the competition for attention from the opposite sex: those who are named as "best" in this should be more self-assured in those schools where popularity, good looks, and the like is most important.

For academic achievement, the schools were classified (in Chapter 3) into three groups: for the boys 1, 8, 5 (hi); 2, 3, 7 (med); and 0, 4, 6, 9 (lo); for the girls 1, 8 (hi); 9,6 (med); and 0, 2, 3, 4, 7 (lo). However, in the analysis of the rewards given to the student-only, there were some slight inconsistencies: adolescents in 7 gave more rewards to these boys than did those in school 5. Because of these discrepancies, and because of the fairly small numbers of cases involved, the schools will be grouped into two groups for the boys, and two for the girls, lumping together the hi and med groups in both cases.

Because the self-conceptions for the student body as a whole are, for all the groupings of schools in the analyses below, within a fraction of a percent of one another, it is possible simply to look at the absolute level of self-conception of the different high-achieving groups in each set of schools, rather than the difference between them and the student bodies considered as wholes. (The levels are 21% of boys wanting to change and 20% of the girls among the students as a whole.) This will not be possible in the subsequent analysis of leisure activities, which differ markedly in their incidence in different schools.

Table 9.2 shows the self-conceptions of boys and girls who were best students in these two schools. Those who were "best students-only" are tabulated, to make the test a purer one; in later tables the "athletes-only" and other groups whose achievement is in one area will be the basis of the analysis.

Table 9.2

The Self-Conceptions of Persons Named Only as Best Students in Schools Where the Adolescent Culture's Rewards for Academic Success Are High, and Those where the Rewards Are Lower.

(Proportion wanting to be someond different)

Boys		Girls	
High (1,2,3,5,7,8)	Low (0,4,6,9)	High (1,6,8,9)	Low (0,2,3,4,7)
15.0%	19.7%	14.9%	23.5%
(133)	(101)	(114)	(91)

Among both boys and girls, the proportion wanting to be someone different is lower in the schools where academic achievement is rewarded than in the others. For the girls, in fact, the self-conceptions of "best students" in the schools where such activities receive few social rewards is poorer than the average level in these schools (23.5% compared to 20% for all girls in these schools). These results show clearly the effect of social rewards or lack of them upon the self-conception of a boy or girl who is seen as best student. In the schools where such activities receive social rewards, those seen as best students do not want to change, to be someone else; where the activities are not rewarded, they more often do.

For athletic achievement among the boys, schools can similarly be dichotomized on the basis of the analyses of Chapter 3, into two groups: schools 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9, where the social rewards for such achievement are relatively high; and schools 0, 1, 2, 3, and 8, where they are lower. It should be emphasized that this far oversimplifies the matter, because, as Chapter 7 showed, there are structural differences as well; in the degree to which athletics and academic achievement are rewarded as separate enterprises or as part of a general syndrome of the all-around boy. Nevertheless, this classification gives a rough division into those schools where athletics is highly rewarded, and those where the social rewards are only moderate--although in all cases, there are more rewards than for being the best student. Table 9.3 shows the self-conceptions of the "best athletes" (excluding again the athlete-students) in these two groups of schools.

Table 9.3

The Self-Conceptions of Boys Named Only as Best Athletes in Schools where the adolescent Culture's Rewards for Athletic Achievement are high and those where the Rewards are Lower. (Proportion wanting to be someone different.)

High (4,5,6,7,9)	Low (0,1,2,3,8)
9.1%	15.4%
(132)	(91)

The table again shows the differential effects of these status systems: in the schools where athletics is highly rewarded, the star athletes less often want to be someone else than do their counterparts in schools where such success receives fewer rewards. Their general tendency to want to change is lower than that of the best students in accordance with the generally greater social rewards they receive; but it is especially low in those schools where athletes are especially rewarded.

For the effects of these status systems upon girls named as best dressed, the schools can be classified according to the proportion of girls who named "clothes" as an important attribute for being in the leading crowd. Though such a classification was not made in Chapter 3, it be done by inspection of Fig. 3.2 in that chapter. Dichotomizing the schools into groups of five where it is of more importance of four where it is of less importance gives 0, 2, 4, 6, 7 in the first group, and 1, 3, 8, 9 in the second. This classification, incidentally, groups the schools into those where ascriptive criteria are less important (the schools where clothes are more important), and those where ascriptive criteria are more important (the schools where clothes are less important). Table 9.4 shows the self-conceptions of girls who were named as best dressed only (that is, not also named as best student) in these two groups of schools.

Table 9.4

The self conceptions of girls named only as best dressed, in schools where the adolescent culture's rewards for good clothes are high, and those where the rewards are lower. (Proportion wanting to be somewhat different.)

High (0, 2, 4, 6, 7)	Low (1, 3, 8, 9)
14.8%	21.8%
(135)	(124)

Again the results show the differential effects of the different social climates in these schools.

In those schools where the best-dressed girl is rewarded less, her self-conception is no better, even a little worse, than the students as a whole (20% of whom want to be different). In the other schools, her self-conception is considerably better than that of the average girl.

The boys named as most popular with girls and the girls named as most popular with boys constitute the final dimension of achievement measured in the study. The schools were classified earlier, in Chapter 3, according to the strength of the popularity - good looks - cheerleader syndrome. Those in which popularity with the opposite sex and good looks were important attributes for membership in the leading crowd are 0, 4, 7, and 9; those where this matter was of lesser importance are 1, 2, 3, 6, 8. The schools were not classified this way for the boys , but by examining the proportion of times "good looks, popularity," etc. were mentioned as attributes for the leading crowd (see Fig. 3.1), they can be grouped into two groups of the five highest and the five lowest in this response. The groups are 2, 3, 4, 8, 9,where this is more often mentioned, and 0, 1, 5, 6, 7, where it is less often mentioned.

Table 9.5 shows the self-conceptions of boys named only as most popular with girls (that is, not as best athlete, and not as best student) and girls named only as most popular with boys (not as best dressed, and not as best student).

Table 9.5

The self-conceptions of persons named only as most popular with the opposite sex, in schools where the adolescent culture's rewards for such popularity are high and those where the rewards are lower.

Table 9.5 (Continued)

(Proportion wanting to be different)

Boys		Girls	
High (2,3,4,8,9)	Low (0,1,5,6,7)	High (0,4,7,9)	Low (1,2,3,6,8)
8.1%	13.1%	5.8%	15.4%
(74)	(61)	(55)	(60)

Again, in this comparison, those in systems which give most rewards for what they are good at -- in this case, dating and activities with the opposite sex -- feel best about themselves, and they want to be someone different less often.

Altogether, then, the effects of these social systems of adolescents on a boy's or girl's self-conception appear to be extremely powerful. The analyses immediately above have all shown small effects,both because the differences in these systems are small and because they have dealt with the boy or the girl recognized as a high achiever in a given area. When we extrapolate these results to the student body as a whole, as well as boys and girls who don't feel so good about themselves, the effects of being in a system which offers so civil rewards only to those who achieve in the few "right" activities are obvious. Such systems give only a few people - those who are successful in those few chosen activities - a chance to feel good about themselves.

The effects on these other boys and girls, the ones who are just part of the student body, were apparent in the earlier examination of the effects of exclusion from the leading crowd when one aspires to it, and the effects of being bereft of friends among other students.

Effects on Uses of Leisure Time:*

The preceding section showed the effects of the rewards of these adolescent cultures upon a boy's or girl's self-conception. Those whose achievements as social location are highly rewarded by the culture they are in are the boys and girls who feel best about themselves -- those who would least often trade to be someone other than themselves. Those who were in disadvantageous position, because the culture failed to reward the activity in which they achieved, did not have their self-conceptions improved in this way. And at the opposite extreme, those who were not given the social rewards of friendship and of admittance to the leading crowd were far more likely to have a negative self-conception, and to want to be someone other than themselves.

Such aspirations to gain entrance to a crowd from which a boy (or more often,a girl) is excluded, and such negative self-conceptions constitute one kind of response to a situation of strain such as these boys and (especially) girls are in. Another kind of response, however, is to escape psychologically from the situation. One means of such escape can be the mass media -- or at least, this is a function which various persons have attributed to the media, though there has been little systematic documentation that people use it in this way. To be sure, television, popular music, and movies can -and do - perform many other functions. Particularly for teen-agers, music and dancing provides a context within which one may more easily meet and enjoy the company of the opposite sex, and movies provide something to do on a date. Watching television has less obvious social functions for a teen-ager, though it is undoubtedly the case that they get many various kinds of gratifications from watching television. Consequently, among all teen-agers, whether in a favored or unfavored postion in the social system of their school, will attend to the mass media to some degree. It is the amount of such activities, then, which is of concern in the analysis. The general hypothesis is that those who are in especially favored positions will not have the need to escape from the world in which they find themselves, and thus they will turn to the world of mass media less often. Conversely, those in a particularly disadvantaged position will often use this way out of their unfavorable environment.

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*This section of the analysis was carried out and written by John Johnstone, as part of his Ph.D. thesis. It has been subject only to editing, and the form of the analysis will differ in certain points from that of the other sections of this chapter.

Effects of System in Which Athletics is Important:

Table 9.6 compares the media uses of those boys named as best athletes with those of boys who are not so named.* The effect of a social climate which places a strong value on athletics can be investigated by examining the differences between the media uses of "star athletes" and those of "others" in the various categories of schools. These differences are shown in the right hand column of Table 9.6, and the figures reveal a consistently increasing difference where the importance of athletics becomes greater. That is, the differences between star athletes and non star-athletes in respect to mass media uses is greater where the importance of athletics in the value system of the high school is greater. The

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*In order to overcome the differences in size between the various schools, the average percentage for each cluster of schools was computed by averaging the percentages of high media users in each school--rather than by adding the numbers of high users together and taking the percentage in this way. Thus, the 17.2 percent in Table V-2 is the average of the four percentages for "star athletes" in the four schools where athletics are "very important". This procedure weights each school equally, differing from the procedure used in other sections of this chapter, which weights each individual equally. This difference and a few others to be noted later, is due to the part that the analyses were carried out separately. Because each school is weighed equally here, the very small school, 0, is omitted.

TABLE 9.6*

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE STRESSING ATHLETICS ON MASS MEDIA USES

Importance of Athletics in School	Per Cent High Users of Mass Media		
	Star Athletes	Others	Difference
Very Important			
School 4	13.6 (N-22)	24.0 (N-233)	
School 7	34.4 (N-32)	34.1 (N-472)	
School 9	2.4 (N-41)	23.4 (N-640)	
School 5	18.2 (N-44)	26.8 (N-597)	
Average of percentages	17.2	27.1	9.9
Average Importance			
School 2	30.0 (N-20)	26.3 (N-209)	
School 1	35.3 (N-17)	35.1 (N-151)	
School 6	15.6 (N-32)	30.7 (N-335)	
Average of percentages	27.0	30.7	3.7
Low importance			
School 3	23.5 (N-17)	25.3 (N-154)	
School 8	26.1 (N-46)	20.4 (N-760)	
Average of percentages	24.8	22.9	-1.9

*N-	22	233
	32	472
	41	640
	44	597
	20	209
	17	151
	32	335
	17	154
	46	760

direction of the differences in schools where athletics is 'very important' or of 'average importance', moreover, is towards higher use among the "others" group, that is, among those who are in a disadvantageous position with respect to gaining status in this kind of social environment. Where athletic achievement is of "low importance" there is virtually no differences between the media uses of the "stars" and "non-stars", and what difference there is turns out to be negative.

In this type of analysis the absolute averages for clusters of schools are not as reliable as are the differences between individuals of different types. Many other factors than the one under consideration might influence the overall level of media use in a school, but these other factors become controlled when the differences between two subsamples of individuals within the same population are taken. For this reason, this and subsequent sections of the analysis will measure the influence of a particular value climate by comparing the differences between the individuals in the favored and unfavored positions vis-a-vis that particular climate of values.

The figures of Table 9.6 do suggest, then, that mass media uses are related to something about value climates--and not to something about athletes and non-athletes. The differences between these two groups fail to persist in social environments where athletic ability is of less importance. The interpretation which is suggested, of course, is that in the climate in which rewards are given for athletic achievement the non-athletes experience "status frustration" and that this becomes reflected through a higher use of mass media. That is, one response to the negative self-conceptions shown earlier is to escape into the vicarious experience of the mass media.

Effects of systems in which scholastic achievement is important:

One other status' dimension on which these schools differ is that of academic achievement. In Table 9.7, the schools are separated according to the importance assigned to academic achievement.*

The comparisons here are between those named as best students and all others. Table 9.7 reveals that the largest differences in mass media uses between "best students" and "others" occur for both boys and girls in the schools where scholarship is in fact of high importance. The range between the differences is greater for boys than for girls (11.5 to 4.8 percent as compared with 10.6 to 6.2 percent) but both are in the direction which supports the general hypothesis. It is not likely that this sex difference means that scholarship affects boys more than girls, since in the measurement of this dimension.

It is also worthwhile to examine the media uses of boys and girls in the specific schools where the girls' and boys' status systems differ in the importance they assign to scholastic achievement. In School 9, for example, girls rate scholarship much higher than boys on both items measuring this dimension (see Chapter 3). In this school the differences in mass media uses between "best students" and "others" is 13.7 percent for girls while among boys (who rate scholarship of low importance) is 4.3 percent, while among girls (who rate it of higher importance) the difference is 11.1 percent. In School 9,on the other hand,it is the boys who rate scholarship higher than the girls. Here, boys who are not "best students" use the media 9.3 percent more than "best students"; among girls, on the other hand, the "others" exceed the "best students" by only 4.9 percent. In each of these three cases of an inverted rating by boys and girls, then, the differences in respect to mass media use are in the direction which supports the hypothesis that heavy mass media uses are a response to the situation of being unable to successfully compete within the existing rewards structure of a given social system.

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*The table separates the "high" group of the previous analyses into the high and intermediate groups shown in chapter 3, for boys and separates the "low" group for girls into two, using the combined results of the leading crowd question and the making of good grades to be popular.

In summary, the evidence relative to these two dimensions of status confirms that the status system of a given school affects the degree to which those who are "unsuccessful" relative to this status system resort to the mass media.

At this point the investigation willturn away from the question of overall mass media uses and will focus on specific kinds of mass media use--in particular television viewing and the general question of "styles" of media response.

The effects of an ascribed status system:

The two previous examinations concerned two dimensions of achievement; athletics and scholatics. But these social systems differ also in the degree to which status is ascribed by virtue of parental background. In those schools where such criteria are important schools 1, 3, 8, 9 those teen agers whose parents do not have the right background should more often be frustrated by the status system and then escape to the mass media.

Because television viewing is a known correlate of social class position, this will be used as the dependent variable in the present section of the analysis. The point of the present analysis, however, is that the particular status system of the adolescent community can intensify or diminish this correlation between television viewing and social class background. For example, while there are known differences between let us say white-collar and working class families in terms of the amount of television viewing they do, the present research suggests that the differences between those groups will be greater where the working-class families are most excluded from status in the community. The differences between these two groups, then, should fluctuate with social setting, becoming intensified where the working-class is prevented from gaining status in the community. The reason for this expectation is again the hypothesis that individuals experience status frustration when a high value is placed on attributes which they do not possess, and then use television as a means of escaping from low self-conceptions.

In classifying students as to class background a number of criteria could have been uses, but it was decided to concentrate on one variable--father's education--since this is probably as good a single measure of social class as any other, and also because television viewing is strongly correlated with education. The students are divided into two groups, then: those whose fathers have had some college education and those whose fathers have no college education.

In Table 9.8 schools are separated into large and small schools in order to create more cases on which to test the hypothesis. The proportion of students who view television at least two hours a day is shown for

TABLE 9.8(a) BOYS *

INFLUENCE ON TELEVISION VIEWING OF VALUE SYSTEMS EMPHASIZING ASCRIBED STATUS

Importance of Ascribed Status in value system of School	Per Cent Who View TV 2 hours or more a day		
	Students whose fathers have a college education	Students whose fathers do not have a college education	Difference
BOYS			
Large Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 9	25.1 (N-530)	47.5 (N-360)	
School 8	37.4 (N-203)	51.8 (N-689)	
Average of percentages	31.2	49.6	18.4
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 5	55.4 (N-56)	63.9 (N-574)	
School 6	57.1 (N-49)	63.8 (N-414)	
School 7	30.8 (N-91)	53.6 (N-470)	
Average of percentages	47.8	60.4	12.6
Small Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 1	38.5 (N-39)	60.7 (N-145)	
School 3	26.9 (N-52)	38.8 (N-152)	
Average of percentages	32.7	49.8	17.1
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 2	53.6 (N-41)	55.5 (N-200)	
School 4	26.3 (N-38)	46.9 (N-224)	
Average of percentages	40.0	51.2	11.2

* N = College: 530,203 56,49,91 39,52, 41,38
No College: 360,689 574,414,470 145,152 200,224

TABLE 9.8(b) GIRLS*

INFLUENCE ON TELEVISION VIEWING OF VALUE SYSTEMS EMPHASIZING ASCRIBED STATUS

Importance of Ascribed Status in value system of School	Per Cent Who View TV 2 hours or more a day		
	Students whose fathers have a college education.	Students whose fathers do not have a college education	Difference
GIRLS			
Large Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 8	25.7 (N-210)	45.6 (N-695)	
School 9	18.8 (N-553)	43.7 (N-318)	
Average of percentages	22.2	44.6	22.4
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 7	38.0 (N-108)	43.5 (N-586)	
School 6	47.0 (N-51)	62.9 (N-418)	
Average of percentages	42.5	53.2	10.7
Small Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 3	27.0 (N-63)	47.3 (N-131)	
School 1	27.0 (N-37)	50.0 (N-114)	
Average of percentages	27.0	48.6	21.6
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 2	27.0 (N-35)	54.2 (N-188)	
School 4	30.0 (N-40)	42.8 (N-203)	
Average of percentages	28.5	48.5	20.0

* N=		
	210	695
	553	318
	108	586
	51	418
	63	131
	37	114
	35	188
	40	203

each category of individual within each category of school setting.

The table reveals, first, that students whose fathers have lower educational backgrounds view television much more than do the students whose fathers have a college education. This is the case for both boys and girls, in both large and small schools, and in schools both where ascribed status is important and unimportant. This result is in accord with general findings about the differential use of television in different social classes. The figures of interest,however,are the relative sizes of the differences between students of different backgrounds, in the different kinds of value systems. The largest differences occur in schools where ascribed status is important. This relationship is quite evident in three of the four test cases, though it is not found among the girls in small schools. Among girls in large schools, however, the differences are more than twice as large in schools where ascribed status is important than they are in schools where it is unimportant (22.4 to 10.7 percent) and among boys, the differences in both large and small schools are about fifty percent larger where ascribed status is important.

These relationships suggest the same kinds of effects of the status system which were found in the earlier cases dealing with athletics and scholarship. That is, they suggest that deprivation with respect to status opportunities leads to higher mass media use.

On the basis of these findings we would expect that television viewing among students with a non-college background would be higher in schools where ascribed status is important than in schools where it is unimportant. Upon examination of the averages on the vertical columns, however, this appears not to be the case. Television use is higher among both groups of individuals in schools where ascribed status is unimportant,and this is found in all of the test cases except the girls in the small schools.

This suggests a quite different kind of effect of the culture from the other. Here there seems to be some sort of overall variation associated with a middle class community, and this variation is, not explained by the"status frustration" hypothesis. Several factors may account for the lower television viewing among those in a middle class community, quite apart from parental education. The simplest and most reasonable is that their backgrounds are in fact of higher social class than in the working class communities. That is, those with college backgrounds in school 6 are in fact of considerably lower social class than their counterparts in school 9, and thus would be expected to view television more - in accord with the general fact that families of lower social status watch television more often, regardless of community.

Value Climates and Favorite Singers:

Just as overall television viewing is related to social class, so too are "styles" of mass media consumption such as the kinds of magazines that people read or the kinds of television programs that they watch. Among adolescents one of the areas of media use around which styles are most prevalent is the area of taste in popular music and in the singers of popular music. It is not unlikely that there is a strong correlation between social class position and preferences for certain types of singers. This section will investigate how this correlation is affected by the importance of class background in the status system of a given school.

This research has found that the fans of rock-n-roll singers (Elvis Presley and Tommy Sands) are more often on the outside of activities in a school than on the inside.[*] This relationship suggests that the fans of these kinds of singers probably experience more "status frustration" than do the fans for other kinds of singers. The expectation of the present section of the analysis, then, is that the audience for rock-n-roll singers will be found concentrated most heavily among individuals who are in the unfavored positions vis-a-vis the value system of a high school. Thus the overall relationship with social class may be intensified by the specific value climate of a high school: intensified in those where the system has barriers to status for a boy or girl of lower educational background, and diminished when such barriers do not exist.

In Table 9.9 the proportions who chose rock-n-roll singers as their favorites are shown for individuals of different educational backgrounds in the different kinds of value climates. This table shows strong effects of the ascribed status systems among the boys in both large and small schools and among the girls in small schools. Among the boys the social class effect is quite large in schools where ascribed status is important but are almost non-existant in schools where this criterion is unimportant.

Among girls, however, there is a stong social-class effect but little social climate effect of the particular status system of the school. Large differences between girls with fathers of college and non-college training occur in each of the four sub-samples of girls, but the differences between different schools are non-existant in the large schools (14.0 percen6

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[*] This is documented in John Johnstone's forthcoming Ph.D. thesis from which this section is taken.

TABLE 9.9(a) BOYS*

INFLUENCE OF VALUE SYSTEMS EMPHASIZING ASCRIBE STATUS ON CHOICE OF FAVORITE SINGER

Importance of Ascribed Status in value system of School	Per Cent Who Choose a "protest" singer as favorite		
	Students whose fathers have a college education	Students whose fathers do not have a college education	Difference
BOYS			
Large Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 9	18.4 (N-500)	34.0 (N-335)	
School 8	18.1 (N-193)	26.6 (N-598)	
Average of percentages	18.2	30.3	12.1
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 5	25.0 (N-52)	24.5 (N-542)	
School 6	37.5 (N-48)	35.6 (N-373)	
School 7	25.9 (N-85)	37.1 (N-453)	
Average of percentages	29.5	32.4	2.9
Small Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 1	18.4 (N-38)	35.3 (N-136)	
School 3	18.5 (N-54)	23.4 (N-145)	
Average of percentages	18.4	29.4	11.0
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 2	31.6 (N-38)	34.0 (N-188)	
School 4	31.6 (N-38)	32.4 (N-222)	
Average of percentages	31.6	33.2	1.6

*N=College: 500, 193 52, 48, 85 38, 54 38, 38
No College: 335, 598 542, 373, 453 136, 145 188, 222

TABLE 9.9(b) GIRLS *

INFLUENCE OF VALUE SYSTEMS EMPHASIZING ASCRIBE STATUS ON CHOICE OF FAVORITE SINGER

Importance of Ascribed Status in value system of School	Per Cent Who Choose a "protest" singer as favorite		
	Students whose fathers have a college education	Students whose fathers do not have a college education	Difference
GIRLS			
Large Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 8	11.4 (N-201)	22.6 (N-623)	
School 9	12.7 (N-510)	29.4 (N-275)	
Average of percentages	12.0	26.0	14.0
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 7	17.2 (N-99)	28.9 (N-536)	
School 6	17.4 (N-46)	34.5 (N-336)	
Average of percentages	17.3	31.7	14.4
Small Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
School 1	10.7 (N-56)	27.6 (N-123)	
School 3	8.8 (N-34)	24.5 (N-98)	
Average of percentages	9.8	26.0	16.2
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
School 2	8.8 (N-34)	30.7 (N-176)	
School 4	28.9 (N-38)	27.2 (N-184)	
Average of percentages	18.8	29.0	10.2

* N= College: 201, 510 99, 46 56, 34 34, 38
No College: 623, 275 536, 336 123, 98 176, 184

compared to 14.4 percent) and only 6.0 percent in the small schools (16.2 percent compared to 10.2 percent). Among boys, on the other hand, the differences on the social climate dimension are 9.2 percent in large schools and 9.4 percent in small schools.

These findings suggest that the influence of social climates on the choice of favorite singer is greater on boys than girls. They suggest however, that social class background as a determinant of taste in popular singers probably affects girls more than boys.

The data of Table 9.9 also suggest that the students whose father have some college are more affected by social climate than are students whose fathers have had no college, since the differences between college-background boys in the two types of climates are much larger than the differences between the boys without college-trained fathers in the two types of climates (in large schools 11.3 percent compared to 2.1 percent and in small schools 13.2 percent compared with 3.8 percent). Among girls, too, one of the two sets of differences is in this direction (in small schools 9.0 percent as compared with 3.0 percent).

Is it, however, the case that fans of "protest" singers are in fact, individuals who have feelings of protest in relation to the social environment which surrounds them? One item in the questionnaire asked students to agree or disagree with the statement "there are a few who control things around here and the rest of us are out in the cold." Agreeing with this statement is interpreted as a measure of an individual's protest against the adolescent status system in which he finds himself. Table 9.10 shows the agreement with this statement in each type of school.

TABLE 9.10(a) BOYS*

INFLUENCE OF VALUE SYSTEM EMPHASIZING ASCRIBED STATUS ON THE USE OF ROCK-N-ROLL SINGERS AS A SYMBOL OF PROTEST

Importance of Ascribed Status in value system of School	Per Cent Who Agree With The Statement: "There are a few who control things around here and the rest of us are out in the cold."		
	School as a Whole	Audience for Rock-n-Roll singers	Difference
BOYS			
Large Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
Executive Heights	41.0 (N-842)	47.4 (N-213)	
Central City	27.6 (N-818)	33.5 (N-206)	
Average of percentages	34.3	40.4	6.1
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
St. Johns High	25.4 (N-674)	25.4 (N-169)	
Craftsville	23.4 (N-444)	20.8 (N-159)	
Iron City	31.2 (N-555)	32.1 (N-196)	
Average of percentages	26.7	26.1	-.6
Small Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
Pleasantville	42.8 (N-180)	43.1 (N-58)	
Maple Grove	40.1 (N-202)	37.2 (N-43)	
Average of percentages	41.4	40.1	-1.3
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
Elmtown	37.3 (N-244)	33.7 (N-83)	
Greentown	32.6 (N-273	28.9 (N-90)	
Average of percentages	35.0	31.3	-3.7

*N = --				
School:	842, 818	674, 444, 555	180, 202	244, 273
Audience:	213, 206	169, 159, 196	58, 43	83, 90

TABLE 9.10(b) GIRLS*

INFLUENCE OF VALUE SYSTEM EMPHASIZING ASCRIBED STATUS ON THE USE OF ROCK-N-ROLL SINGERS AS A SYMBOL OF PROTEST

Importance of Ascribed Status in value system of School	Per Cent Who Agree With The Statement: "There are a few who control things around here and the rest of us are out in the cold."		
	School as a Whole	Audience for Rock-n-Roll singers	Difference
GIRLS			
Large Schools			
Ascribed Status Important			
Central City	46.5 (N-855)	59.0 (N-173)	
Executive Heights	50.6 (N786)	71.0 (N-145)	
Average of percentages	48.5	65.0	16.5
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
Iron City	53.7 (N-698)	57.8 (N-192)	
Craftsville	33.1 (N-435)	28.0 (N-139)	
Average of percentages	43.4	42.9	- .5
Ascribed Status Important			
Maple Grove	61.5 (N-187)	71.4 (N-42)	
Pleasantville	57.2 (N-145)	71.9 (N-32)	
Average of percentages	59.4	71.6	12.2
Ascribed Status Unimportant			
Elmtown	45.8 (N-229)	53.2 (N-62)	
Greentown	42.7 (N-234)	40.0 (N-63)	
Average of percentages	44.2	46.6	2.4

*N = School: 855, 786 698, 435 187, 145 229, 234
Audience: 173, 145 192, 139 42, 32 62, 63

In the schools where ascribed status is important, the rock-and-roll audience is in fact a protest audience. Where ascribed status is not important, rock-and-roll appears to be a taste common to those who feel inside and those who feel outside. That is rock-and-roll apparently has different meanings in the two different settings--in the one case a symbol of protest against the in-group (who in school 1 have, as we saw in Chapter 7, have a taste for jazz and classical music), and in the other as an activity enjoyed regardless of position in the system. Among boys there are only small differences, and in fact in three of the four cases the protest is no more prevalent among the rock-n-roll audience. Among girls, however, the relationships are particularly strong. In large schools where ascribed status is important, the rock-n-roll audience exceeds the school average by 16.5 percent on this attitude, while in large schools where ascribed status is unimportant the difference is - .5 percent. Similarly, among girls in the small schools: the social climate effect is 9.8 percent (12.2 versus 2.4). For girls, then, becoming the fan of a rock-n-roll singer is very much related to feelings of protest, but only where there is some reason for protest--that is, where the rewards of the social system are based strongly on ascribed status.

This analysis of the use of mass media in adolescent status systems of various sorts indicates the powerful effect of the adolescent culture upon the way a teen ager spends his leisure time. The general result can be summed up succinctly: when he is in a system which fails to give him status and a good conception of himself, he resorts to a world where he need not part such a negative self-conception: the world of mass media. Alternatively, he may even use certain aspects of the media, such as singers like Elvis Presley, as a symbol of protest against the system which has excluded him or failed to accord him respect and recognition.

Effects upon the way one wants to be remembered:

As earlier chapters indicated, the leading crowds of boys in these schools want more to be remembered as a star athlete, less as a brilliant student than do the student bodies as a whole. Even more, the leading crowds of girls were oriented away from thinking of themselves as a brilliant student, and were oriented toward, in some schools, the image of activities leaders, and in others, the image of most popular. The consequences of this for further attitudes toward intellectual activity are undoubtedly far-reaching. For this means that the social elites of these high schools are less willing to see themselves as engaging in intellectual activity, and find the idea of being seen as the "intellectual" of their societies more repugnant than do the people out of the leading crowds. By extrapolation, then, to adulthood, these same social elites will similarly be oriented away from anything with a strong stamp of intellectual activity, upon it. Such extrapolation is perhaps not too far-fetched, because these schools include not only small-town schools, whose leading crowds will mostly remain in the town, and not only working-class schools, whose leading crowds will be a social elite only to their working-class constituency, but also middle class schools, and with school 2 an upper middle class school which trains the children of some of the larger society's social elite. And as was evident in chapter 4, the leading crowds in this school are far more oriented away from the "brilliant student" image than are the leading crowds of other schools, with less than 10% of boys, and less than 1% of girls in the leading crowd wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student.*

But even if this study included only leading crowds which would never become the social elite of the larger society, the matter would still be important. For they nevertheless come to be the elites of the towns and cities in which they remain, and thus become the "grass roots" leaders of attitudes toward intellectual activities.

Most of these post-high school consequences of the leading crowd's wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student can only be conjectured, but from one unexpected source has come evidence of an important consequence. In a study of graduate students in American Universities presently being conducted,** a question was asked of each graduate student in the sample:

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*This almost complete absence of wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student among the leading crowd of this school is both more surprising and more disconcerting than in the other schools. For this leading crowd is about 50% Jewish (56% for boys, 62% for girls, if only those with 10 or more choices are included, 41% for boys, 49% for girls if all with 2 or more choices are included), and in view, of the traditional Jewish cultural emphasis on education and learning, one would not expect this. These results strongly suggest the decay of this tradition and its replacement by the values of the dominant Protestant social elite, among those Jews whose mobility brings them into this elite. It is very likely that the parents of these Jewish children, many of whom had lower middle class origins, themselves wanted to be thought of as a brilliant student when in school, rather than as a star athelete or an activities leader, as their sons and daughters now do.

**This study is being conducted by James A. Davis, at the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago. I am grateful to Professor Davis and to Professor Jan Hajda, who carried out the analysis reported here, for permission to use these data.

"Were you a member of the leading crowd when you were in high school?" He could classify himself as a member of a leading crowd, as a member of another crowd but not a leading crowd, as a member of no crowd, or as "the outsider". These students were also asked whether they regarded themselves as intellectuals. Table 9.12 below shows the proportion who considered themselves intellectuals as a function of the crowd they were in - or not in.

Table 9.12

Self-image as an intellectual among American graduate students in relation to their social location in high school.

	Members of Leading crowd	Members of other crowd	Not members of any crowd, or outsider
% who consider themselves definitely or in many ways an intellectual	43%	48%	49%
	(859)	(725)	(570)

The result is clear: even among the highly select group of high school students who end up in graduate school studying for an advanced degree, those who were in the leading crowd in high school are slightly less likely to consider themselves intellectuals--though by any definition, they are surely engaging in intellectual activity.*

One might dismiss this result as a consequence of the fact that anyone in a leading crowd, whatever the value climate of the school, will less likely think of himself as an intellectual than someone on the outside. One might dismiss it, that is, if there were not results from the same study which refute this. The above table includes only American students; but foreign students, who had attended high school in Europe or somewhere else outside this country are also included in the graduate student study.* Table 9.13 below shows their self-images as a function of whether or not they were in the leading crowd.

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*This result is accompanied by another, which will only be mentioned here: those who are members of the leading crowd in their high school were as likely to perceive any anti-intellectualism in society than were those who had not been in the leading crowd.

Table 9.13

Self-image as an intellectual among foreign graduate students in American universities, in relation to their social location in high school.

	Members of leading crowd	Members of other crowd	Not members of any crowd, or outsider
% who consider themselves definitely or in many ways an intellectual	63% (126)	42% (114)	59% (125)

Here among students who had attended foreign high schools, two differences exist from the Americans: the average level of considering themselves intellectuals is higher; but most crucial to our analysis, those who were a member of the leading crowd in their high school were slightly more likely to consider themselves intellectuals than those who were not a member of the leading crowd.

Now, to go back to the high school level, are there any differences in the parallel intellectual images—wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student--among those schools where the adolescent culture rewards such activity and those where it does not? Table 9.14 shows, for the boys, the proportions wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student among all students, those mentioned 2-9 times as members of the leading crowd, and those mentioned 10 or more times, in the schools where there are more rewards, and those where there are less, for being a good student.

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*The analysis was done by a sociologist, Jan Hajda, who had himself attended a high school in Czechoslovakia and he was puzzled at the results when he just found them, for, extrapolating from his own high school experience, he had expected those from the leading crowds to more often think of themselves as intellectuals.

Table 9.14*

Proportions of members of the leading crowd wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student in schools where the adolescent culture's rewards for academic achievement are higher and those where theme rewards are lower.

	All boys	Those mentioned 2-9 times	Those mentioned 10 times or more
"High"schools (1,2,3,5,7,8)	35.1%	26.1%	24.0%
"Low" Schools (0,4,6,9)	27.2%	19.5%	9.5%
*N's are:	2781 1578	324 164	108 74

The students as a whole more often want to be remembered as brilliant students in the former schools; and the members of the leading crowds in these schools do also. Although in both sets of schools the members of the leading crowd less often want to be remembered as brilliant students than the school as a whole, this decrease is less for the schools where there are more rewards for academic achievement.[*]

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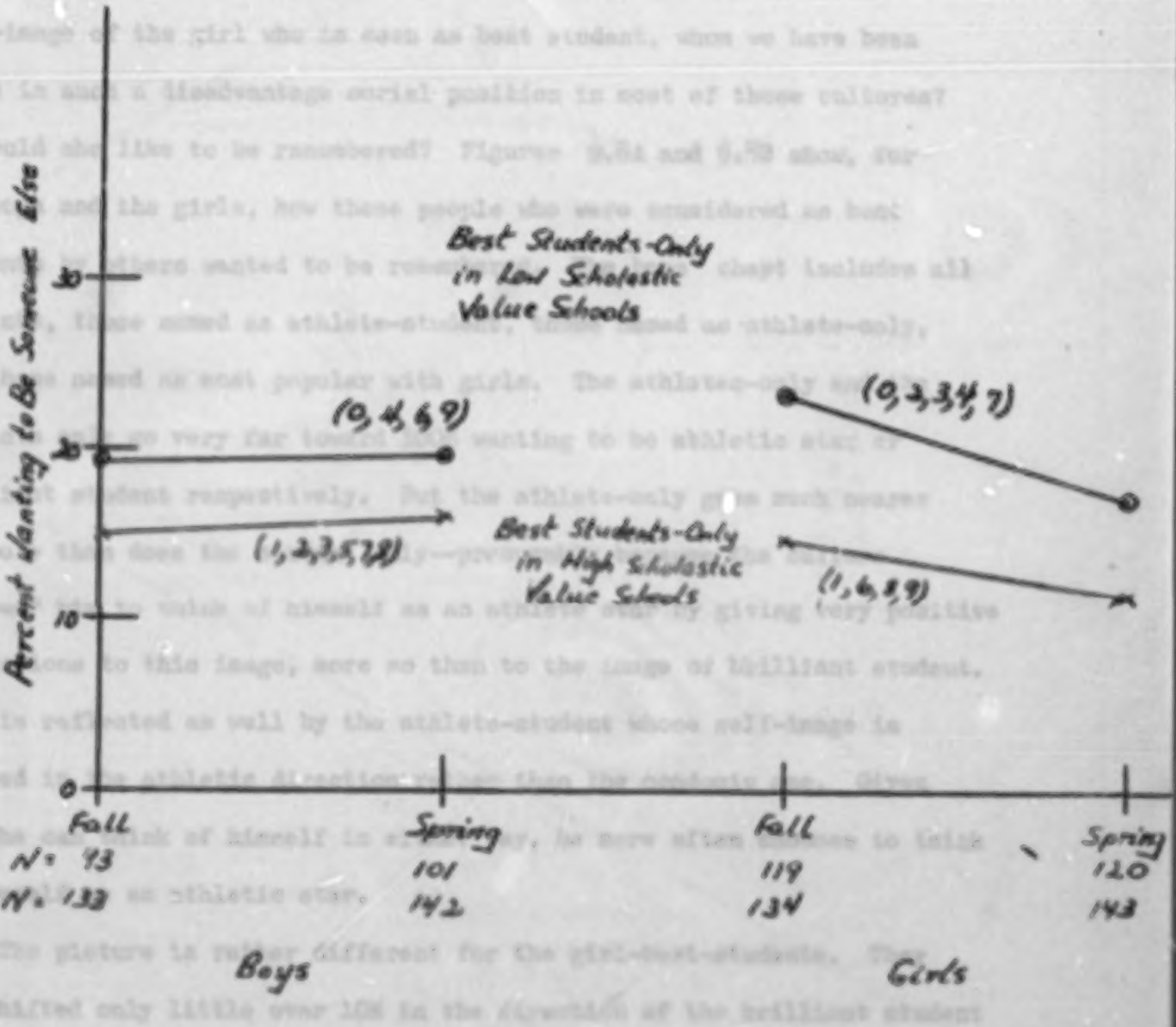
[*] The difference still exists, though it is attenuated, when school 9 where so few of the leading crowd want to be remembered as brilliant students, is excluded. The percentages are 29.7%, 22.5%, and 15.8% for the student bodies 2.9 and 10+ groups respectively in the "low" group.

Figure 9.8


Percent Wanting to Be Someone Else
30
20
10
0
Best Students-Only in Low Scholastic Value Schools
Best Students-Only in High Scholastic Value Schools
(0, 4, 6, 9)
(1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8)
(0, 2, 3, 4, 7)
(1, 6, 8, 9)
Fall
Spring
Fall
Spring
N = 93
101
119
120
N = 133
142
134
143
Boys
Girls

To the question of "intellectualism," and the degree to which it is dampened or encouraged in these systems, a further may be asked: what about those named as best student? Do these systems "allow" them to have a desire to be remembered as a brilliant student to the degree they allow a star athlete to want to be remembered at what he is good at, or do they make him shy away from such an image of himself? And what about the self-image of the girl who is seen as best student, whom we have been to be in such a disadvantage social position in most of these cultures? How ould she like to be renumbered? Figures 9.8A and 9.8B show, for the boys and the girls, how these people who were considered as best students by others wanted to be remembered. The boys' chart includes all students, those named as athlete-student, those named as athlete-only, and those named as most popular with girls. The athletes-only and the students only go very far toward 100% wanting to be athletic star or brilliant student respectively. But the athlete-only goes much nearer his pole than does the student only--presumably because the culture "allows" him to think of himself as an athlete star by giving very positive evaluations to this image, more so than to the image of brilliant student. This is reflected as well by the athlete-student whose self-image is shifted in the athletic direction rather than the academic one. Given that he can think of himself in either way, he more often chooses to think of himself as an athletic star.

The picture is rather different for the girl-best-students. They are shifted only little over 10% in the direction of the brilliant student image, far less than the boys. (There were no "leaders in activities" identified by the questionnaire, so that there is no comparison possible,

Figure 9.8A

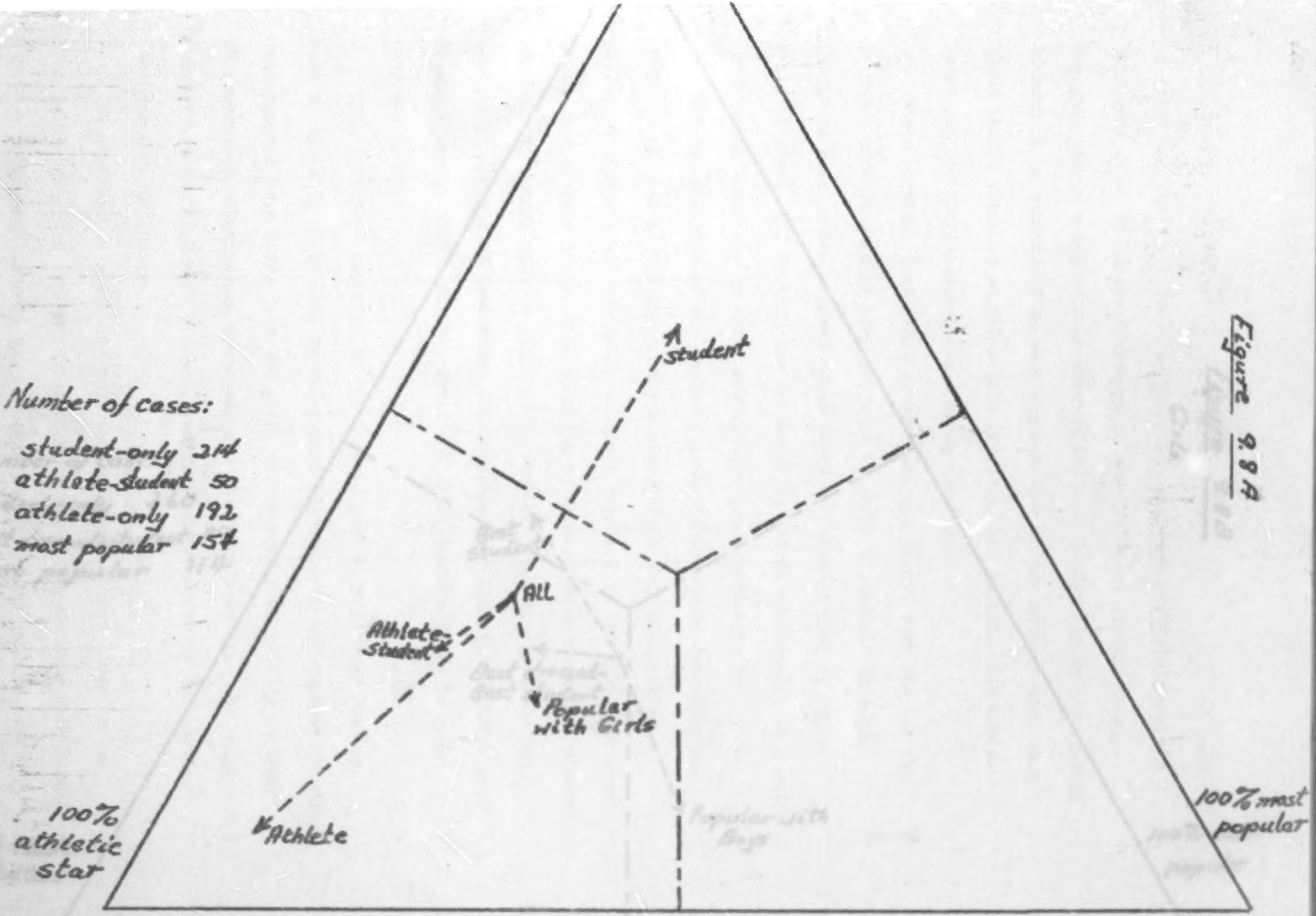

Number of cases:
student-only 214
athlete-student 50
athlete-only 192
most popular 154
student
ALL
Athlete-Student
Popular with Girls
Athlete
100% athletic star
100% most popular

Figure 9.8B

Girls

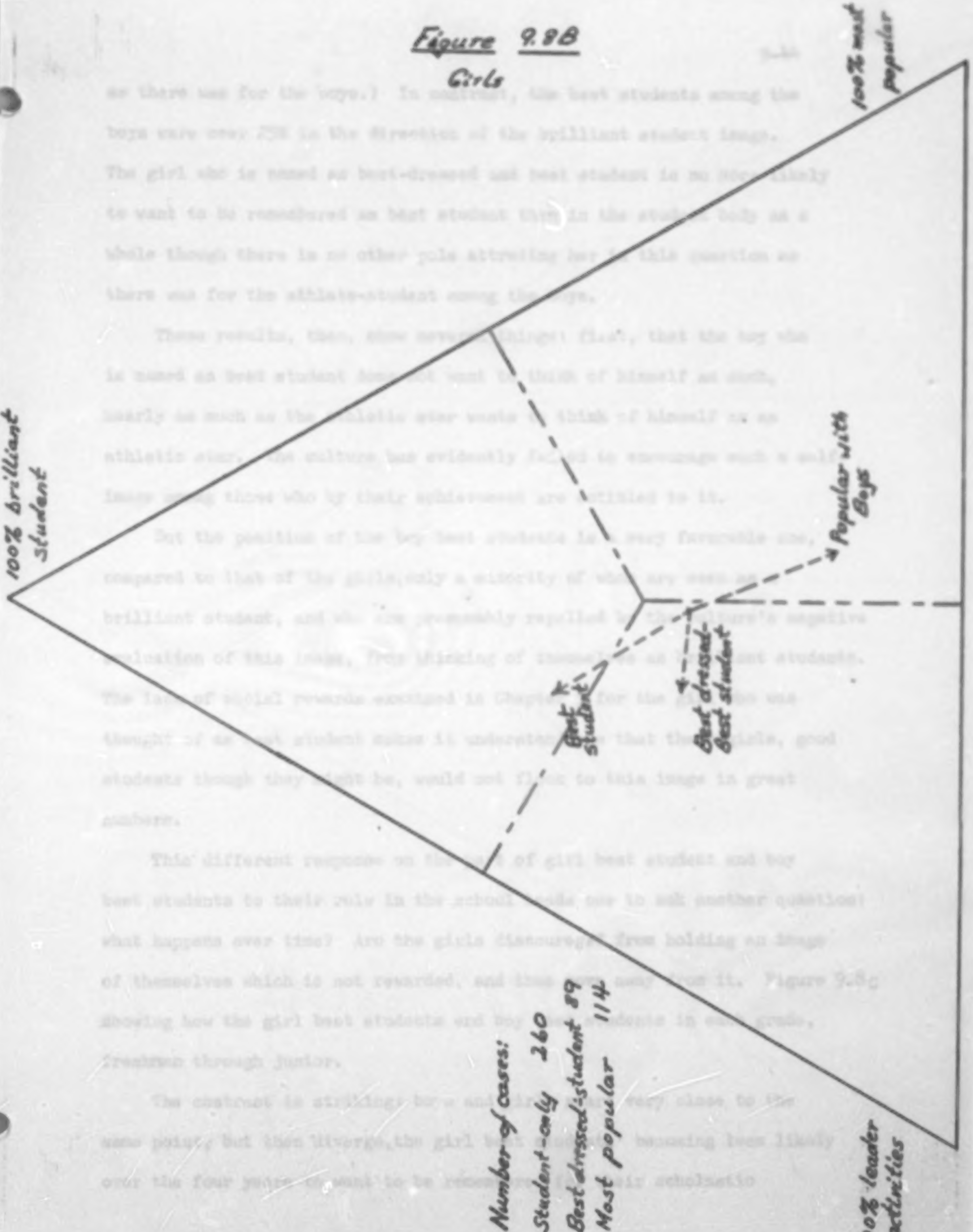

100% most popular
100% brilliant student
100% leader in activities
Popular with Boys
Best student
Best dressed-Best student
Number of cases:
Student only 260
Best dressed-student 89
Most popular 114

Figure 9.8C

as there was for the boys.) In contrast, the best students among the boys were over 29% in the direction of the brilliant student image. The girl who is named as best-dressed and best student is no more likely to want to be remembered as best student than is the student body as a whole though there is no other pole attrating her in this question as there was for the athlete-student among the boys.

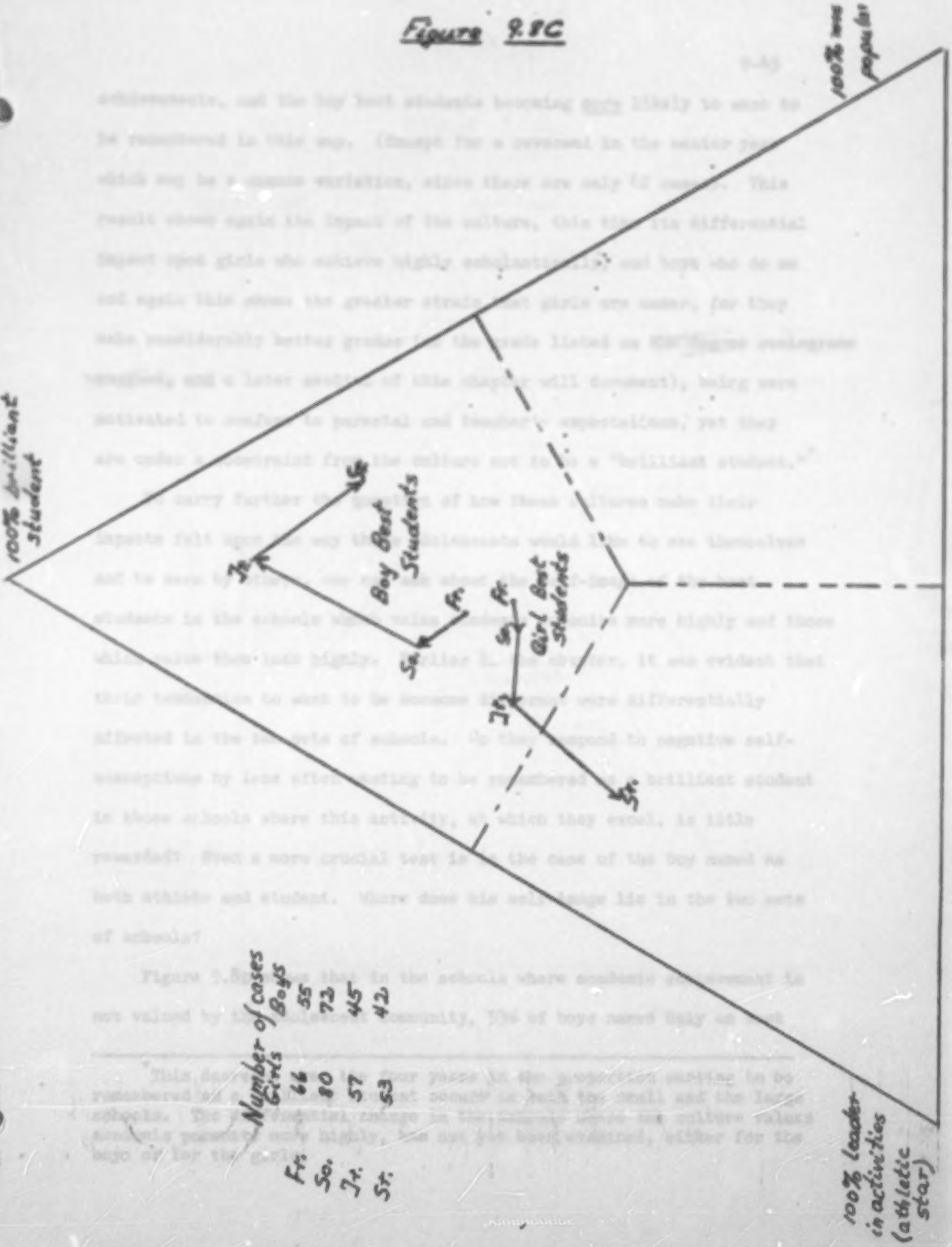
These results, then, show several things: first, that the boy who is named as best student does not want to think of himself as such, nearly as much as the athletic star wants to think of himself as an athletic star. The culture has evidently failed to encourage such a self-image among those who by their achievement are entitled to it.

But the position of the boy best students is a very favorable one, compared to that of the girls,only a minority of whom are seen as a brilliant student, and who are presumably repelled by the culture's negative evaluation of this image, from thinking of themselves as brilliant students. The lack of social rewards examined in Chapter 5 for the girl who was thought of as best student makes it understandable that these girls, good students though they might be, would not flock to this image in great numbers.

This different response on the part of girl best student and boy best students to their role in the school leads one to ask another question: what happens over time? Are the girls discouraged from holding an image of themselves which is not rewarded, and thus move away from it. Figure 9.8C showing how the girl best students and boy best students in each grade, freshman through junior.

The contrast is striking: boys and girls start very close to the same point, but then diverge,the girl best students' becoming less likely over the four years to want to be remembered for their scholastic

Figure 9.8C



Number of cases

	Girls	Boys
Fr.	66	55
So.	80	72
Jr.	57	45
Sr.	53	42

achievements, and the boy best students becoming more likely to want to be remembered in this way. (Except for a reversal in the senior year which may be a chance variation, since there are only 42 cases). This result shows again the impact of the culture, this time its differential impact upon girls who achieve highly scholastically, and boys who do so and again this shows the greater strain that girls are under, for they make considerably better grades (as the grade listed on the degree sociograms suggest, and a later section of this chapter will document), being were motivated to conform to parental and teacher's expectations, yet they are under a constraint from the culture not to be a "brilliant student."[*]

To carry further the question of how these cultures make their impacts felt upon the way these adolescents would like to see themselves and be seen by others, one can ask about the self-image of the best students in the schools which value academic pursuits more highly and those which value them less highly. Earlier in the chapter, it was evident that their tendencies to want to be someone different were differentially affected in the two sets of schools. Do they respond to negative self-conceptions by less often wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student in those schools where this activity, at which they excel, is title rewarded? Even a more crucial test is in the case of the boy named as both athlete and student. Where does his self-image lie in the two sets of schools?

Figure 9.8b shows that in the schools where academic achievement is not valued by the adolescent community, 53% of boys named only as best

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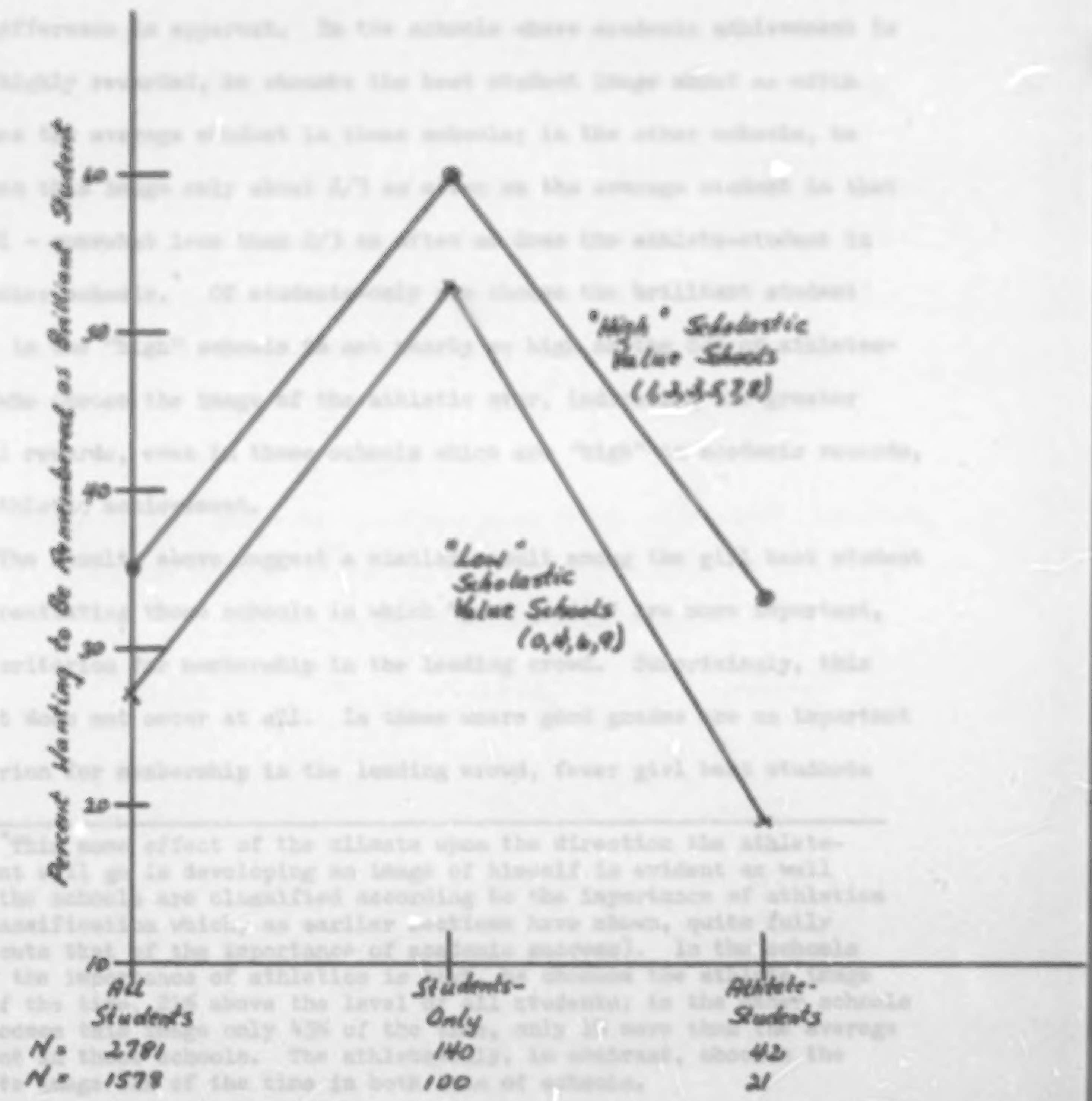
[*] This decrease over the four years in the proportion wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student occurs in both the small and the large schools. The differential change in the schools where the culture values academic pursuits more highly, has not yet been examined, either for the boys or for the girls.

Figure 9.8D



student wanted to be remembered in this way, compared to 60% for the schools where academic achievement is more highly valued. This represents, however, no greater increase over the student body for the latter schools. For the athlete-student, however, in conflict over the pull of two images, the difference is apparent. In the schools where academic achievement is more highly rewarded, he chooses the best student image about as often as does the average student in these schools; in the other schools, he chooses this image only about 2/3 as often as the average student in that school — somewhat less than 2/3 as often as does the athlete-student in the other schools.[1] Of students-only [illegible] choose the brilliant student image in the "high" schools is not nearly as high as [illegible] athletes-only who choose the image of the athletic star, indicating the greater social rewards, even in those schools which are "high" on academic rewards, for athletic achievement.

The results above suggest a similar result among the girl best student differentiating those schools in which [illegible] are more important, as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd. Surprisingly, this result does not occur at all. In those where good grades are an important criterion for membership in the leading crowd, fewer girl best students student wanted to be remembered in this way, compared to 60% for the schools where academic achievement is more highly valued. This represents however, no greater increase over the student body for the latter schools. For the athlete-student, however, in conflict over the pull of two images, the difference is apparent. In the schools where academic achievement is more highly rewarded, he chooses the best student image about as often as does the average student in those schools; in the other schools, he chooses this image only about 2/3 as often as the average student in that school - somewhat less than 2/3 as often as does the athlete-student in the other schools.[*] Of students-only who choose the brilliant student image in the "high" schools is not nearly so high as the 82% of athletes-only who choose the image of the athletic star, indicating the greater social rewards, even in these schools which are "high" in academic rewards, for athletic achievement.

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[1] This same effect of the climate upon the direction the athlete-student will go in developing an image of himself is evident as well when the schools are classified according to the importance of athletics (a classification which, as earlier sections have shown, quite fully crosscuts that of the importance of academic success). In the schools where the importance of athletics is [illegible], he chooses the athlete image 66% of the time, 21% above the level of all students; in the other schools he chooses this image only 43% of the time, only 1% more than the average student in these schools. The athletes-only, in contrast, choose the athlete image [illegible] of the time in both types of schools.

The results above suggest a similar result among the girl best student differentiating those schools in which "good grades" are more important, as a criterion for membership in the leading crowd. Surprisingly, this result does not occur at all. In those where good grades are an important criterion for membership in the leading crowd, fewer girl best students say they would like to be remembered as a best student than in the other schools. When the schools are examined separately (see Table 9.15 below), there appear some large differences between schools, which recall an earlier part of the analysis, in Chapter 3. There it was shown that those schools in which girls felt that boys devalued good grades for a girl most were the white collar schools. In school 9, there was the greatest difference between the importance of good grades for being popular with other girls, and their value in being popular with boys. And in the table below, school 9 is the school in which the best students want least to be remembered as a brilliant student--not so low is the student body as a whole which is lower than in any other school, as Figure 4.18 in Chapter 4 indicated.

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[*] This same effect of the climate upon the direction the athlete-student will go in developing an image of himself is evident as well when the ochools are classified according to the importance of athletics (a classification which, as earlier sections have shown, quite fully crosscuts that of the importance of academic success). In the schools where the importance of athletics is high, he chooses the athlete image 66% of the time, 21% above the level of all students; in the other schools he chooses this image only 43% of the time, only 1% more than the average student in these schools. The athlete-only, in contrast, chooses the athlete image 82% of the time in both sets of schools.

Table 9.15

Girl best students' choice of "brilliant student" in each school (including girls named as best dressed). (Schools listed in order of proportion white collar backgrounds)

School	% saying brilliant student	Number
9	19	(57)
8	33	(77)
3	44	(16)
1	53	(15)
4	28	(25)
2	45	(24)
0	40	(10)
7	49	(79)
6	46	(52)

It seems upon examining the table, that the desire of girls who are best students to be remembered as such depends on two things: upon the importance of good grades among the girls, but even more, upon the degree to which good grades for a girl valued by the boys--which, as we saw in Chapter 3, is highly related to the social class composition of the school. In school 1, where the girls do iminate the system more, and where good grades are highly valued among the girls, the proportion wanting to be remembered as a brilliant student is high; and even in 3, where the girls' culture is also dominant, as chapter 7, suggested, the proportion is fairly high, though good grades are not as highly valued there as in school 1. But in the middle class school 8 and the upper middle class school 9, there is an apparent response, not to the values held among the girls themselves, but to the conceptions that the boys have of what a girl should be. These conceptions, among white collar boys, do not include a brilliant student. There is apparently, as suggested in chapter 3, a greater differentiation of roles among working class boys and girls, so that a working class boy is less ashamed to date a brilliant student. The evidence for this greater role-differentiation has so far been suggestive; in the next section it will be strengthened by examining the grades of boys and girls, in each school, which shows the greater difference between girls' grades and boys' grades in the more working-class schools.

Altogether, this examination of budding intellectualism in the high schools--and, as a cynic might put it, the way it can be ripped in the bud by the values of the adolescent culture--suggests the powerful impact which the adolescent culture can have on the large society. People who can and do achieve scholastically are a nations's intellectual resource; if the social system within which their education takes place undercuts any desire to think of themselves and be thought of as intellectuals, then these resources stand a good chance of being wasted or ill-used. Some of the ways in which these resources are affected by the forces of the adolescent culture will be examined in the next section.

Effects upon Academic Achievement:

This research did not measure the absolute levels of achievement of students in these schools, nor did it administer a standard intelligence test. To do so would have meant an even greater sacrifice of time on the part of the schools and the students within them. Such tests would have been useful for the research, and they would have made the analysis to be reported, below both easier to carry out and were conclusive once completed.

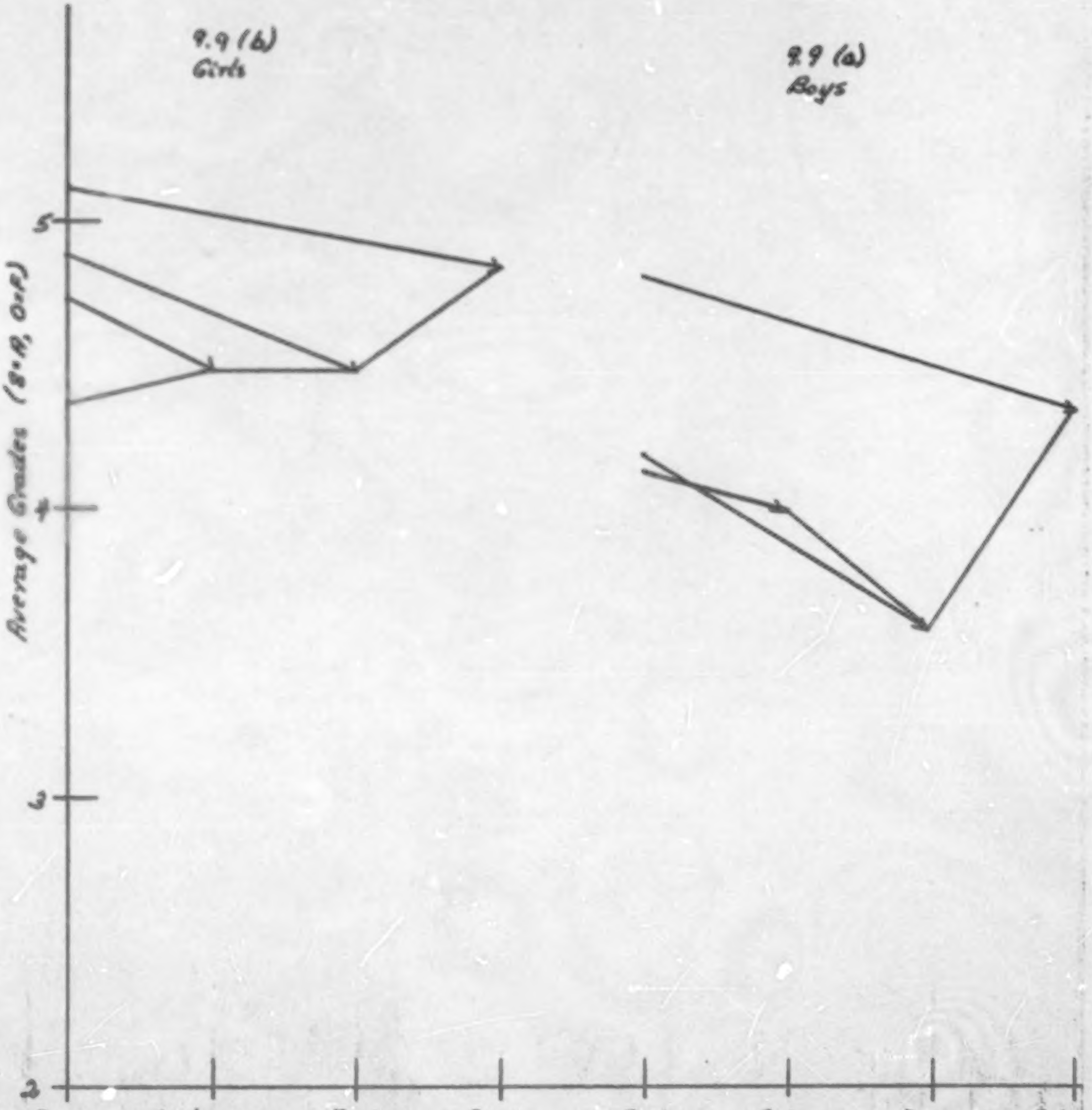
As it was the grades of each student at two times in his high school career (once for freshman) were recorded for all students. His first semester freshman grades and his first semester grades of the current year (1957-58, the year in which the two questionnaire were administered). Beyond this, every student's IQ score was recorded, using the IQ's which had already been given by the school (ordinarily in the 9th grade, or in some cases, at the end of the 8th). Other data were recorded as well: scores on all standard achievement tests which the school had administered personality ratings by teachers, vocational interest scores, and other miscellaneous information. Because the achievement tests were different from school to school, the only data used in this analysis are grades in school and IQ scores.

Some general results of this analysis, which have little to do with the value systems of the adolescent cultures, are of interest, and will be reported first. One result is the change in grades of a class over a period of four years in school. When one looks at the freshmen grades, there is a decrease, in almost all cases. This decrease suggests that the class is doing more poorly, relative to the grading system, as it goes through four years of school.

But if one makes a different comparison, then he reaches quite the opposite conclusion. The grades of present freshmen are lower than the grades if present sophomores, sophomores lower than juniors, and so on. This general result is shown in Figure 9.9A using data from the girls in school 9. Broken lines connect the grades of the four present classes, and a solid line with an arrow connects each class' freshman grade with its present grade. For these girls and for most other school-sex groups, the results are as indicated above: each class' grades get worse, but they are consistently better than those of the grade below. There is one variation upon this, however, which is evident in several schools, especially among the boys. This can be seen by examining Figure 9.9A for the boys in school 9: grades of present sophomored are lower than those of present juniors, and even in some cases, grades of juniors lower than sophomores. But in nearly every case, there is then a sharp rise among the seniors.

The apparent paradox is resolved by recognizing that the present freshmen are not the same people when will be seniors four years hence. Only those who survive without dropping from school will have their grades recorded when they are seniors- thus among the present seniors, it is only these "survivors" whose grades are considered. This, insofar as there is dropout, the freshman grades of the remaining people will increase from year to year, because the poorest records are constantly

Figure 9.9


9.9 (b)
Girls
9.9 (a)
Boys
Average Grades (8=A, 0=F)
5
4
3
2
Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior
Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior

being taken out. Though some dropout occurs in every grade, the greatest decimation occurs during the junior year, which is the year that most boys and girls reach 16, and the end of compulsory education. Thus this phenomenon may not be evidenced until the senior year, causing in some cases the variation mentioned above upon this general pattern--that is, the fact that present sophomores and sometimes juniors may have lower grades than present freshmen.

But this does not account for the present grades are lower than freshman grades for almost all classes. These are the same people, and the evidence is that, though they are the survivors their grades get worse and worse. Again this seems due to the drop-outs but in a different fashion. Suppose all those with C or poor grades dropped out of school, the teachers might ten give all A's and B's to the remaining students through their school career. If they did, then the grades of this group would remain constant.

But it is hardly likely that this would be the course of events. Teachers grade on a curve, whether explicitly or not, and if the lower half of the curve is taken away, then the curve must be adjusted to create a new lower half. Or to put it differently, the boys and girls who were near the top of their class when freshmen are now closer to the center, because part of the bottom has been taken away.

Whether this change is also accompanied by a reduction of effort, or whether the sole difference is the fact that "the teachers are grading harder" once the poorest students are gone, these data cannot tell. Whichever is the case, the end result is that the grades of the average boy or girl who stays in school until he graduates go down from year to year. This was evidenced for at least two out of the three upper grades in every school but two: school 3, where the present grades of boys and girls alike were higher, for juniors and seniors, than their freshman grades; and in school 2, where the present grades of sophomore and senior boys were higher than their freshman grades. These deviations form the general pattern do not seem related to the variables of this study, and there is no way of knowing whether they are chance deviations from the general result, or more than this.[*]

A second general result was that the averages of all girls' grades were higher than those of the boys. Table 9.16 below shows the average grades for each school-sex group.

Table 9.16[**]

Average grades of boys and girls in the ten schools of the study (A=8, B=6, C=4, D=2, F=0)

	Grades		
School	Boys	Girls	Difference
0	4.10	4.71	.61
1	3.65	4.58	.93
2	4.20	4.76	.56
3	4.27	4.84	.57
4	3.96	4.38	.42
5	3.66		
6	3.45	4.36	.91
7	3.66	4.57	.91
8	3.62	4.07	.45
9	4.01	4.53	.52

---

[*] One possibility suggests itself for school 3. Two years before the study, the year that the present juniors were freshman, a different principal was in charge of the school. He was a far more strict disciplinarian, and had more rigid standards than the present principal. On the basis of a few interviews, we gained the impression that he was better liked by the academically-oriented students, less well-liked by the students like the boy whose interview was quoted in chapter 2, than the present principal. It may be that with his leaving, the grading system eased up with the result that the present juniors and seniors would have better grades in their present year than as freshman.

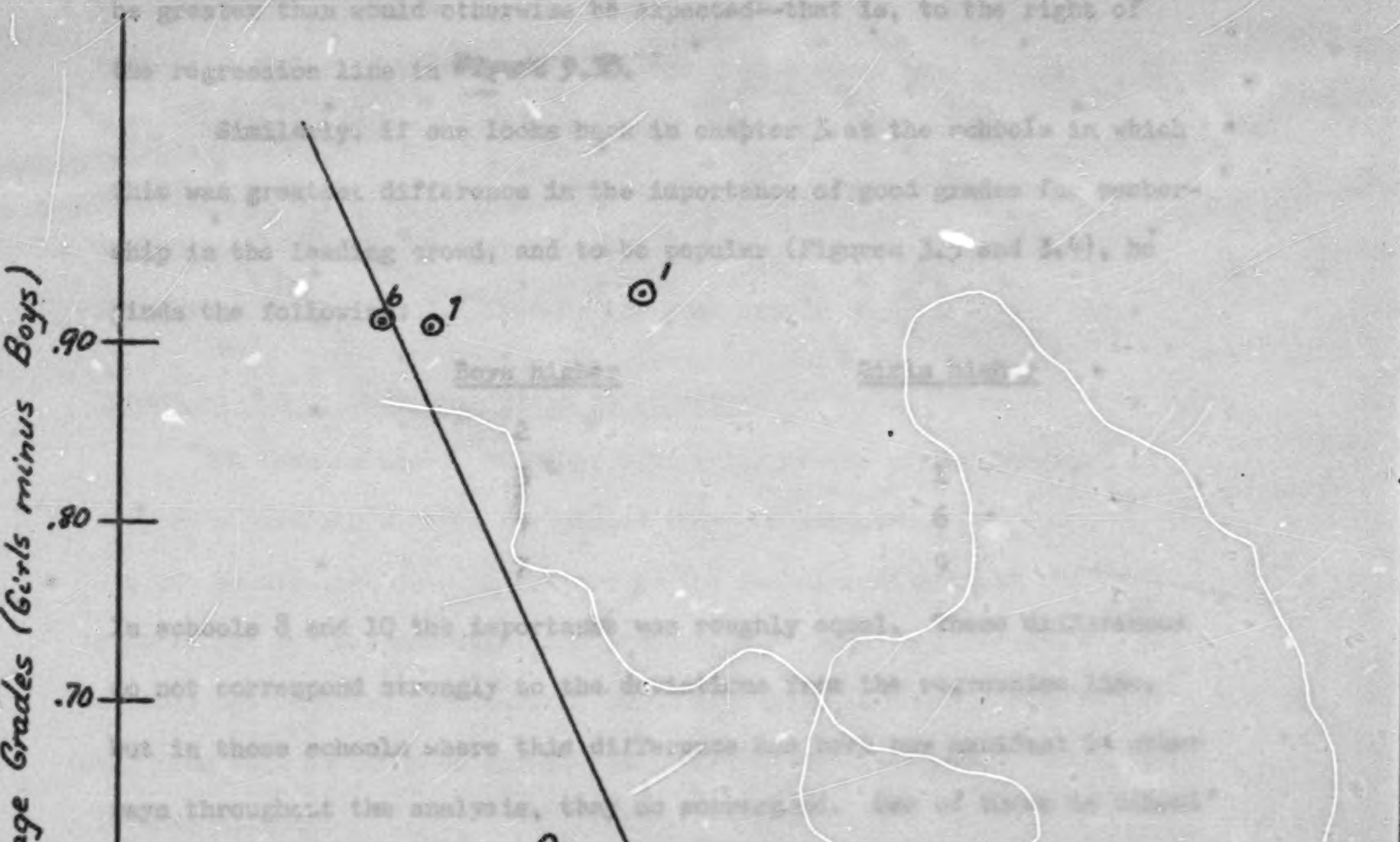
[**] Average grades for each were found, then these were averaged weighting each class equally.

Though there is variation from school to school in average grades, one generalization holds throughout: the girls' grades are better than the boys. This is most pronounced in schools 1, 6, and 7, but evident in all.

This difference, as suggested earlier in the chapter, seems related to the social class composition of the school, thgough the correspondence is by no means complete. Figure 9.10 shows the differences between boys' and girls grades plotted against proportion of boys with white collar backgrounds. There seems to be a general relation, but confounded by other factors. The two most working-class schools show the greatest difference (with the exception of school 1, which is slightly higher), and two of the three schools with the lowest difference are the two most middle class schools, 8 and 9. This relationship is all the more interesting because it is in the working-class schools (especially 6) where the boys are most above the girls in proportion intending to go to college. Thus it appears that the suggestions made earlier of greater role-differentiation in working-class cultures are manifested as well in the different grades of the girls and boys in these cultures. The girls are more often "good" girls, and the boys more often "bad" boys, the girls conforming and the boys failing to conform, to the desires of school and parents.

Though the evidence is not extremely strong, it appears that the schools which deviate most from the line are those in which the differential character of the adolescent value system among the boys and girls has had its impact. For example, school 9 was the school where there was most difference in the importance of good grades for getting into the leading crowd. It was quite unimportant among the boys, far more important among

Figure 9.10


Difference in Average Grades (Girls minus Boys)
.90
.80
.70
.60
.50
.40
.30
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
Proportion of Boys with White Collar Backgrounds
6
7
1
0
2
3
8
4

the girls. Thus one might expect the boy-girl difference in grades to be greater than would otherwise be expected--that is, to the right of the regression line in Figure 9.10.

Similarly, if one looks back in chapter 3 at the schools in which this was greatest difference in the importance of good grades for membership in the leading crowd, and to be popular (Figures 3.3 and 3.4), he finds the following:

Boys higher	Girls higher
2	
3	1
4	6
7	9

In schools 8 and 10 the importance was roughly equal. These differences do not correspond strongly to the deviations from the regression line, but in those schools where this difference has been now manifest in other ways throughout the analysis, they do correspond. One of these is school 1, where the school culture is girl-oriented and girl-dominated, and where the girls have the most academically oriented culture of all those in the study (a fact which is most strikingly manifest when one examines the grades of the leading crowds, in Figure 7.2.1). Others are 2 and 4, where the girls' culture were subject to "status upsets" as examined in chapter 7 far more than were the boys, and in which the value system among the girls emphasized a good time and dating older boys. Finally, the opposite tendency, like that in school 1, was minifest in school 9, as mentioned above . These data are not conclusive by any means, but they do suggest the impact of two cultural variables upon boys and girls' grades; first the general social class difference, in which the role differences between boys and girls are reduced in the upper middle class, relative to those in the working class; and second, the relative rewards the adolescent culture provides for good grades among boys and girls, a matter which is dependent on many other things besides the social class composition of the school (as evidenced by the fact that in both the lowest and highest, suburban school 0 and suburban school 9, the girls' culture gives more social rewards for good grades than does the boys.

Impact of the culture upon girls as students:

The results above, together with those of the preceding section, suggest a peculiar dilemma for girls: they are supposed to be "good" and one constrained more to conform to the formal authority of the school; yet at the same time, the reputation of being a brilliant student has negative connotations which make even the best students back away from such an image of themselves. What is the response of the girls to this dilemma?

These are several responses, one of which is manifested in their better grades. But these good grades would apparently fix the girl upon the other horn of the dilemma. Her way out is an ingenious one which has been long recognized: she gets good grades, but is never extremely outstanding. She is neither better than the best boy student nor poorer than the worst. Her grades are "compressed" by the double constraints of conforming to these two norms. As a result, the grades of a girl are more nearly alike from course to course than are those of a boy. Thus the within-girl variance in grades is less than for boys. If a girl has a B average, she has more B's, fewer A's and C's than does a boy with a B --

average.[*]

Table 9.17 below shows the average standard deviation among the various grades received by each girl, and the average standard deviation for each boy's grades. In every school but 4 the girls grades cluster together more closely than do those of a boy. This suggests strongly that the girls are motivated to "do well" in everything, whether it is something they excel at or not, while boys are less constrained by parents demands and the demands of the adolescent culture, to be"good" in those things they care less about.

Table 9.17 [**]

The within-person variances of present grades for boys and girls in ten schools.

School	Variance Boys	Variance Girls	Difference
0	1.46	1.43	.03
1	2.26	1.48	.78
2	2.19	1.94	.25
3	2.02	1.65	.37
4	2.95	1.48	-.03
5	2.65		
6	2.33	1.92	.41
7	2.55	1.94	.61
8	2.18	1.65	.55
9	2.28	2.13	.15

---

[*] In every school, more girls have A averages and more have A- averages than do the boys in the same school. But this reflects the far higher grade average of girls; and it does not necessarily mean that the girl is outstanding in class only that she does her homework and does well on tests.

[**] Variances were computed by calculating the variance of each, student's grades, then averaging for each of the four classes in school. These averages were then averaged with each class equally weighted. For those not familiar with the use of variances, this is the square of the standard deviation. One standard deviation from the mean in both directions will include about 70% of the case. Thus to use the example of boys in school 8, the variance is 2.18 and the standard deviation is 1.47. Thus for a boy whose grade average was 4.0, about 70% of his grades are within the range 4.00 ± 1.47, that is from 2.53 to 5.47.

These differences do not show, however, the result of the other constraint - the constraint not to do too well. For these results could be produced simply by the results of the norm to do well - and as their average grades show, they presumably do work harder. The effects of the other constraint against doing too well will be examined in looking at IQ's later.

The results shown in table 9.17 do not seem to have a relation to the value system of these schools; nor, as did the earlier results on differences in average grades between boys and girls, to the social class composition of the school. The one case in which boys' variances are lower than girls' in school 4, is a consequence of abnormally low variances among boys, rather than high ones among girls. The highest course-to-course variance for girls, and one of the highest for boys, is found in school 9; the lowest course-to-course variance for both boys and girls is found in schools 0 and 4. In general, the variances are larger in the larger schools than in the smaller ones. The average variance for girls in small schools is 1.60, compared to an average of 1.93 in the large schools: for boys, the small-school average is 1.88 compared to 2.33 for schools 6-9, and 2.40 if school 5 is included.

This suggests one possible interpretation that low variances from course to course are in part a function of the greater consensus about a student which develops among teachers in the small schools. In the large schools, teachers will less often know a boy's or girl's reputation regarding schoolwork, and will thus give a grade which is more independent of those the other teachers give.

One consequence of this, if it is true, should be that a boy's or girl's variance among his grades in different subjects should decrease from freshman to senior, as he was in school longer, and teachers know him better. But this is not true, as Table 9.18 shows below. The variance among each person's grades as a freshman was calculated, and this compared with the present variance from course to course, for the sophomores, juniors, and seniors. The average change is shown, for boys and girls separately in each school.*

Table 9.18

Change in variance of grades from course to course from freshman to present, averages over sophomore, junior and senior classes.

School	Increase in variance Boys	Girls
0	.71	.37
1	.75**	-.55
2	.00	.66
3	.22	.19
4	-.43	.15
5	.16	
6	.43	.47
7	.34	.17
8	.44	.14
9	.46	.48

In only two cases, the girls of school 1 and the boys of school 4, is there an average decrease in variation. In all other school-sex groups, a boy's or girl's grades have become more and more heterogeneous through his high school career.

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* This is an average which includes a one-year difference (sophomores), a two-year difference (juniors) and a three-year difference (seniors). Thus it constitutes the change in variance over an average of a year and a half. The major increases in many schools, however, were among the seniors, that is, a difference larger than 3 times that of the sophomores and 3/2 that of the juniors.

** This large variance is produced by an abnormally large increase among the juniors; if the increase for sophomores and seniors are averaged, the increase is .24. This was the only case in which one class' change was especially large.

This change seems related, as does the decline in average grades over the four years, to the dropouts. The freshman variances of the present seniors are in almost all cases considerably lower that the variances of the present freshmen - suggesting that those who dropped out not only had lower grades, but also higher than average variation in their grades from one subject to another.

Because of this effect apparently due to the dropouts, these increases in variance cannot be interpreted as a result merely of less effort, resulting in more variations from one subject to another. This also prevents the use of these data for influences about increasing consensus--or, rather, a lack of it as the data would apparently indicate--among the teachers about a boy or girl in relation to schoolwork.

Again, as with the variances themselves, these changes in variance seem unrelated to any of the factors about the schools which have been examined in this research.

A second kind of variance also exists between grades: the variance between the grades of one boy and those of another--that is, the between-individual variance, as contrasted with the within-individual variance examined above. These are differences which one might expect to be due in part to the heterogeneity or homogeneity in abilities of the school population--or perhaps more accurately, the heterogeneity, or homogeneity in effort expended. These average between-individual variances are given in table 9.19 below, for boys and girls in each school. These variances are to be interpreted as follows: a variance of .70 means a standard deviation of .84, so that among the boys in school 7, who have a mean grade of 3.66, abcut 70% of boys will be within the range of 3.66 ± .84, that is, 2.82 to 4.50.

Table 9.19*

Average between-individual variance in grades, for boys and girls in each school

School	Variances Boys	Girls
0	.51	.52
1	.67	.96
2	.71	.77
3	.57	.73
4	.53	.62
5	.75	
6	.80	.82
7	.70	.71
8	.59	.60
9	.71	.63

In all schools but 9, the girls are more variable, from one to another, than are the boys--though the differences are not great in most cases. It is to be expected that the between-girl variance will be greater than that between boys, for the within-girl variance is so much lower than the within-boy variance. It is surprising, in fact, that the variance between girls does not exceed that of boys by a greater amount. Its fasten to do so, and in fact its reversal in the case of school 9, where the girl's variance is smaller than the boys, suggests the constraint to which girls are subject: to hover close to some ideal grade, which may differ from school to school, but in all is closer to

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* Averages were computed by computing the variance within each grade, and then averaging these variances, weighting each grade equally. Due to technical problems, only the upper three grades are included in the above figures.

A than to F, though very likely closer to B than to A.

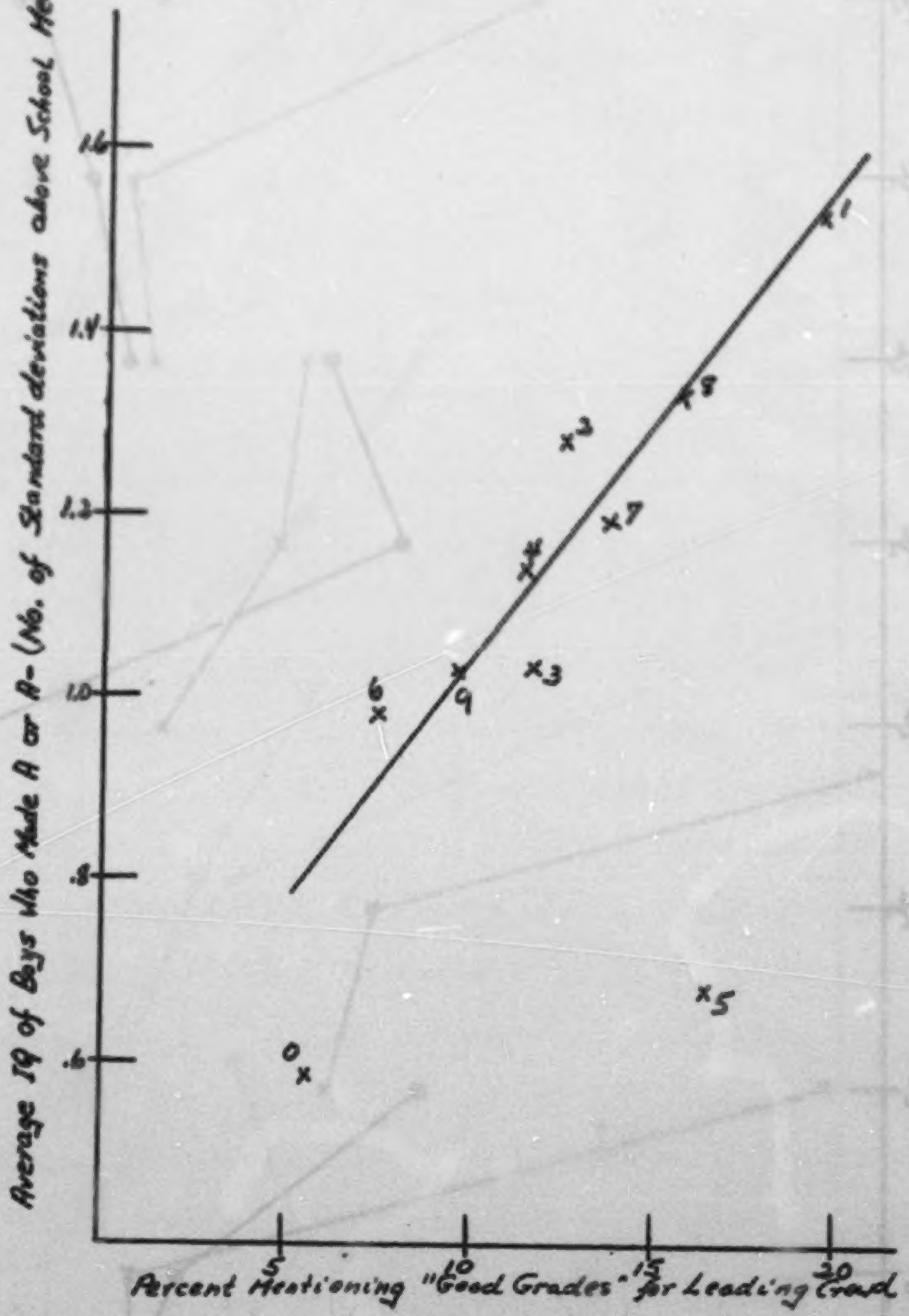
As with the earlier variances within individuals, these between-person variances show little relation to my attributes of the schools of which this research is cognizant. Similarly with other results which will be reported here for their general interest, though they show no relation to any known attributes of these schools.

One of these in the correlation between grades in the freshman year and present grades. For each school, three such correlations were computed for boys, and three for girls, one for each of the three upper grades. The correlations show the relation between the average grade of an individual as a freshman, and his average grades in his present grade. The correlations are graphed in Figure 9.11(a) for the small schools and 9.11(b) for the large ones. In general, the correlations decrease over time, as one would expect, since the two-time points (freshman and present) are further and further removed as one goes from sophomore to senior. However, there is one generalization which seems to hold in most of the schools: the correlation decreases less for girls than it does for boys.

In a few classes, the correlation is higher for the seniors than for one of the lower classes. However, such variations occur only in the smaller schools (with the exception of school 9 seniors), and is probably due to a peculiarity of that particular class.

It seems then, that the only generalization which can be drawn from these results is the greater consistency between freshman grades and later grades for girls than for boys. This greater consistency over time parallels the greater consistency of a girl's grades from one subject to the next at the same time, as shown earlier. It seems likely that both of these are manifestations of the same tendency mentioned earlier:

Figure 9.11


Average IQ of Boys Who Made A or A- (No. of Standard deviations above School Mean)
1.6
1.4
1.2
1.0
.8
.6
5
10
15
20
Percent Mentioning "Good Grades" for Leading Crowd
1
8
2
7
4
3
9
6
5
0

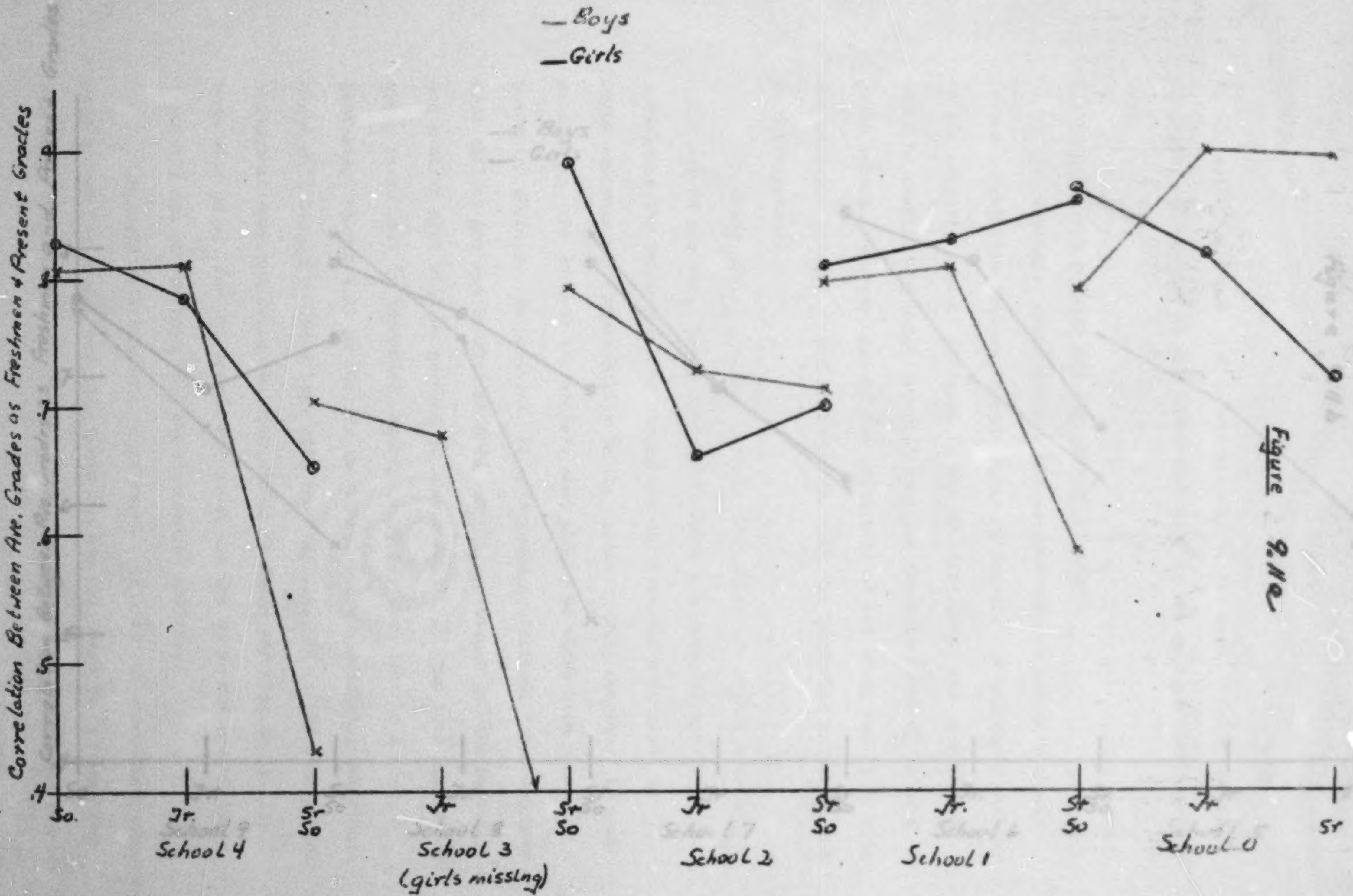
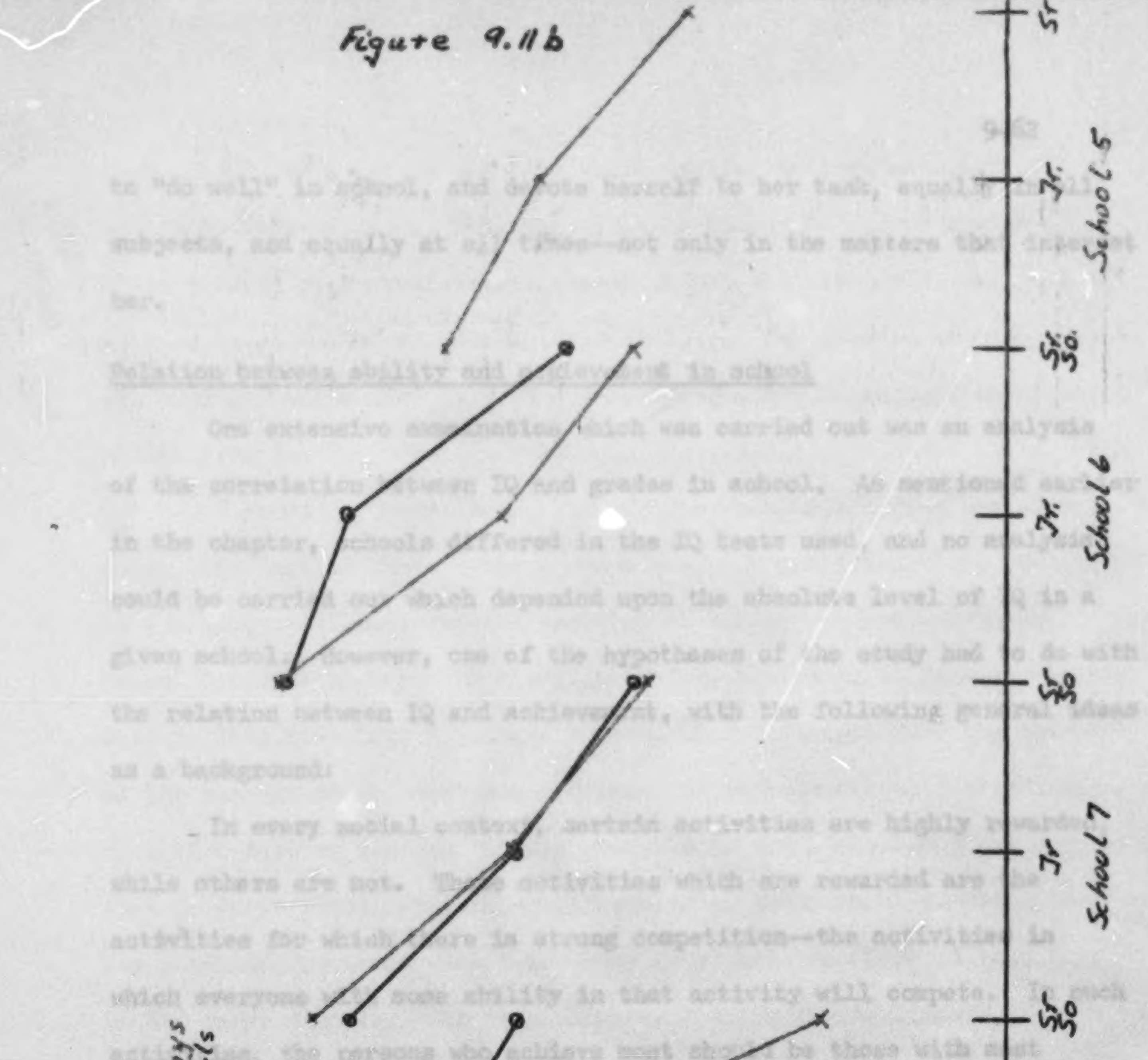

— Boys
— Girls
Correlation Between Av. Grades as Freshmen + Present Grades
.9
.8
.7
.6
.5
.4
So.
Jr.
Sr
So
Jr
Sr
So
Jr
Sr
So
Jr.
Sr
So
Jr
Sr
School 4
School 3
(girls missing)
School 2
School 1
School 0

Figure 9.11a

Figure 9.11b


School 5
Sr.
Jr.
School 6
Sr.
So.
Jr.
School 7
Sr.
So.
Jr.
School 8
Sr.
So.
Jr.
School 9
Sr.
So.
Jr.
So
Boys
Girls
4
5
6
7
8
Correlation Between Pre-Grades as Freshmen and Present Grades

to "do well" in school, and devote herself to her task, equally in all subjects, and equally at all times--not only in the matters that interest her.

Relation between ability and achievement in school

One extensive examination which was carried out was an analysis of the correlation between IQ and grades in school. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, schools differed in the IQ tests used, and no analysis could be carried out which depended upon the absolute level of IQ in a given school. However, one of the hypotheses of the study had to do with the relation between IQ and achievement, with the following general ideas as a background:

In every social context, certain activities are highly rewarded, while others are not. Those activities which are rewarded are the activities for which there is strong competition--the activities in which everyone with some ability in that activity will compete. In such activities, the persons who achieve most should be those with most potential ability. In contrast, in unrewarded activities, those who have most ability may not be motivated to compete; consequently, the persons who achieve most will be persons of lesser ability. Thus in a high school where basketball is important, nearly every boy who might be a good basketball player will go out for the sport, and the resulting basketball stars will likely be those boys with most ability. If in the same school volleyball does not bring the same status to those who star in it, few boys will go out for the sport, and those who end up as members of the team will not be the boys with most potential ability.

Similarly with academic achievement. In a school where such achievement brings few social rewards, those who are motivated to "go out" for scholarly achievement will be few. The high performers, those who receive good grades, will not be the boys whose ability is greatest, but will be a more mediocre few. Thus the "intellectuals" of such a society, those defined by themselves and others as the best students, will not in fact be those with most intellectual ability. The latter, knowing where the social rewards lie, will be off in those other directions which bring social rewards.

Based on these ideas, the original research design included the hypothesis that in those systems where academic achievement was rewarded by the adolescent culture, the correlation between IQ and grades in school would be higher. In carrying out the analysis, it became evident that in this correlation (within a given class) changed over the course of the yearsin school most often decreasing, but sometimes increasing. With such data on changes, it was possible to add a supplementary hypothesis that in those social systems where scholastic achievement was rewarded, the correlations would either increase over time, or decrease less than in the other schools. The data which will allow examination of these hypotheses are presented in Table 9.20. For boys and girls separately,

Table 9.20

Correlation within a class between freshman grades and I.Q., averaged over the four classes in schools; and the average yearly change in the correlation between grades and I.Q.

	Boys		Girls	
School	Correlation	Change	Correlation	Change
0	.607	-.131	.603	+.029
1	.504	+.024	.591	+.097
2	.645	+.054	.516	+.007
3	.579	-.017	.620	-.012
4	.583	-.029	.559	+.043
5			.404	-.046
6	.603	-.020	.615	-.053
7	.446	+.080	.493	+.007
8	.571	-.014	.611	-.026
9	.682	-.112	.540	-.030

the correlation between I.Q. (ordinarily given in the 8th or 9th grade, in all these schools, except that in school 2, I.Q.'s were not available for the present freshmen) and average freshman grades is given. The correlation is averaged over the four classes, but in each case using freshman grades of that class.* Along with the correlation is the average yearly increase or decrease in the correlation. This is based on changes in the correlation for a given class, that is, the correlation between I.Q. and present grades receives the correlation between I.Q. and freshman grades. There were three such differences, one for each of the three upper grades, and an average yearly change was computed from these.

Now it may be that these data show some relationship to the importance of scholastic achievement, but if so, the relationship is an obscure one or a complex one. Reference to earlier sections of this chapter, and to chapter 3 will show that the schools where scholastic activity is more highly rewarded by the culture are not distinguishable from those where it is not. (For boys, 1 and 8 are unambiguously high, 2, 3, 5, 7 ambiguously so, and 0, 4, 6, 9 unambiguously low. For girls 1 and 8 are highest, 6 and 9 next, and then 0, 2, 3, 4, 7.)

Similarly, the comparison of boys and girls in the same school, where there are differences in the rewards (e.g., 6, 7, 9) shows no consistent pattern.

These do not even appear general differences between boys and girls. For example, in five schools, the correlation for girls is higher as freshmen; in four, the boys' correlation is higher. In five schools, girls decrease less than boys, or increase more; in four, boys decrease less or increase more. In short, it appears that the original hypothesis is not all validated.

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*This correlation was generally lower for seniors than for freshmen, very likely due to the fact that dropouts were eliminated from the computation for later grades, making the population more homogeneous in both grades and I.Q., and thus tending to lower the correlation.

Upon reflection, however, one might question the original hypothesis in the following way: the reasoning on which the hypothesis was based related only to those at the top, those with highest ability. Thus at the intermediate and low levels of ability one would have no reason to expect a higher correlation in those climates which rewarded scholastic activity than in those which did not. The question is, are the high achievers the ones with the most ability?

To examine this, the I.Q.'s of all boys whose average grades were 7 or 8 (A or A-) were examined relative to the I.Q. of the student body as a whole.*

Since the IQ tests differ from school to school, and since each school has its own mean IQ and its own variation around that mean, ability of these high performers is measured in terms of the number of standard deviations their average IQ's are above the mean. In this way, it is possible to see where the high performers' ability lies relative to the distribution of abilities in their school.**

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*In each school but 3 and 8, this constituted from 6 to 8% of the student body. In order to provide a correct test of the hypothesis, it is necessary to have the same fraction of the student body in each case (since IQs of this group are being measured in terms of number of standard deviations above the student body). To adjust these groups, enough 6's were added (each being assigned the average IQ of the total group of 6's) to bring the proportion up to 6% (from 3% in school 3, 4% in school 8).

**The IQ tests used in the different schools were: (0) California Mental Maturity (taken 7th, 8th or 9th grade), (1) California Mental Maturity (taken 8th grade), (2) SRA Primary Mental Abilities (taken 10th grade), (3) California Mental Maturity (taken 9th grade; seniors took SRA PMA, which was tabulated as % etc, and they have been omitted from analysis reported above), (4) Otis (grades 9, 10; taken 8th grade; Kuhlman Finch (grades 11, 12; taken 8th grade), (5) Otis (taken 9th grade), (6) California Mental Maturity (taken 8th grade), (7) California Mental Maturity (taken 8th grade), (8) Otis (taken 9th or 10th grade), (9) Otis (taken 8th grade).

The variations are quite great in this: in one school (#1) the boys who made an A or A- average have IQ's 1.53 standard deviations above the school average; in another (#0) their IQ's are only about a third this distance above the mean, .59. Given this variation, then the question can be asked: do these variations in ability of the high performers correspond to variations in the social rewards for, or constraint against, being a good student?

Figure 9.11 shows for the boys, the relation between the social rewards for academic excellence (that is, the frequency with which "good grades" was mentioned as a criterion for being in the leading crowd), and the ability of the high performers, measured in terms of the number of standard deviations their average IQ exceeds that of the rest of the boys in the school.

For the boys, the relation is extremely strong. Only one school deviates. In this school many boys have their most important associations outside the school rather than in, so that its student body constitutes far less of a social system, able to dispense social rewards and punishments, than do the other schools.

Similarly for the girls, Figure 9.12 shows the relation between high performance and IQ as a fraction of the proportion of girls saying that it takes "good grades" to get into the leading crowd.*

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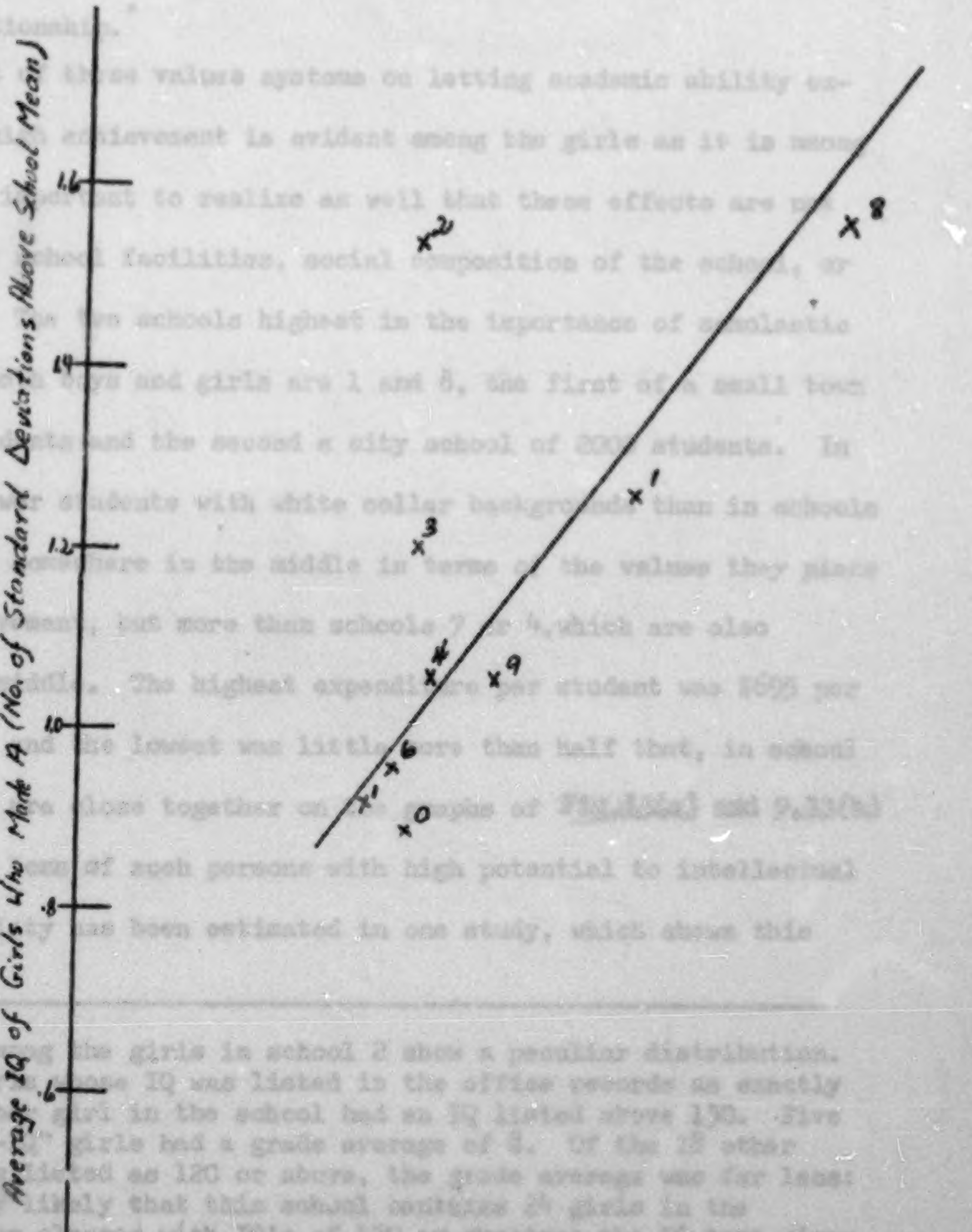
*For the girls, only girls with a grade of 8 (that is, a straight A average) were included. Since girls get better grades than boys, this device is necessary in order to make the sizes of the "high performer" group roughly comparable for boys and for girls. Schools differed somewhat in the proportion of A's, constituting about 6% of the students in the small schools, only about 3% in 6 and 7, 1% in 8, and 2% in 9. In 8 and 9, enough girls were added and assigned the average grade of the 7(A-) group to bring the proportion to 3%, comparable with the other large schools. The difference however, between the large and small schools, was left. School 6 is located, according to the leading crowd question used for this graph, down near the bottom, rather than in the upper group where it has been classified throughout the analysis.

Figure 9.12



Unfortunately, most of [illegible] are closely bunched in the degree to which good grades are important among the girls, so that there is too little variation among them to examine this effect as fully as would be desirable. School 2 is the one school which among the girls deviates from the general relationship.*

The effect of these values systems on letting academic ability express itself in high achievement is evident among the girls as it is among the boys. It is important to realize as well that these effects are not merely due to the school facilities, social composition of the school, or other variables. The two schools highest in the importance of scholastic achievement for both boys and girls are 1 and 8, the first of a small town school of 350 students and the second a city school of 2000 students. In both there are fewer students with white collar backgrounds than in schools 9 or 3, which are somewhere in the middle in terms of the values they place on academic achievement, but more than schools 7 or 4, which are also somewhere in the middle. The highest expenditure per student was $695 per year in school 9, and the lowest was little more than half that, in school 4. These schools are close together on the graphs of Fig. 9.13(a) and 9.13(b).

The actual [illegible] of such persons with high potential to intellectual activities in society has been estimated in one study, which shows this

---

* The IQs among the girls in school 2 show a peculiar distribution. There were six girls whose IQ was listed in the office records as exactly 140, though no other girl in the school had an IQ listed above 130. Five of these six "140-IQ" girls had a grade average of 8. Of the 18 other girls whose IQ was listed as 120 or above, the grade average was far less: 5.9. It is hardly likely that this school contains 24 girls in the sophomore to senior classes with IQ's of 120 or greater; the IQ test gives undoubtedly overestimated the actual IQs in this school. The test used in this school is SRA Primary Mental Abilities, which has a top score of 140; six girls in the school [illegible] given the top score.

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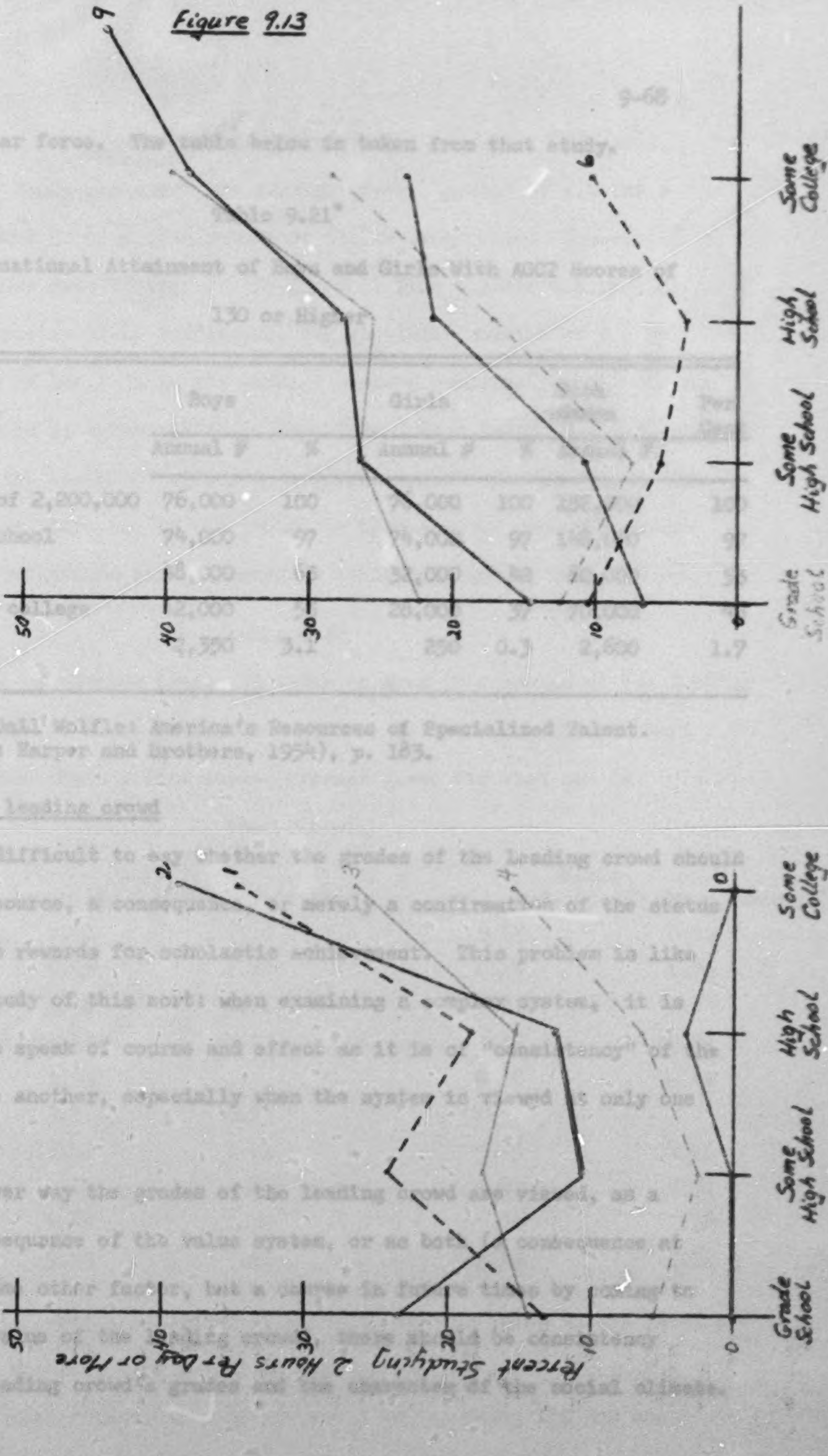
---

*The IQs among the girls in school 2 show a peculiar distribution. There were six girls whose IQ was listed in the office records as exactly 140, though no other girl in the school had an IQ listed above 130. Five of these six "140-IQ" girls had a grade average of 8. Of the 18 other girls whose IQ was listed as 120 or above, the grade average was far less: 5.9. It is hardly likely that this school contains 24 girls in the sophomore to senior classes with IQ's of 120 or greater; the IQ test given undoubtedly overestimated the actual IQs in this school. The test used in this school is SRA Primary Mental Abilities, which has a top score of 140; six girls in the school had a raw score above this point and were given the top score.

Figure 9.13



with particular force. The table below is taken from that study.

Table 9.21*

Estimated Educational Attainment of Boys and Girls With AGCT Scores of 130 or Higher

	Boys		Girls		Both Sexes	Per Cent
	Annual #	%	Annual #	%	Annual #	
In age group of 2,200,000	76,000	100	76,000	100	152,000	100
Finish high school	74,000	97	74,000	97	148,000	97
Enter college	[illegible]	[illegible]	38,000	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Graduate from college	[illegible]	[illegible]	28,000	37	70,000	[illegible]
Receive Ph.D.	2,350	3.1	250	0.3	2,600	1.7

*From Dael Wolfle: America's Resources of Specialized Talent. (N.Y.: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 183.

Grades of the leading crowd

It is difficult to say whether the grades of the leading crowd should be seen as a source, a consequence, or merely a confirmation of the status system and its rewards for scholastic achievement. This problem is like others in a study of this sort: when examining a complex system, it is not so easy to speak of cause and effect as it is of "consistency" of the parts with one another, especially when the system is viewed at only one point in time.

Whichever way the grades of the leading crowd are viewed, as a source or consequence of the value system, or as both (a consequence at one time of some other factor, but a source in future times by coming to constitute a value of the leading crowd), there should be consistency between the leading crowd's grades and the character of the social climate.

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	Annual #	%	Annual #	%	Annual #	
In age group of 2,200,000	76,000	100	76,000	100	152,000	100
Finish high school	74,000	97	74,000	97	148,000	97
Enter college	48,000	63	32,000	42	80,000	53
Graduate from college	42,000	55	28,000	37	70,000	46
Receive Ph.D.	2,350	3.1	250	0.3	2,600	1.7

*From Dall Wolfle: America's Resources of Specialized Talent. (N.Y.: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 183.

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This consistency does exist in almost all cases, as table 9.22 shows. Listed in the Table are first the average present grades of all those chosen ten times or more as a member of the leading crowd. However, these raw grades mean little; for in a school like 8 where the grading system gives particularly low grades, the absolute position of the 34 leading crowd is low. It is the leading crowd's position relative to the grades of others in school which is important. Thus listed next to each raw grade is the number of standard deviations which this grade exceeds the grade of all boys (or of all girls) in that school. (Both the means and standard deviations are presented in earlier tables of this section.)

Table 9.22

Average grades of persons chosen 10 times or more as a member of the leading crowd, measured first as absolute grades, and as number of standard deviations these grades exceed average grade for that sex in that school.

School	Boys		Girls	
	Av. grade	#SD.above means	Av. grade	#SD above means
0	4.88	1.10	5.13	0.59
1	5.17	1.87	6.28	1.76
2	5.68	1.76	5.32	0.64
3	5.15	1.17	5.56	0.84
4	3.95	0	4.86	0.49
5	4.31	0.73		
6	4.53	1.21	5.43	1.18
7	4.40	0.89	4.83	0.31
8	4.84	1.59	5.14	1.38
9	5.05	1.23	5.42	1.12

The number of people mentioned 10 times or more as being in the leading crowd differs somewhat from school to school, but is almost within the the two large size groups, at : 6% for small school boys, 11% for small school girls; 3% for large school boys, 4-6% for large school girls. School 0 is an exception for the boys, being about 11% rather than 6% as in the other small schools. Thus since these groups are a smaller part of the student body among the large schools than the small ones, and smaller among the boys than among the girls, this gives the large-schools an advantage in the above table, and it gives the boys an advantage, since these are more select groups. It is with this in mind that the figures above should be interpreted, though this seems not to have had too much effect, since small school boys are in general above large-school boys.

Among the girls, the grades are precisely consistent with the amount of rewards for good grades in the adolescent culture. The schools where good grades was most important were first 1 and 8 (where the leading crowd is highest above the mean), then 6 and 9 (where the leading crowd is next highest above the mean), and finally 0, 2, 3, 4, and 7 (which were the five schools where the leading crowd is least above its mean, and only about half that in the other schools).

Among the boys, there are some discrepancies from the earlier classification, though the general character is consistent with the rewards for good grades. Among the small schools, the ordering of deviation from the mean in accordance with the rewards: first school 1, then 2 and 3, then 0 and 4. In school 0, however, the leading crowd has, higher grades than would be expected from the social rewards for good grades, and is far higher than scool 4, whose leading crowd is no higher than its mean. Thus the only school slightly out of place here is school 0, whose leading crowd's grades deviate almost as much from the mean as do those of the leading crowd in school 3.

The large school boys leading crowds are peculiarly lower than those in the small schools, though they constitute only half as large a segment of their student bodies. It is among those crowds that the only real inconsistency of grades with rewards comes about. School 8 deviates most from the mean, consistent with the social rewards there; but schools 5 and 7 are quite low in their deviations, while 6 and 9 are not far below 8. The explanation of this inconsistency is not apparent; however, if one considers the "intermediate leading crowd," those boys chosen from 2 to 9 times. Then school 7 comes up and 9 goes down to a position consistent with the rewards. The intermediate leaders deviate from the mean as follows: school 5, +.07 sds; school 6, +.48; school 7, +.92; school 8, +.47; school 9, -.08. It is apparently the case that the grades of top leaders in school 7, which includes many athletes, are brought down by this fact (and as the next section will show, the grades of the athletes are particularly low in this school, while those of the boys named as best students are particularly high), while the less "central" part of the leading crowd has higher grades. Correspondingly, the intermediate leaders in school 9 are below the mean grade for the boys, in effect, then, bringing the grade of the leading crowd down to a position consistent with the value system. School 6 and School 5, however, remain peculiarly out of position, school 6 high and school 5 low.

The general pattern of grades, then, among the leading crowds in these schools is consistent with the social rewards for good grades as examined in chapter 3. It should be remembered, however, that the absolute grades of most of these leading crowds are not especially high. Only among the girls in school 1 are they above a straight B average (6.0).

Among the boys in the large schools and in school 4, they are nearer a C average than a B.

Structural differentiation and grades of the stars

In chapter 5, it was evident that the schools differ greatly, particularly among the small ones, in the degree to which the roles of star athlete and outstanding student are separate. In school 1, they were clearly distinct, with rewards for each separately, while in school 3, for example, the major rewards came when these two roles were combined by the same boy. This difference between the schools in the amount of overlap between the roles of athlete and student should have further consequences beyond those discussed in chapter 5: in those schools where the athlete-student "all-around boy" is most encouraged, and there is thus most overlap between the roles, than even the athletes should be good students and get reasonably high grades; but accompanying this is the other side of the coin: the boys named as students-only should be less specialists as students. There should be less room, in effect, for academic brilliance carried to the extreme. The student and athlete should both move toward one another, the athlete being somewhat more a scholar, and the student being somewhat less a scholar, than in the other schools.

Where the roles are separate (as, for example, they tend to be in a large university) then the student should concentrate more, get better grades, and the athlete study less, get poorer grades.

When we examine the top athlete and top students in each school, the differences in bifurcation of roles which was evident in the analysis above does, in fact, have these consequences.

In the small schools the differences in role bifurcation are most pronounced; at one extreme school 3 where the student-athlete receives greatest attention and social rewards, and where the overlap is greatest between students and athletes, and at the other school 0 and 1, paradoxically the smallest schools, where these roles are separate. Table 9.23 shows the average grades of the top students (those who received 7 or more choices as best student) and the top athlete (those who received 7 or more choices as best athlete) in these small schools. The amount of overlap in choice is shown with these differences, and the amount of "surplus" choices received by the student-athlete above the average received by the student-only and athlete-only. The schools are ordered according to amount of overlap with two roles. In this table, as in others where grades are listed, the grade range is from 0-8, with 8=A, 6=B, 4=C, 2=D, 0=F. The grades averaged are the semester grades for the fall semester of 1957-58, the semester during which the questionnaire was distributed.

Table 9.23

The average grades of top students and top athletes in the five small schools (ordered according to the amount of overlap between role of students and athlete).

	0	1	4	2	3
Average grades of top students	7.5(2)	7.4(5)	6.9(6)	7.0(6)	6.8(6)
Average grades of top athletes difference in grades	3.0(1)	3.2(6)	4.0(6)	5.0(7)	5.6(5)
Overlap of choices	.59	.78	1.50	2.32	3.13
Surplus choices for student-athlete	8.0	-1.1	1.73	13.8	14.9

The grades of the top students go down with the overlap in roles, while the grades of the top athletes go up. The athlete are more scholarly and the students less so, as the roles become less distinct in schools 2 and 3. (These grades are given in absolute terms; the differences are so great that standardization in terms of deviation from the mean is not necessary.)

In the large schools, there was a much less clear relationship between the special attention shown the athlete-student and the amount of overlap in roles, in the earlier analysis of this chapter. This seems caused, at least partly, by the fact that schools 5 and 6 and to a lesser extent the other large schools, constituted at the start of the school year a far less complete social system than did the small schools. Similarly here, the relationship of the difference in grades to the overlap in roles is less clear, as the bottom lines of table 9.24 indicate. But the grades do seem definitely related to the surplus choices given the athlete student. Looking first at the athletes in table 9.24, their grades go up as the extra choices given the athlete-student over those given the athlete increases. In school 9, where the extra attention paid to the athlete who is also a student by his peers is greatest, the athlete's grades are highest. In schools 5, 6, and 7, where this extra attention is lowest, the athlete's grades are also lowest. The rank correlation among the schools is .64.

Table 9.24*

The average grades of top students and top athletes in the five large schools, to gether with surplus choices given to the athlete-student, and amount of overlap between roles.

	Schools				
	5	6	7	8	9
Average grades of top students	7.63	7.44	7.88	7.09	6.82
Surplus choices for athlete-student	24.2	13.1	12.0	22.2	37.0
Average grades of top athletes	4.05	4.33	3.25	4.45	4.76
Surplus choices for athlete-students	16.6	3.8	5.1	18.0	29.3
Difference in grades	3.58	3.11	4.63	2.64	2.06
Overlap of choices	2.37	1.83	2.10	1.28	2.05

Table 9.24-continued

	5	6	7	8	9
Number of cases= students	11	9	8	11	17
athletes	20	9	12	20	17

But the other side of the win is also true: in those schools where the student who is also an athlete receives most extra attention from his peers, over the student-only, the grades of boys seem as best students is *less*. In school 9,where the extra attention is greatest, the best students' grades are lowest; in school 7 where the extra attention to the student-athlete is least, the best student's grades are highest.

There do seem, then to be definite differences in the specialization of roles of athlete and student in the schools. In both the small and large schools, these differences correspond to the extra social rewards--i.e., being named as someone that others want to be like or be friends with, and being named as a member of the leading crowd.--received by the boy who combines athletic powers and scholastic achievement. Where there is little extra social encouragement of the student-athlete, the two roles diverge, with the athlete and student becoming "specialists." In schools, like 3 and 9, where there is much extra social encouragement of the combined roles, the students are less specialists as students, while the athletes are less specialists as athletes and better grades. In such schools, the two roles merge.

Particularly surprising is the fact that such specialization does not increase markedly as the size of the school increases. The evidence indicates that this is not so at all; in the large schools, there is so much overlap of choice between the best students and best athletes, as in the smaller ones. The variation within each group is far greater than the variation between groups. Nevertheless, there does seem to be some greater specialization in the grades received. Table 9.25 below shows this slight tendency, by listing the grades for the top athletes and top students in the small schools (0-4) and large ones (6-9). (School 5 is omitted from the large schools. If it were included, the differences discussed below would be slightly greater.)

Table 9.25

Grades of top athletes (7+ choices) and top students (7- choices) in large and small schools.

	Small	Large
Average grades of top students	7.05 (26)	7.24 (45)
Average grades of top athletes	4.40 (25)	4.28 (58)
Difference	2.64	2.96

This difference, though slight, does indicate a slightly greater role-specialization in the large schools. This difference, however, is far less than the difference between the different schools in the same size group. The two largest schools, for example, show greater overlap of roles, and greater similarity in grades between the top athletes and top students, than do the two smallest ones.

Girl best students and IQ:

One final apparent effect of these climates which will be only stated without presentation of the data: the girls named as best students by their classmate in these schools are lower in their IQ's, both in absolute values, and as measured in number of standard deviations above the school-sex mean, than are the boys in the same school. This result confirms the mass of evidence throughout the report that girls are constrained not to be "brilliant students" thus those among them who are seen as such by their classmates are not necessarily the brightest girls, but are the girls who, because of parental or other demands, are willing to be seen as brilliant students despite the ambivalent response of the adolescent culture to such a reputation.

Consequences for studying out of school and for college-going

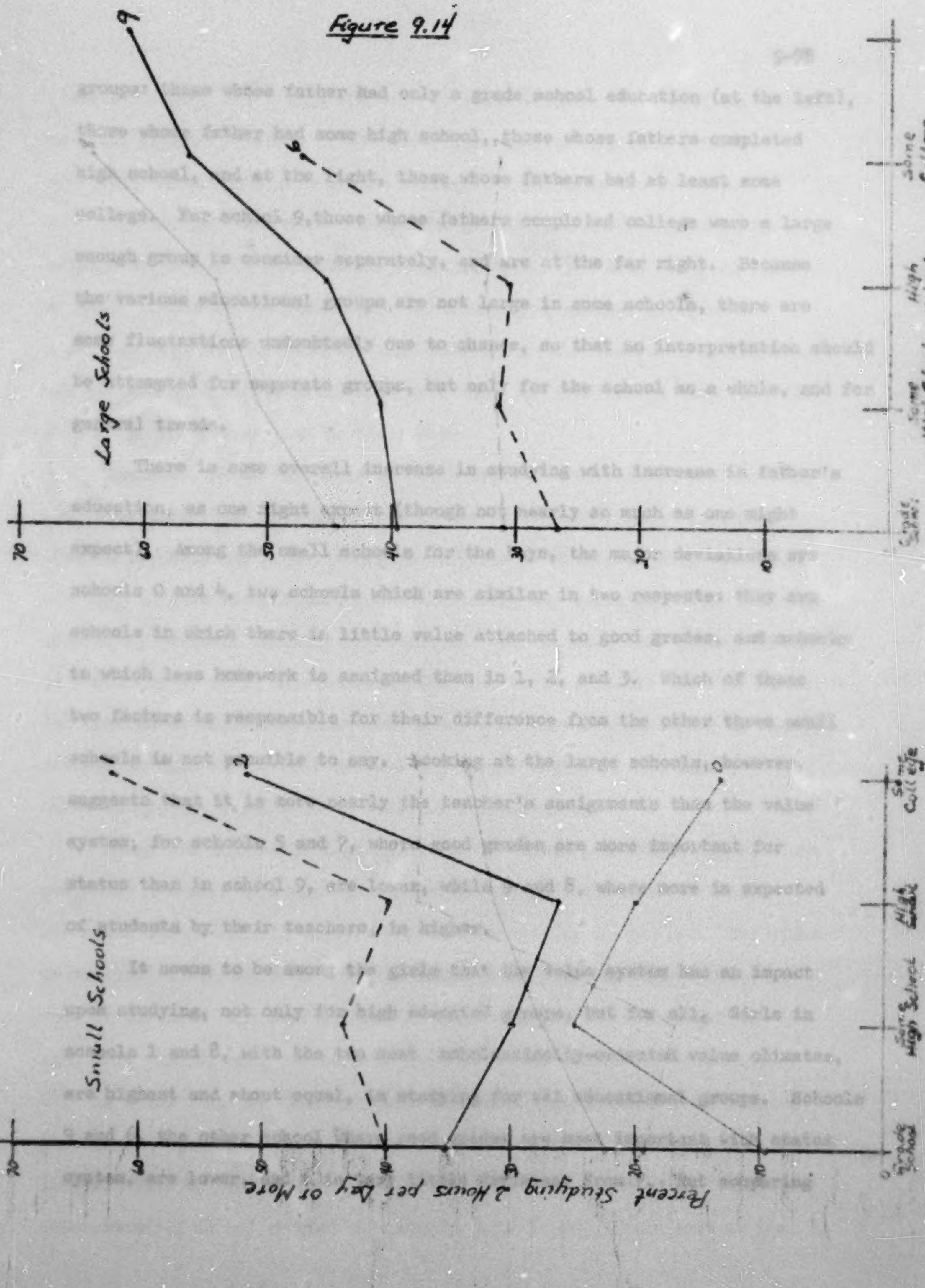
Two factors which might at first seen highly dependent upon the social climate of the school are the amount of homework that a boy or girl does, and his intentions about attending college. Yet both of these have their primary sources elsewhere: the amount of homework depends largely on two things: the amount of homework assigned by the teachers, that is, upon the school administration and upon family background. College-going depends for more upon the aspirative a boys' or girl's family has for him to go to college, and upon their interest in seeing him continue to be dependent upon them for four more years.

However, the climate apparently does have some effect, as the analysis below will indicate. The effect upon studying and upon college intentions seems peculiarly selective.

Though father's education or father's occupation is only a rough indication of family's constraints and desires for their child it will be used here as a partial control of these parental constraints and desires. To be sure, in a community like 9, a boy or girl whose father has only a high school diploma is likely to be of far higher status, and have far greater aspirations for his child, than a boy or girl whose father has the same education but lives in the working class suburb, 6. Such differences should be kept in mind in interpreting the graphs below.

In Figures 9.14a and 9.14b the proportion of boys and of girls who spend 2 hours or more per day on homework is given for four educational

Figure 9.14


Large Schools
9
9
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
Grade School
Some High School
High School
Some College
Small Schools
1
2
0
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Grade School
Some High School
High School
Some College
Percent Studying 2 Hours per Day or More

groups: those whose father had only a grade school education (at the left), those whose father had some high school, those whose fathers completed high school, and at the right, those whose fathers had at least some college. For school 9,those whose fathers completed college were a large enough group to consider separately, and are at the far right. Because the various educational groups are not large in some schools, there are some fluctuations undoubtedly due to chance, so that no interpretation should be attempted for separate groups, but only for the school as a whole, and for general trends.

There is some overall increase in studying with increase in father's education, as one might expect (though not nearly so much as one might expect). Among the small schools for the boys, the major deviations are schools 0 and 4, two schools which are similar in two respects: they are schools in which there is little value attached to good grades, and schools in which less homework is assigned than in 1, 2, and 3. Which of these two factors is responsible for their difference from the other three small schools is not possible to say. Looking at the large schools, however, suggests that it is more nearly the teacher's assignments than the value system, for schools 5 and 7, where good grades are more important for status than in school 9, are lower, while 9 and 8, where more is expected of students by their teachers, is higher.

It seems to be among the girls that the value system has an impact upon studying, not only for high educated groups, but for all, Girls in schools 1 and 8, with the two most scholastically-oriented value climates, are highest and about equal, in studying for all educational groups. Schools 9 and 6, the other school where good grades are most important with status system, are lower, and 6 is very little different from 7. But comparing these girls in 6 and 7 with the boys in these schools shows that the girls in 6 are higher, relative to the boys, than are the school 7 girls--consistent with the status system differences in these two schools.

Figures 9.15 and 9.16 shows the proportions intending to go to college by this same educational classification. The most striking fact of these graphs is the much higher correlation of college-going with education than that of studying with education. The student from higher educational backgrounds study some more than the others; but they plan for more to go to college than do the others.

Secondly, among the girls and boys both, the proportion who say they are going to college is higher than in any of the other large schools--especially among the girls, though as Figures 9.14 showed, their studying was less in each occupational group than among the girls in school 8. This apparently reflects parental expectations, and the fact that college going is the"thing to do"in this school. That is, it is probably the case that the adolescent value system effects a boy's or girl's tendency to go to college in this school--not because the values emphasize scholastic achievement, but because they emphasize college-going.

Among the small-school girls, those in school 2 are the only ones who radically deviate, in every educational group, from the others. This deviation occurs as well when father's occupation is controlled. One might be tempted to attribute this to the status system of the school, were it not for the fact that school 1 and 0, where scholastic achievement is similarly unimportant, are [illegible] much higher. It seems more probable that this is again a larger cultural value, as in school 9, but in the reverse: that going to college is not a highly valued matter for a girl in the school. This is traditionally held to be a "working-class value"; but this community is not so working-class as 6 or 7, and little more so than 4.

Figure 9.15

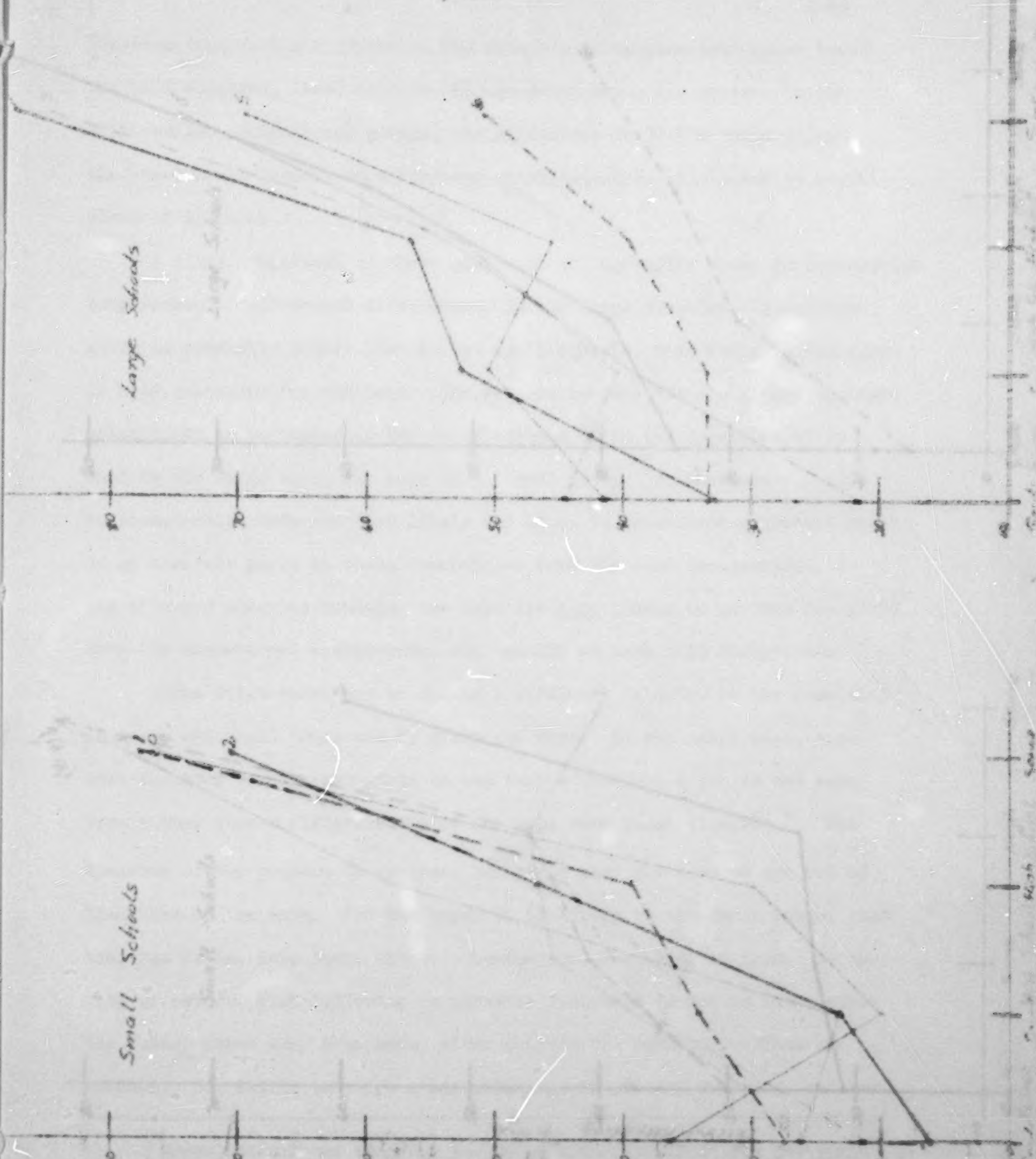
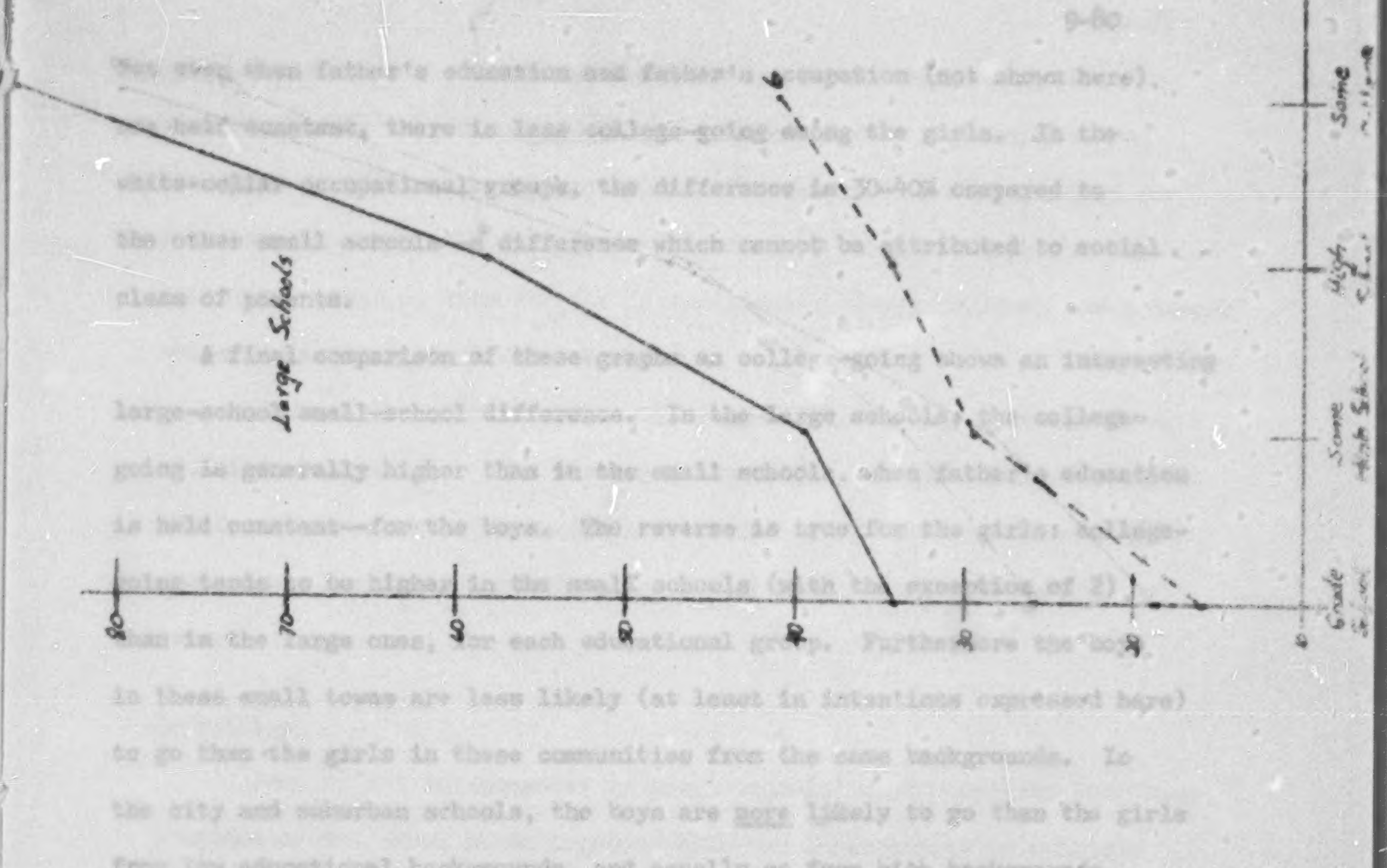

Large Schools
Small Schools
Percent Going to College
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
5
4
1
0
2
High

Figure 9.16



But even when father's education and father's occupation (not shown here) are held constant, there is less college-going among the girls. In the white-collar occupational groups, the difference is 30-40% compared to the other small schools—differences which cannot be attributed to social class of parents.

A final comparison of these graphs on college-going shows an interesting large-school small-school difference. In the large schools, the college-going is generally higher than in the small schools, when father's education is held constant—for the boys. The reverse is true for the girls: college-going tends to be higher in the small schools (with the exception of 2) than in the large ones, for each educational group. Furthermore the boys in these small towns are less likely (at least in intentions expressed here) to go than the girls in these communities from the same backgrounds. In the city and suburban schools, the boys are more likely to go than the girls from low educational backgrounds, and equally so from high backgrounds.

These differences may be due to a different relation to the community in large and small towns and by girls and boys. In the small town, boys were far less likely than girls to say they would take a job in the same town rather than a different one if the jobs were equal (I.g.76).* The dynamics of the process is unclear, but girls want far more to get out of town than do the boys. For the boys, it is likely in the small towns, that they can follow into their father's occupation, business, or farm. In the city or suburb, such following in parental footsteps is not so easy, since the father works away from home, often outside the community. Thus the community has little to offer a boy unless he [illegible]

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* These differences range in the small towns from 20% less for girls in school 4, to 26% in school 3 and 6% in school 6. In the large schools, the sex differences are sharply reduced, the largest being 12% in school 8, and the smallest being 5% in school 6.

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* These differences range in the small towns from 20% less for girls in school 2, to 26% in school 3 and 29% in school 0. In the large schools, the sex differences are sharply reduced, the largest being 12% in school 8, and the smallest being 4% in school 6.

These interpretations are only suggestive, for the evidence to test them is not available. The present evidence does suggest, however, that there are important differences in the relation of boys anc girls to a small town, and that these differences vanish or reverse in the city or suburb.

Conclusion

Some of the consequences of these schools' status systems have been examined above. When taken together with the consequences in evidence through earlier Chapters, they show the powerful effect these value systems have in shaping a boy's or girl's conception of himself, his conception of various activities in which he might engage (such as intellectual activity), and his actual work in school. The effects are evidence in some cases by the differences in schools with different climates; they are evidenced in other cases by differences between different subgroups within a school (such as best athletes and best students). In both these ways, these effects indicate something about the way the adolescent community molds the people within it quite apart from the demands of the formal institution in which this community finds itself, that is the high school.

Chapter 10

Sources of the Value Climates

Some factors affecting the value climate in a given school, and in all the schools, have been discussed throughout the report. Consequently, the present chapter will only discuss in general terms some points which have been implicit in various parts of the analysis of preceding chapters.

Population Composition of the Community:

The cumulative impact of much of the previous analysis suggests quite curious effects of the population composition of a school and community. Some of the effects are fairly conclusive, others only suggestive, but taken together, they suggest no simple consequences. The schools of the study in which scholastic achievement was most important as a means of status were neither the most working-class schools (like 6 and 7) nor the most completely white collar (like 9). Is this coincidence, or is there some systematic reason for it?

From the analysis of "status upsets" in Chapter 7, and the examination of backgrounds of elites in Chapter 4, one effect of the population composition becomes quite clear: though the status structure of the school tends to include upper middle class adolescents more than proportionate to their numbers in the population, there comes to be a point in the population structure at which these teen-agers are no longer the insiders. It is as if there is a "critical mass" below which a group with given values cannot generate the internal cohesion and attract the external support necessary to remain in leadership positions.

Elites in a fluid social structure such as these high schools represent must have some attributes in common with those who are their followers, for they are elites only by virtue of nomination by, or at least acquiescence of, the followers. Thus they must exemplify those interests which are most important to their followers. Thus it is no accident that in the cultures of schools 0, 2, and 6, where the boys as a whole were most concerned with cars, that the leaders themselves were not only most concerned with cars, but, their concern was nearer to that of the student body as a whole than in the schools where interest in cars was not a dominant concern of the students.

To look at the matter in terms of the dimension of "interest-in-school" vs. "interest-outside-school," the elites of a student body can be those who are interested in school only so long as the student body contains enough others interested in school that they are given social support for this interest. When the student body contains a high proportion of those who, by reason of the lack of interest of their parents in education, or by reason of bad relations between students and teachers, are uninterested in school, then the elites themselves will tend to be this way, because the elites are in large part determined by popular support. They can in part lead that support in directions they want to go, but in part must themselves be led by it in directions it is already moving.

They are not only determined by popular support, however, because they depend in part for their status on two other matters: background characteristics which have either put them "in" or "out" at the beginning; and the activities of teachers and principals in focussing attention on and giving support to those whom they wish to see in content of the student body. Earlier chapters in the report, particularly 4 and 5, have shown the way in which the former ascriptive criteria vary from community to community; the discussion in Chapter 5 of sources of status upsets in school 2 has indicated how the lack of skilful efforts by the school staff can undercut those who are most school-oriented.

More generally, there seem to be three distinct situations in relation to the effect of the population upon the degree to which academic achievement is important in the status system; (a) the case, discussed above, in which the school-oriented segment of the population is not large enough to support, even with the aid of the school staff, an unchallenged elite which is oriented to school and is interested in school activities more than leisure ones; schools 0, 2, 6, and 7 are like this, with 4 on the borderline. (b) the case in which the school-oriented segment of the population is large enough to support an elite interested in school, yet contains a large segment disinterested or ill-equipped to achieve in school activities; a segment large enough so that the others, the persons who star in activities, are in charge of various school functions and perhaps most important, are socially adept, are also those who make the best grades. That is, those interested in school, best equipped to do good work in school, and most socially skilled are a small enough group in school that these attributes are largely combined in the same few persons. Schools like 1, 3, and 8 have a population base which probably falls in this region. Finally, (c), the case in which the majority of the population is school-oriented, so that social skills, participation in school activities, and the ability and background to make good grades are widely distributed through the school population. Since the elite can, by definition, only be a small segment of the student body, a question arises in such a school which never arises in a school where those skills are concentrated in a small minority: which of these groups, all oriented to school and even to further education after school, but some specializing in social activities, others specializing in extracurricular activities, and still others specializing in academic pursuits, is to be the leading crowd? Schools like 9 fall into this region; and as more and more of the population in this country becomes well-educated and oriented to sending their children to college, more and more schools are in this region.

The importance of the first distinction, between (a) and (b), seems quite strongly supported by our data, especially the examination of association patterns in Chapter 7, and the examination of elites in each school, in Chapter 4. For the importance of the second distinction, between (b) and (c), there is less evidence for in this research, and the discussion relative to it must be taken as quite tentative. However, the examination carried out in Chapter 6, of the degree of overlap in girls' rates between best student, best dressed, and most popular with boys, and the way in which this differed from school 8 to 9, provides some support for the importance of this distinction.

When a school's population is in region (a), it probably takes one of two kinds of activities, if a school-oriented elite is to lead the school: either (1) a very special organization of activities in school, and especially skill on the part of teachers to transform the interests of a large part of the student body from out-of-school matters to in-school matters. For boys, interscholastic athletics, though it has its own added consequences in shaping the values of the culture, performs this function of drawing into school life the interests of a large segment of boys who would otherwise have little concern for matters in school. There is nothing comparable to this for girls, and it is likely that, if they were not, to begin with, far more school-oriented and obedient than boys, the lack of activities comparable to interscholastic athletics would have unfortunate consequences for schools with a population base like all those in this research except 9, but especially the most working-class schools. (2) The second means, given a population base in region (a), of insuring an unchallenged school-oriented elite is dominance from the adult community. Though such dominance has its ill consequences in creating a system which stifles rather than stimulates energies, it is probably an effective means for insuring that the dominant elite in the student body will in fact be oriented to school and its activities. It may be that the greatest change in school 2 between 1941, when it was studied as "Elmtown," and 1957-58, when this study took place, is the reduction in such external dominance and dictation from the parental community. Though this has created a system in which the chances for leadership are more independent of parental background than they once were (as Hollingshead was implicitly in favor of throughout his research), it has brought other problems with it, as the data of the present study indicate.

A school administration perhaps has the simplest task when the population falls into region (b), for here the "natural leaders" are also those who do best in school. Such a fortunate situation does not necessarily mean, however, that the leading crowd will come to have as one of its positively-held values high achievement in school. School 3 is a good example of a situation where the leading crowd's values and major interests are far more social in origin than in school 1, which falls into the same population region (b). The situation of population region (b) seems to create, not the necessity for the leading crowd to use such criteria to differentiate it from the others, but the opportunity to do so. That is, the leading crowd in region (b) has a number of attributes which differentiate it from the rest of the students: they are brighter, better trained in early years, better dressed, more skilled in the organizational qualities required for extra-curricular activities, and more skilled in social graces, such as dancing, how to behave toward the opposite sex, self-assurance with others their age and with adults. Any one or several of these matters can become the features which the leading crowd uses to distinguish itself from the others. In school 3, it seems to be primarily social matters, and then extra-curricular activities; in 8, and especially 1, it combines with these with a greater importance attached to good grades.* But any one of these matters can serve to distinguish it from the others, and other factors, such as the teachers in school, help determine which of these attributes become the ones which the leading crowd "uses" and is proud of. There is, of course, a bias against scholastic achievement and in favor of school activities or social matters, because a crowd, leading or otherwise, is by definition a social entity, while scholastic achievement as carried out in schools is a very individual matter, not a shared experience which a "crowd" can easily have in common.

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*One informant, who recently graduated from Springfield High School, in Springfield, Illinois, reports that the leading clique of girls was so strongly concerned about keeping their grade average up that they coached members whose grade in a course threatened to fall below B.

A school in population region (c) is probably far more difficult to administer than one in region (b); though it might seem at first far easier, since the large majority of students are interested in school, and eager to learn. But here the question mentioned above, which does not arise for a school in population region (b), arises: which of these interested eager students is going to capture the attention of their fellows, and direct the energies of the student body: the ones whose interests are primarily social, those whose interests are in school activities, or those whose interests are strongly focussed on learning in school, that is, on primarily intellectual activities?

Given the fact that intellectual activities, in contrast to organizational or social or athletic ones, are organized as at present in high schools, it seems very unlikely that the "intellectual crowd" (for in schools with such a population base, and of reasonably large size, there can be an intellectual crowd), can come to have the attention of the school focussed primarily on it rather than on the activities crowd or the social crowd. This again is because intellectual activities as carried out in schools, are highly individualized, and offer little opportunity to capture the attention of the school. Debate is one exception, for it incorporates the notion of interscholastic competition (thus getting the school behind its efforts and identified with its successes) with intellectual activity. The debate team in school 8, incidentally, was one center of the leading crowd and at the same time a center of intellectual interests.

It seems, then, that there are distinctive problems over the nature and interests of the leading crowd in school (and thus the nature of the adolescent status system) in each of these three different population regions. The data of this study are not at all conclusive on this, but they do suggest distinctive problems in each of the three cases. The fact that the third is becoming more prevalent in society, and the fact that it seems to present especially difficult problems, makes particularly important the question of how to solve those problems.

This whole discussion of the dependence of the status system upon the population composition is most relevant to the girls' status system. For boys, the extremely powerful impact of interscholastic athletics overcomes, to some degree, the importance of the population differences. The status systems of the boys are more alike from school to school, and less dependent upon the social composition of the school, than are those of the girls. This fact, which will be discussed in a later section, has important implications for secondary education, because it indicates a possible way that population-base problems can be overcome.

At another point in this chapter a suggestion is made, following from the principle inherent in activities like the debate team and in interscholastic athletics toward a reorganization of the scholastic activities of a high school so that they offer a better potential for capturing the attention and interest of the adolescent culture.[*]

Traditional Constraints and Modern Liberation:

It has become evident from various results of this research that there are important differences among these schools, and among the students within a school, in the degree to which an adolescent is kept a child or given the freedoms of an adult. It has traditionally been assumed that parental constraints are greater and continue over a longer period of time in middle class families than in working-class ones. Certainly the attention of upper-middle class parents upon their children, and the attempts to control certain of their associations and activities, is greater. It is likely, in fact, that one of the important advantages that a middle class girl in schools 1, 2, 3, or 4 has over a working-class girl is the control her parents exercise over her dating, not letting her date so early nor with such freedom from scrutiny that the average girl from a working class family has.

Yet there are a number of indications that despite the greater attention of the modern upper middle class parent to his child, this attention may be accompanied by other tendencies, which free the child sooner from parental control. Perhaps the most striking evidence in this direction is shown by Figure 10.1 below, which presents results for girls in the small-town schools 0-4 and the large schools separately. The questions was asked,

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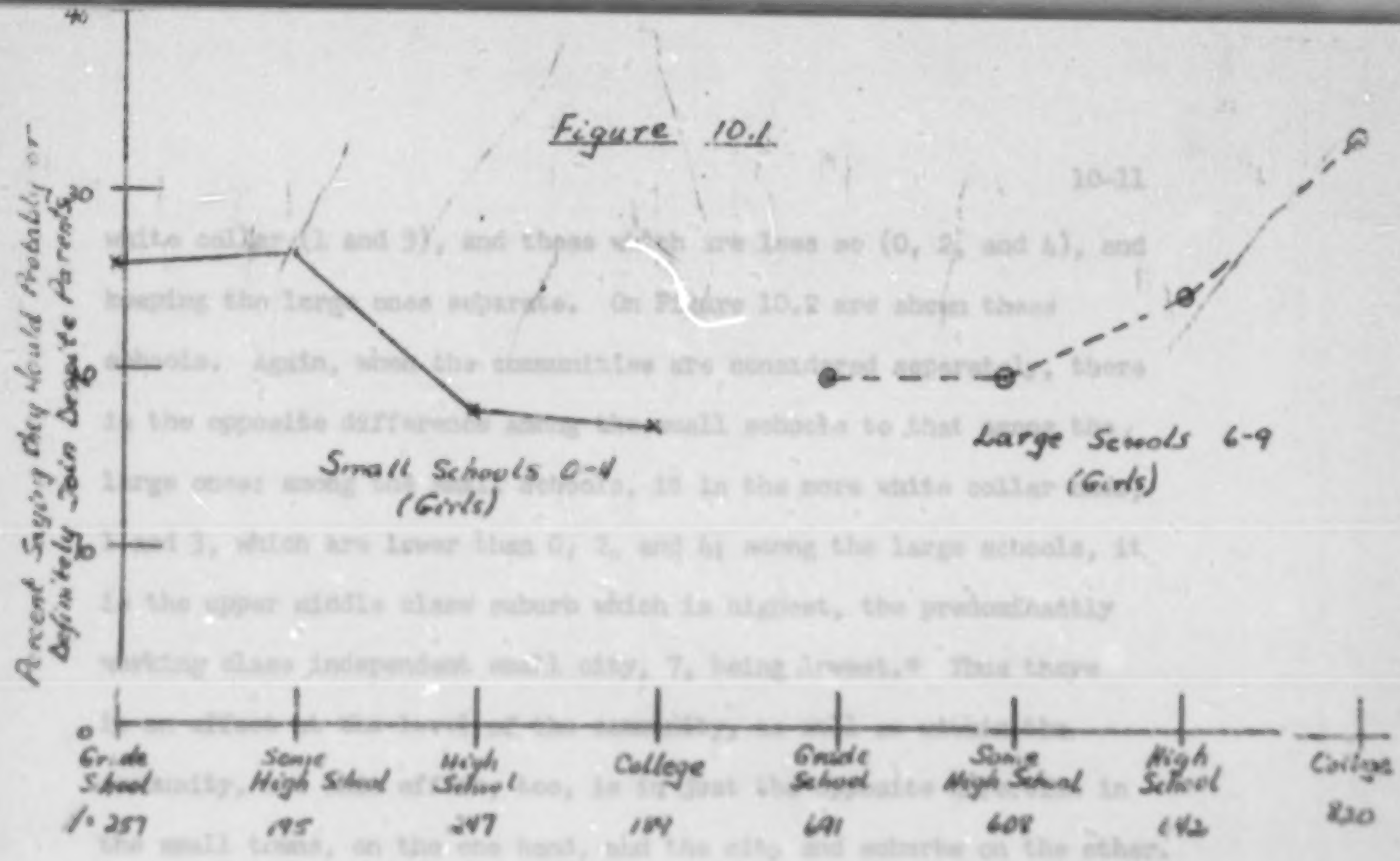
[*] These proposals are discussed at greater length in two papers shortly to appear: "Academic Achievement and the Structure of Competition," to appear in a fall 1959 issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*, and "Research Possibilities on the Problem of Becoming Adult in America," presented at Tufts Civic Education Center Conference on Citizenship Education, January, 1959, and to appear in a volume on this conference published by the Free Press.

> I.134. Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and then finally you were asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think you would...
> definitely join anyway
> probably join
> probably not join
> definitely not join

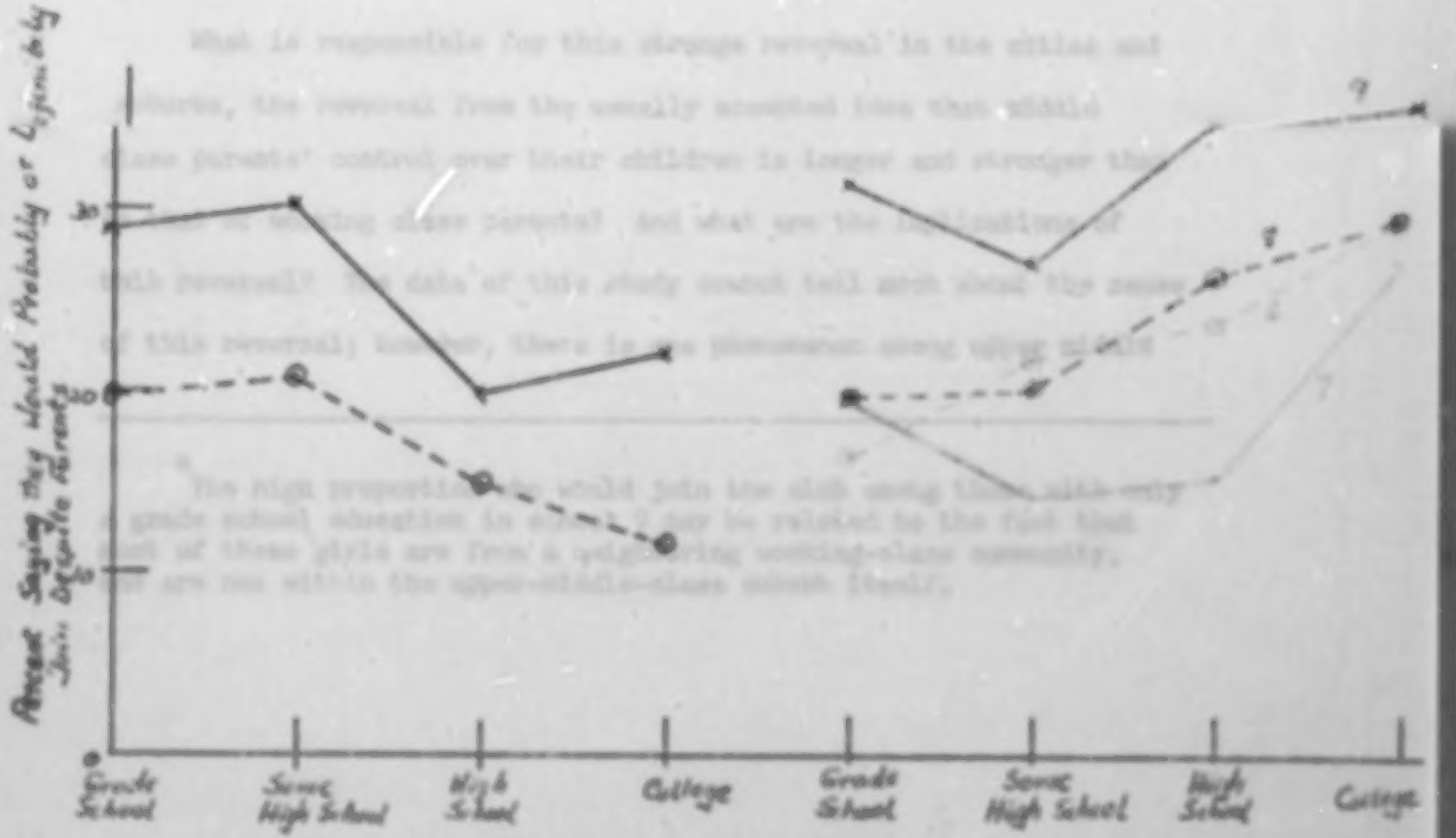
On the graph are, for each of the two sets of schools, four categories of girls, divided according to father's education. The percent who said they would probably or definitely join anyway is plotted on the graph. The result is extremely surprising, for it is precisely the opposite in the two sets of schools (and, as will be shown shortly, it is alike within each group of schools). In the small-town schools, the daughters of better-educated parents are less likely to join the club than are the girls from less well-educated backgrounds. In the large schools, the girls from better-educated backgrounds are *more* likely to join. This question serves as a good indicator of just how "released" a girl is from her family's demands, into the adolescent culture, and as such, it suggests that the usual notion of stronger and longer parental constraints from middle class families is true only in small towns, not in the style of life which occurs in a city or a suburb. Further evidence that this is so can be seen by looking at the separate communities, grouping the small ones into those which are more

Figure 10.1



white collar (1 and 3), and those which are less so (0, 2, and 4), and keeping the large ones separate. On Figure 10.2 are shown these schools. Again, when the communities are considered separately, there is the opposite difference among the small schools to that among the large ones: among the small schools, it is the more white collar ones, 1 and 3, which are lower than 0, 2, and 4; among the large schools, it is the upper middle class suburb which is highest, the predominantly working class independent small city, 7, being lowest.* Thus there is an effect of the level of the community, as well as within the community, [illegible] too, is in just the opposite direction in the small towns, on the one hand, and the city and suburbs on the other. In the latter locales, it is the most upper middle class community which is highest; in the small towns, the more middle class communities are lowest.

What is responsible for this strange reversal in the cities and suburbs, the reversal from the usually accepted idea that middle class parents' control over their children is longer and stronger than [illegible] of working class parents? And what are the implications of this reversal? The data of this study cannot tell much about the cause of this reversal; however, there is one phenomenon among upper middle



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* The high proportion who would join the club among those with only a grade school education in school 9 may be related to the fact that most of these girls are from a neighboring working-class community, and are not within the upper-middle-class suburb itself.

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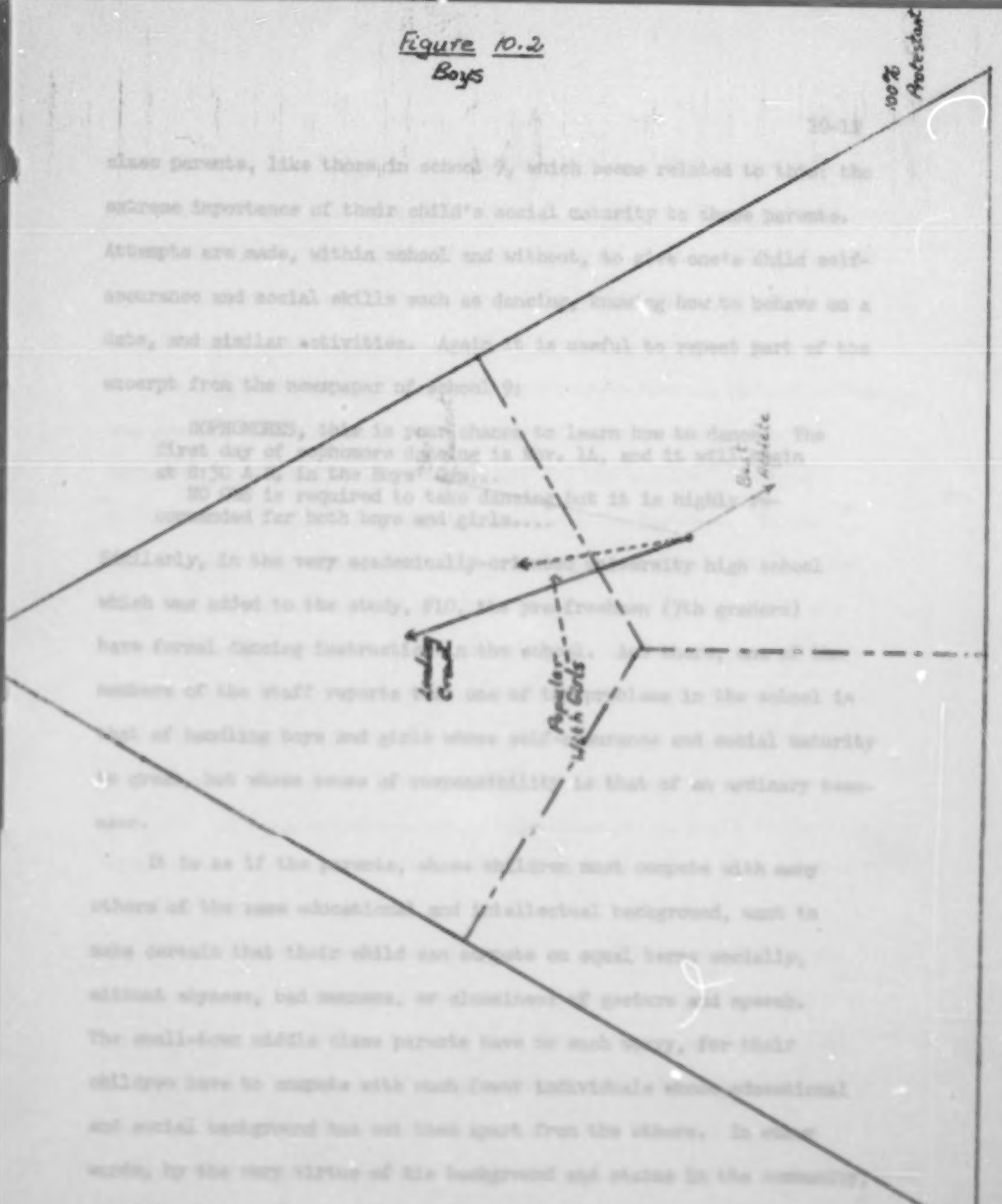
Figure 10.2
Boys



class parents, like those in school 9, which seems related to that: the extreme importance of their child's social maturity to these parents. Attempts are made, within school and without, to give one's child self-assurance and social skills such as dancing, knowing how to behave on a date, and similar activities. Again it is useful to repeat part of the excerpt from the newspaper of school 9:

> SOPHOMORES, this is your chance to learn how to dance. The first day of sophomore dancing is Nov. 14, and it will begin at 8:30 A.M. in the Boys' Gym...
> NO ONE is required to take dancing but it is highly recommended for both boys and girls....

Similarly, in the very academically-oriented university high school which was added to the study, #10, the pre-freshmen (7th graders) have formal dancing instruction in the school. And there, one of the members of the staff reports that one of the problems in the school is that of handling boys and girls whose self-assurance and social maturity is great, but whose sense of responsibility is that of an ordinary teen-ager.

It is as if the parents, whose children must compete with many others of the same educational and intellectual background, want to make certain that their child can compete on equal terms socially, without shyness, bad manners, or clumsiness of gesture and speech. The small-town middle class parents have no such worry, for their children have to compete with much fewer individuals whose educational and social background has set them apart from the others. In other words, by the very virtue of his background and status in the community, a middle class child already has a recognized position in the community, and has a high probability of ending up in the leading crowd in school.

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The implications of this difference between the two sets of schools, and the two sets of social situations, are quite great--because in both sets of schools, the norms are set by, and the leading crowd is cimposed of, girls with higher educational backgrounds. In the case of the small schools, this means the girls in school who are most subject to parental constraint, those kept most as children. In the case of the large schools, it means the girls who have been most fully brought to social maturity by their parents. In Chapter 4, this difference was manifested in the fact that the small school girls most looked up to checked the item "stirring up excitement" as something important in their crowd less often than other girls, while their counterparts in the large schools checked this item more often than did other girls in school.

The ultimate consequences, then, of this shift from traditional middle class constraint to modern middle class concern with social skills and self-assurance suggests that there is more and more a tendency, in large middle class schools, for the adolescent community to constitute a world of its own, with leaders most involved in that world, and with all its members sensitive primarily to the social rewards of their peers rather than those of parents.

Newcomers and Conformity to Community Values:

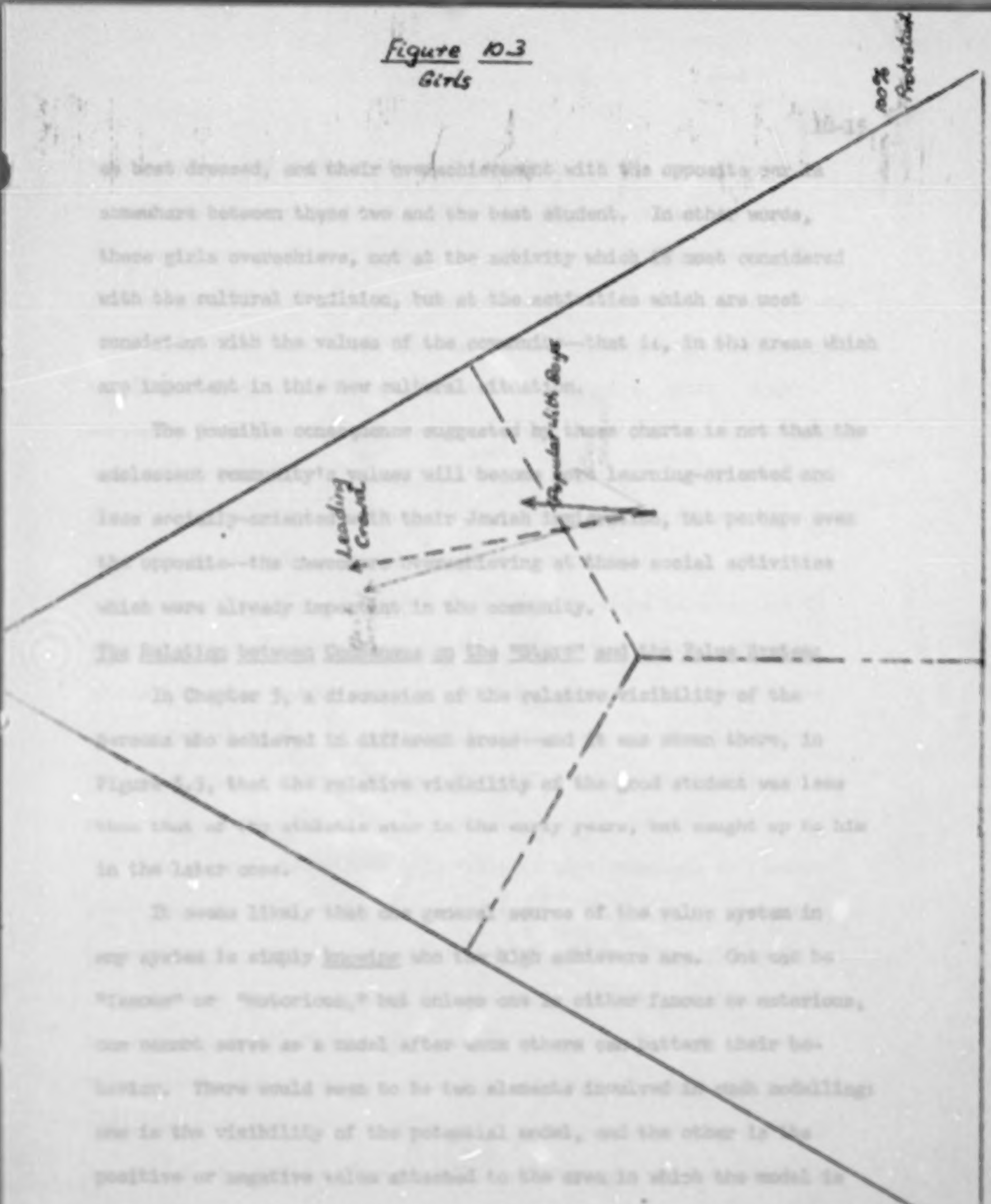
Jews have been in community 9 for a long time. Nevertheless, there has been a great influx of Jews from the city to this community since World War II. Some considerable proportion, though no accurate estimates are available, of the Jews in this community have come in this migration, and are relative newcomers to the community.

One might suppose, knowing the importance of education in the Jewish cultural tradition, that such a migration, which has brought the number of Jews in the community not far from that of the Protestant majority, that the orientation of the adolescent culture would shift in a direction more oriented to learning. This seems not to be the case, and it is instructive to examine a slight bit of evidence as to why. When one looks at the leading crowd and the various "bests" (student, athlete, leaders in activity, and popular with opposite sex), he might ask the question: in what areas do the Jews, a large part of them newcomers, overachieve, relative to the Protestants and Catholics? Figs. 10.2 and 10.3 show the Protestant-Catholic-Jewish composition of the school as a whole, and at the end of arrows, the composition of the leading crowd and of each achievement group mentioned above.

For the boys, it is much as the cultural stereotype would suggest: Jewish boys under-achieve as best athletes, overachieve as best students. But the overachieve even more, as members of the leading crowd--and nearly as much as boys most popular with girls. The girls' chart, Fig. 10.3, shows a very different pattern: the Jewish girls overachieve slightly as best student--but less than in any of the other dimensions. They overachieve most as members of the leading crowd and

Figure 10.3

Girls



as best dressed, and their overachievement with the opposite sex is somewhere between these two and the best student. In other words, these girls overachieve, not at the activity which is most consistent with the cultural tradition, but at the activities which are most consistent with the values of the community—that is, in the areas which are important in this new cultural situation.

The possible consequence suggested by these charts is not that the adolescent community's values will become more learning-oriented and less socially-oriented with their Jewish [illegible], but perhaps even the opposite--the newcomers overachieving at those social activities which were already important in the community.

The Relation between Closeness on the "Chart" and the Value System

In Chapter 5, a discussion of the relative visibility of the persons who achieved in different areas--and it was shown there, in Figure 5.3, that the relative visibility of the good student was less than that of the athletic star in the early years, but caught up to him in the later ones.

It seems likely that one general source of the value system in any system is simply knowing who the high achievers are. One may be "famous" or "notorious," but unless one is either famous or notorious, one cannot serve as a model after whom others can pattern their behavior. There would seem to be two elements involved in such modelling: one is the visibility of the potential model, and the other is the positive or negative value attached to the area in which the model is achieving. Thus, whatever positive values a boy or girl, or the culture itself, might attach to being a good student, he cannot serve as a as best dressed, and their overachievement with the opposite sex is somewhere between these two and the best student. In other words, these girls overachieve, not at the activity which is most considered with the cultural tradition, but at the activities which are most consistent with the values of the community—that is, in the areas which are important in this new cultural situation.

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The Relation between Consensus on the "Stars" and the Value System:

In Chapter 5, a discussion of the relative visibility of the persons who achieved in different areas--and it was shown there, in Figure 5.5, that the relative visibility of the good student was less than that of the athletic star in the early years, but caught up to him in the later ones.

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The lack of an arena of performance which is visible to others outside the particular classroom probably is one of the factors which places the good student at a disadvantage relative to the good athlete.

One part of such visibility is the degree of consensus which exists within a system concerning the "stars" in a given activity. Such consensus is a measure of the degree to which people know who the stars are, quite apart from whether the stars in a given activity are famous or notorious, that is, quite apart from the values attached to the activity in which they star are positive or negative.

Table 10.1 below shos the degree to which there is consensus in a given system over the stars in three areas of activity: athletics, scholastic achievement, and popularity with girls. The measures are the equivalent number of independent choices out of every hundred actual choices, (where an independent choice is one in which every person in the school has an equal chance of being chosen).

One generalization from this table is that consensus in general goes up as the size of the school increases. This is not, of course, because everyone knows one another better, for the opposite is true. It is because of the nature of the questions themselves, which ask for the best boy in the particular activity in the whole class. Thus if there was complete consensus in a class of 100 boys, there would be one independent choice out of a hundred, or a consensus measure of 1. If in a class of 1000 there were complete consesnsus, there would be one independent choice out of 1000, or a consensus measure of 0.1. Thus if there were as much knowledge about the stars in the large schools as

Table 10.1 *

Measures of Independence of Choice of Best Athlete, Best student, and Most Popular with Girls in Each School. (100 = complete independence, 1 = one independent choice out of a hundred.)

School	Athlete	Student	Popular with Girls
0	30.1	18.6	36.0
1	7.8	7.0	19.7
2	6.2	6.9	19.2
3	5.6	7.3	7.6
4	4.3	7.5	18.9
5	7.2	4.1	29.4
6	4.9	7.0	14.0
7	4.1	6.1	17.5
8	4.6	5.0	11.9
9	4.0	7.9	4.9

---

* This measure is found by equating the variance actually found among N choices given to n persons to the variance which would be expected if all choices, by substituting a variable N*, a hypothetical number of choices made, for N, and solving for N*. The equation for the measure becomes

$$\frac{100N^*}{N} = \left(\frac{n - 2}{\frac{n\sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i^2}{N} - N} \right)$$

where x_i = number of choices received by individual i,

and

$$N = \sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i.$$

in the small ones, the measures of consensus would decrease in proportion to size, so that the measures in schools 8 and 9 would be only about one-fourth the size of those in schools 1 and 3. (The high values in school 0 are largely due to the fact that it was in fact two schools at the time these questions were asked, so that the consensus would be expected to be only half that which one shows.)

The degree to which the increase in consensus is less than this indicates the degree to which visibility of given stars go down as school size increases. The table shows that the only stars in which there is a general increase in consensus (or decrease in independence) from school 1 to 9 is the athlete. Though the change is not so large as to be consistent with the size increase, it does account for about one-third of the expected change (that is, the decrease in independence is about one-third of the expected decrease from 1 and 3 to 8 and 9, which would make the increases for the large schools ¼ those of the small). Such a decrease does not occur for the best student, and there is only a slight decrease for the boy who is popular with girls.

These data suggest that the athlete gains a greater and greater advantage as a potential model for boys as the system becomes larger and larger. Communication problems begin to exist in the large schools, and the means of communicating the achievements of the good student, or even of the boy who is successful with girls are far less efficient than those for communicating the achievements of the star athlete—especially in a school where nearly everyone attends the athletic games and can watch his exploits. These results again suggest a conclusion which has developed throughout the report: that the interscholastic athletic games are extremely important in giving these adolescent cultures the athletically-oriented values they have. The present result suggests one process by which this occurs, that is, simply through the fact of communication; at other points in the research, a second, and probably more important, process has been suggested: the fact that the athlete, in his successes, is winning not only for himself, but for the school as well. The good student, by contrast, is not only achieving for himself alone, but he is putting his classmates at a relative disadvantage by working so hard.

Other results consistent with earlier findings are evident in the above table: one of these is the consensus upon the boy who is popular with girls in school 9, indicating again that social matters are of great importance in this school. The same is true to a lesser degree in the middle-class small-town school 3. In contrast, in school 5, which has no girls, there is little consensus on who the stars in this arena of activity are. Similarly, the amount of consensus for the best student shows a high relationship to the importance of scholastic activity in the culture. Among the large schools, 5 has lowest consensus, then 8, next 7, finally followed by 9 and 6, an order which is roughly the same as these schools' order in the importance of good grades as a dimension of status. Among the small schools, the one where scholastic activity is least valued, 4, is the one where there is leas consensus on who the best students are (0 is excluded here, because it is in fact two schools; if it were included, and its measure divided by two, it would be, with 4, lower in consensus (or higher in the measure of independence shown in the table) than the other three schools where good grades are more highly valued.

A similar relationship occurs in athletics, although here only schools of roughly the same size can be compared because of the increase in consensus with size. School 9, where athletics is a more important means of status than 8, shows more consensus on its best athletes; school 4, where athletics is more important than in any of the other small schools, shows most consensus.

For the girls, Table 10.2 below shows the amount of consensus upon who is best dressed, who is the best student, and who is most popular with boys.

Table 10.2

Measures of Independence of Choice of Best Dressed, Best Student, and Most Popular with Boys, in each School. (100 = complete independence; 1 = 1 independent choice out of a hundred.)

School	Best Dressed	Student	Popular with Boys
0	29.4	16.2	15.1
1	16.7	6.7	11.7
2	12.3	9.1	8.6
3	14.6	6.9	8.0
4	7.3	4.7	8.7
6	9.4	13.1	11.0
7	9.0	13.4	8.0
8	8.2	5.2	5.9
9	3.9	3.8	2.9

Again school 9 is outstanding in the consensus about the most popular with the opposite sex. With the girls, however, there is also consensus on the best student, an activity which receives more rewards among girls in this school than among boys. Among the small schools, there is a strange reversal of consensus: in school 4, where good grades bring least status among girls, there is highest consensus. This of course presents no paradox, for high consensus can exist without there being a high value placed on the activity. The point of the present analysis is that a high value placed on the activity can hardly occur if there is no consensus, and, by implication, no communication on who the stars are.

A final result which these tables show depends on a comparison between them. If one looks at the consensus among boys concerning the boy most popular with girls and subtracts from it the consensus concerning popular girls, then an interesting result occurs: the boys and girls are most alike in the most middle class schools, most different in the most working-class schools (with the exception of school 6). In the working class schools, there is much less consensus among boys than among girls as to the one most popular with the opposite sex. Again this indicates the greater role-differentiation in working-class environments, where girls are focussed on boys; and boys on other things. In the middle class schools, both boys are more freely focussed on girls, and thus more similar in their orientations to the girls.

What Happened to School 1?

The status system among the boys in school 1 is a particularly interesting one, because its structure is somewhat different from that of the other small schools. The status systems of schools 2 and 3 encourage a combination of good student and good athlete, in the same boy; the status system of school 4 rewards the athlete, regardless of his interest and capabilities in scholastic matters; but the status system of school 1 gives rewards to the good student and good athlete, viewed as separate roles.

One important consequence of this was seen in Chapter 9, which showed that students and athletes were more nearly "specialists" in school 1, the first concentrating on doing well scholastically, and the second achieving little in scholastic directions. The best students think of themselves more as students in this school, and wants to be remembered as "brilliant student," more than in the other small schools. On the basis of both quantitative and qualitative evidence, it appears that the boys named as best students in school 1 had more interest in intellectual pursuits than their counterparts in the other small schools.

Yet there is some evidence for another consequence of this system of "separate but equal" roles for the student and athlete, a consequence for the value climate itself.

In Chapter 3, there was an extremely great difference between the senior class and the other three in the importance of scholastic achievement for the status system. The seniors were almost the lowest of all the ten schools, while the other classes were at or near the top of the list. No other school showed such a striking difference between classes. In another way as well, the boys in school 1 appeared to deviate from the general image of a scholastically-oriented status system which has developed through the report. In examining changes over the school year, the boys in school 1 decreased most in the proportion choosing the image of brilliant student as the way they would like to be remembered (over 6% while no other school decreased over 2%). This and other indications suggest that, just as there was a sharper difference between classes in the value climate among the boys of this school, there was a sharper change over the period of the year than among the boys in any other school.

School 1 had a remarkably successful athletic season, both in basketball and in football. As small as this school is, two senior boys were offered athletic scholarships by state universities, one for his fottball prowess and the other for his basketball ability. In this senior class, no boys were really outstanding scholastically (in contrast to the junior class, where the boy most often named best student was the center of the leading group, a boy with aspirations to study political science at Harvard, then law).

It appears that in school 1 the absence of an outstanding scholar, and the presence of outstanding athletes is responsible for the very great difference between the senior class and the others. Similarly, the extreme success in athletics may have been responsible for the radical changes in the value system which occurred over the year. It appears that this seuccess in athletics "swamped" the value system of the school, for that year, and the presence of outstanding athletes in the senior class swamped the value system in that class.

That these radical shifts occurred in school 1 may be a coincidence; but it seems reasonable to assume that they were in part due to the structure of the status system, that is, the differentiation of roles between student and athlete. It seems likely that such a status system is in a balance which is far more delicate than one in which the roles of athlete and student are combined. For students differ from year to year, and some years will cast up good athletes who are personally popular, while other years will cast up good students with similarly likeable personalities.

As long as the good athletes are also induced to pass off as good students, and the good students induced to achieve in athletics, then the value system cannot be radically altered by this variable supply from year to year, and by the variable success in athletics. If, however, as in school 1, the roles are specialized, then it seems likely that the value system will fluctuate widely as the supply of students and athletes fluctuates from year to year.

In one sense, then, a value system which combines these two roles includes a "safety device" which the others do not. It will never become highly academically oriented, but neither will it become primarily focussed on athletics. Which is the more desirable system from the point of view of these schools' aims is not easy to tell. Yet without saying that one is more desirable, it does seem likely that there are these different consequences in the stability of the value system.

This instability should of course be less and less with increase in the size of the school, for the supply of boys is large enough not to be affected so much by chance factors. It is in the small schools where the impact of this structural difference in the status system would be expected to be greatest.

Deterioration of Student-Teacher Relations and its Effects:

In Chapter 7, the deterioration of relations between students and teachers in school 2 was discussed (and documented in Table 7.11) as a possible source of the "status upsets" which occurred among girls' cliques there. Only one point will be added. This is a further consequence of that deterioration, a consequence which has implications far beyond the value climate of the school itself.

All girls were asked, in both fall and spring:

I.68. If you could be any of these things you wanted, which would you most want to be?

actress or artist
nurse
model
school teacher

The proportion checking "school teacher" among all schools together and among the girls of school 2 are shown below in Table 10.3

Table 10.2*

Percent of Girls Checking "schoolteacher" in Fall and Spring, in All Schools and in school 2.

	Fall	Spring
All Schools	20.6	20.6
School 2	15.8	12.8
Number of cases	(4057) (242)	(3922) (242)

In the fall, school 2's girls were second lowest in the proportion who wanted to be a school teacher (lowest were the girls of school 0, who increased between fall and spring, rather than decreasing, as did those of school 2). In the spring, they were not only lowest of the nine schools, their number had decreased by 8 girls out of 59, or from 15.8% to 12.8%, the largest drop that occurred in any of the schools.

It is not possible to say with assurance that the deterioration of relations shown in Chapter 7 caused the initially low choice of school teacher, or the drop over the school year. Yet the circumstantial evidence is certainly great. The implications, of course, are far more general than the implications for school 2 alone. They suggest that adolescents' desires to go into school teaching are strongly affected by their experiences in school, and by the relations which exist between them and their teachers. They suggest that a girl coming into a school with interests and aims of being a school teacher can have these interests and aims quickly dampened if she finds a less-than-pleasant state of relations between her friends and her teachers.

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* No-answers were subtracted.

Interscholastic athletics and the structure of activities in a school:

If one looks again at Figures 4.16 and 4.18, which show the proportions of boys and girls in each school choosing the various images of brilliant student, athletic star (for boys), leader in activities (for girls), and most popular, a curious difference emerges.

The proportion of boys choosing each of the three images by which he wants to be remembered is very nearly the same in each school. And in every school, the leading crowd "pulls" in similar directions: at least partly in the direction of the star athlete image. Yet for the girls, those same schools are far more dispersed, and the leading crowds "pull" in varying directions, far less uniformly than they do for the boys. Why such a difference in diversity, when these are the same schools?

The question can best be answered by indirection. In two other schools besides those in the research, the questionnaire was administered, primarily to answer a puzzling question: why was academic achievement of so little importance among the adolescents in school 9? Their parents were professionals and business executives, 85% were going to college (over twice as high a proportion as in any of the other schools), and yet academic excellence counted for little among them. The two schools added largely "held constant" parental background, for they were private, co-educational day schools whose students came from upper middle class backgrounds quite similar to those of school 9. One (#10) was in the city, the other (#11), in a suburban setting almost identical to that of school 9. Although these schools were added to the study to answer the question of school 9, they will be used to help answer the puzzle set earlier: the question of the clustering of schools for the boys, and their greater diversity for the girls. When we look at the responses of adolescents in these two schools to the question of how they would like to be remembered, the picture becomes even more puzzling than before, as Figures 10.4 and 10.5 indicate. For the boys, they are extremely far from the cluster of the other schools; for the girls, they are intermingled with the other schools. Thus, though it was with the boys that the other schools clustered so tightly, these two deviate sharply from the cluster; and for the girls, where the schools were already dispersed, these two are not distinguishable. Furthermore, the leading crowds of boys in these schools do not "pull" in an athletic direction as do those in almost all the other schools. To be sure, they pull away from the brilliant student image, but the pull is primarily toward a social image, the most popular. For the girls, the leading crowds pull in different directions, and are rather indistinguishable from the other schools.

The answer to both these puzzles, that is, first the great cluster for the boys and now with these two new schools, the greater deviation, seems to lie in one fact: interscholastic athletics for the boys. The nine public schools are all engaged in interscholastic leagues, leagues

Figure 10.4

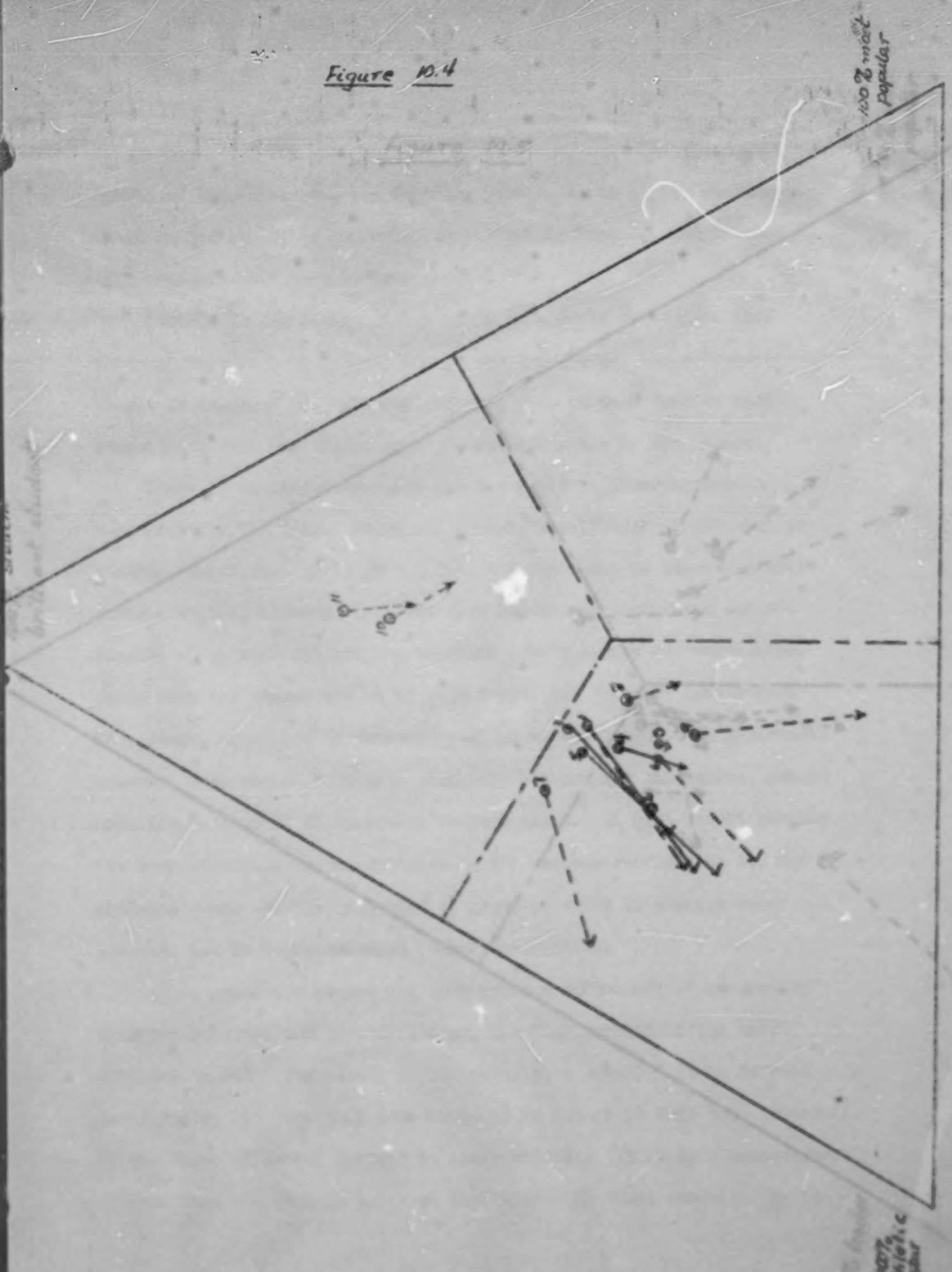
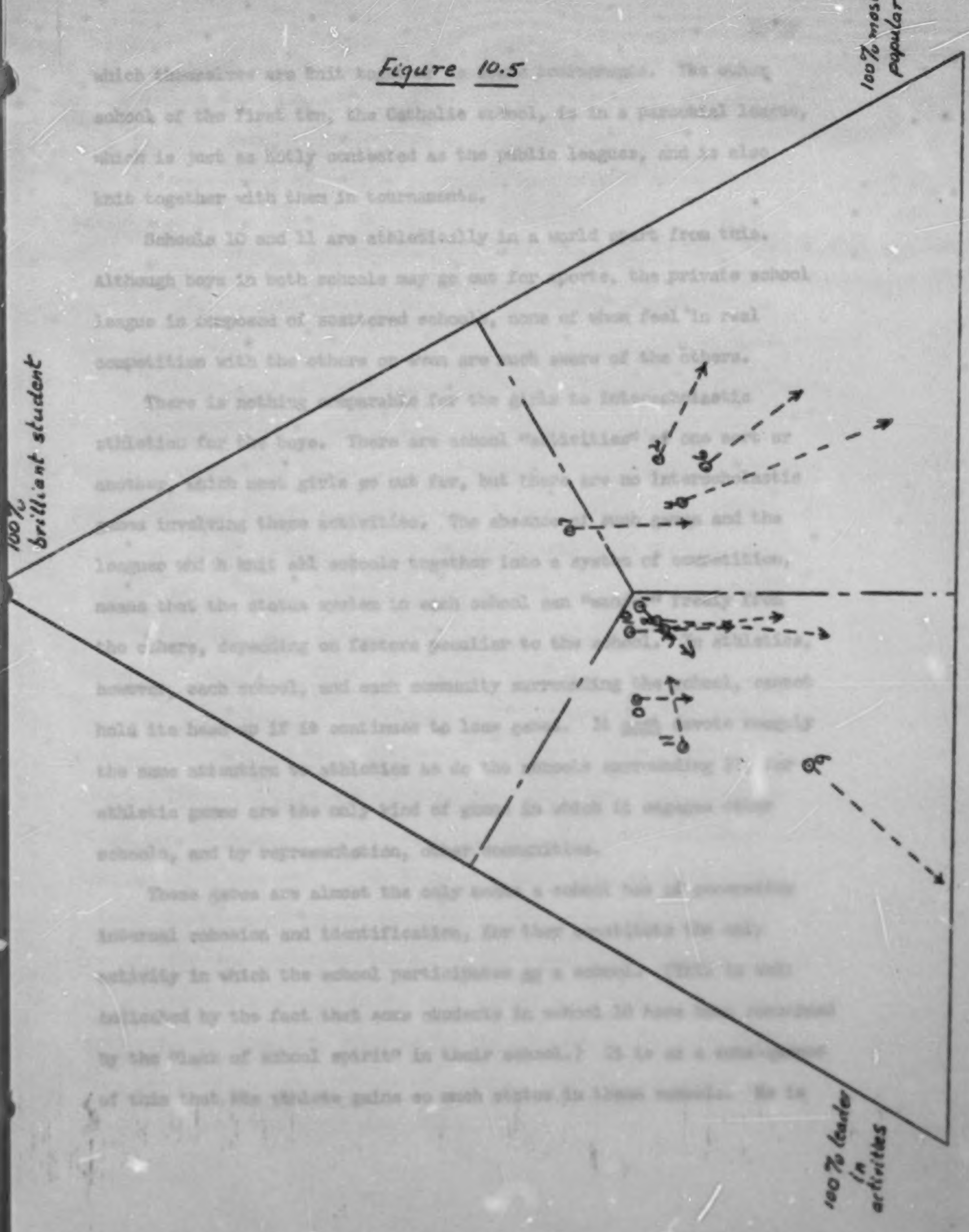

100% most popular
100% athletic star

Figure 10.5


100% most popular
100% brilliant student
100% leader in activities

which themselves are knit together in state tournaments. The other school of the first ten, the Catholic school, is in a parochial league, which is just as hotly contested as the public leagues, and is also knit together with them in tournaments.

Schools 10 and 11 are athletically in a world apart from this. Although boys in both schools may go out for sports, the private school league is composed of scattered schools, none of whom feel in real competition with the others or even are much aware of the others.

There is nothing comparable for the girls to interscholastic athletics for the boys. There are school "activities" of one sort or another, which most girls go out for, but there are no interscholastic games involving these activities. The absence of such games and the leagues which knit all schools together into a system of competition, means that the status system in each school can "wander" freely from the others, depending on factors peculiar to the school. In athletics, however, each school, and each community surrounding the school, cannot hold its head up if it continues to lose games. It must devote roughly the same attention to athletics as do the schools surrounding it, for athletic games are the only kind of games in which it engages other schools, and by representation, other communities.

These games are almost the only means a school has of generating internal cohesion and identification, for they constitute the only activity in which the school participates as a school. (This is well indicated by the fact that some students in school 10 have been concerned by the "lack of school spirit" in their school.) It is as a consequence of this that the athlete gains so much status in these schools. He is doing something for the school and the community, not only for himself, in leading his team to victory, for it is a school victory.

The outstanding student, by contrast, has little or no way to bring glory to his school. His victories are always purely personal ones, often at the expense of his classmates, who are forced to work harder to keep up with him. It is no wonder that his accomplishments gain little reward, and are often met by such ridicule as "curve raiser" or "grind," in terms of approbation which have no analogues in athletics.

One obvious solution is to substitute interscholastic (and intramural) competition in scholastic matters for the interpersonal competition for grades which presently exists. Such a substitution would require a revision of the notion that each student's achievement must be continually evaluated or "graded" in every subject. It would instead make such evaluations infrequent, and subsidiary to the group contests and games, both within the school and between schools.

Such a change from interpersonal to intergroup competition would also make it necessary to create, with considerable inventiveness, the vehicles for competition: intellectual games, problems, group and individual science projects, and other activities. Yet there are some examples which show that it can be done: debate teams, music contests, science fairs (though science fairs as now conducted lack one crucial element, for they are ordinarily competitions between individuals, and not competitions between schools, thus lacking the group reinforcement which would go along with "winning for the school"). There are, in one place and another, math tournaments, speaking contests, and other examples of interscholastic competition.

In other places, one can find the bases from which to develop new kinds of scholastic competition. For example, at Rand Corporation sociologists have developed "political gaming," in which teams represent policy-makers in various countries. An international situation is set up, the policy-making teams respond to it and to one another's moves (under the supervision of referees), and a game is pursued in earnest. It is not too difficult to see how this, and modifications of it to include legislative politics, union-management bargaining, and other such situations, could be brought to the high school level and used in interscholastic competition. (Rand reports that an experiment in political gaming at MIT induced such interest among the student players and spectators that for weeks afterwards they avidly followed international news events, to see how their moves corresponded with actual policies as they developed.)

As another example, business executives are now being trained in a few companies by "management games," in which hypothetical situations are set up requiring teams of executives to make decisions and observe the consequences. Electronic computers provide the hypothetical situation and the economic environment, so that the executive in a sense is playing against the computer. With effort and ingenuity, such games could be adapted to training in high school, not only in business economics, but in other areas.

There are many examples in high schools which show something about the effects such competitions might have. When I was a freshman in a small-town high school in Ohio, a slight, unprepossessing senior boy placed among the first ten in a state-wide physics competition. From that day, the senior boy--and physics as well--enjoyed a prestige and prominence neither would have otherwise had. Rather than ridicule or indifference, his efforts were treated with respect and encouragement--for he was bringing glory to the school.

It is true that many of the examples and experiments mentioned above have had far less effect in bringing informal social rewards, encouragement, and respect to participants than the present analysis would suggest. The reason is clear, however: such social rewards from the student body as a whole are only forthcoming in response to something the individual or team has done for them, such as bringing glory to the school by winning over another school. If the activity, whether it be debate or math competition or basketball, receives no publicity, no recognition in the newspapers and by the community generally, then its winning will have brought little glory to the school, and will bring little encouragement to the participants.

For this reason, sporadic and infrequent cases of interscholastic competition in non-athletic activities, with no attention to promotional activity, have little effect. However, if there were systematically organized games, tournaments, and meets in all activities ranging from mathematics and English through home economics and industrial arts to basketball and football, and if promotional and public relations skills were used, the resulting public interest and student interest in these activities would undoubtedly increase sharply. Suppose such a set of activities culminated in a "scholastic fair," which like a state fair included the most diverse exhibits,projects, competitions, and tournaments, not between individuals, but between schools. I suspect that the impact upon student motivation would be remarkably great--an impact due to the fact that the informal social rewards from community and fellow-students would reinforce rather than conflict with achievement.

These are simply examples of what might be done to change the structure of rewards in high schools--to shift from interpersonal competition, with its conflic-producing effects, to intergroup competition, in which group rewards reinforce achievement. More important than these examples, however, is the general principle--that motivations may be sharply altered by altering the structure of rewards, and more particularly that among adolescents, it is crucial to use the informal group rewards to reinforce the aims of education rather than to impede them.

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES

[redacted]

conducted by
The University of Chicago
under a grant from
The United States Office of Education

Attitude Questionnaire

Name .... Age .... Grade ....

This questionnaire is part of a study being carried out in ten selected high schools, to learn about the interests and attitudes of high school students in various kinds of high school situations. We think you will find the questions below interesting to answer. Try to go through the questionnaire quickly, without spending too much time on any single question. Answer the questions in order, without skipping.

Feel free to answer exactly the way you feel, for no one in this school will ever see the answers. When finished, hand the questionnaire to the research worker from the University of Chicago, who will take them directly to the University for statistical tabulation.

Remember: This is an attitude questionnaire, and not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. Most of the questions can be answered by a check in a box (like this: ☑), or by numbers on short line (like this: ..3..). Specific instructions are given where needed. Disregard the small numbers on the left of the boxes; they are only to aid in tabulating your answers in the office. If you come to a problem, raise your hand, and the research worker who has given you the questionnaire will come to your desk and answer your questions.

(You may start immediately)

1-9. What program are you taking in school?

1 ☐ not yet decided
2 ☐ vocational
3 ☐ commercial
4 ☐ general
5 ☐ college preparatory
6 ☐ other (What? ....)

10. What subjects do you like best in school?

(Check only the ones you like best)

1 ☐ science courses (physics, biology, etc.)
2 ☐ mathematics courses (geometry, etc.)
3 ☐ social science (civics, history, etc.)
4 ☐ English (including speech)
5 ☐ shop or vocational courses
6 ☐ physical education
7 ☐ foreign languages
8 ☐ music
9 ☐ art
0 ☐ other (What? ....)

11. Did you go out for football this fall?

1 ☐ yes
2 ☐ no

12. Are you going out for basketball this year?

3 ☐ yes
4 ☐ no
5 ☐ undecided

13. If school were not compulsory, and it were completely up to you, would you . . .

1 ☐ stay in school until graduation
2 ☐ leave school before graduating
3 ☐ don't know

14. If you had your choice of going to another school the size of this one, or to a smaller school, or to a larger one, which would you choose?

7 ☐ this size
8 ☐ smaller
9 ☐ larger

15. Thinking back to the 7th and 8th grades, did you enjoy them more than you are enjoying high school, or are you enjoying high school more?

7 ☐ 7th and 8th more
8 ☐ high school more
9 ☐ both same

16. What would you most like to get from high school?

....

....

....

17. How much time, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school?

1 ☐ none, or almost none
2 ☐ less than ½ hour a day
3 ☐ about ½ hour a day
4 ☐ about 1 hour a day
5 ☐ about 1½ hours a day
6 ☐ about 2 hours a day
7 ☐ 3 or more hours a day

18. Suppose you had an extra hour in school and could either take some course of your own choosing, or use it for athletics or some other activity, or use it for study hall. How would you use it?

(Check one)

1 ☐ course
2 ☐ athletics
3 ☐ club or activity
4 ☐ study hall, to study
5 ☐ study hall, to do something else

19. About how many evenings a week do you spend out with other fellows?
(Circle the number of evenings)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. About how many evenings a week do you spend at home?
(Circle the number of evenings)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21. How many records have you bought in the last month?
(Circle the number of records bought)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

22. Do you have a favorite record right now?

^{1}☐ yes
^{2}☐ no

If yes; what is it?..

23. Who is your favorite recording artist?

....

24. Among the following singers, which one do you like best?

^{1}☐ Pat Boone
^{2}☐ Perry Como
^{3}☐ Elvis Presley
^{4}☐ Tommy Sands
^{5}☐ Harry Belafonte
^{6}☐ Frank Sinatra

25. What kind of music do you enjoy most?

^{1}☐ rock and roll
^{2}☐ calypso
^{3}☐ other popular music
^{4}☐ jazz
^{5}☐ classical
^{6}☐ country and western

26. How often do you go to the movies?

^{5}☐ never, or almost never
^{6}☐ about once a month or less
^{7}☐ about once every two or three weeks
^{8}☐ about once a week
^{9}☐ about twice a week
^{0}☐ more than twice a week

27. With whom do you go most *often?*

^{6}☐ by myself
^{7}☐ with a date
^{8}☐ with other fellows
^{9}☐ with a group of boys and girls
^{0}☐ with members of my family

28. About how much time, on the average, do you spend watching TV on a weekday?

^{4}☐ none, or almost none
^{5}☐ about ½ hour a day
^{6}☐ about 1 hour a day
^{7}☐ about 1½ hours a day
^{8}☐ about 2 hours a day
^{9}☐ about 3 hours a day
^{0}☐ 4 or more hours a day

29-32. Different people strive for different things. Here are some things that you have probably thought about. Among the things you strive for during your high school days, just how important is each of these?
(Rank from 1 to 4)

.....pleasing my parents.
.....learning as much as possible in school.
.....living up to my religious ideals.
.....being accepted and liked by other students

33-36. Now rank the following four items in terms of their importance for you:
(Rank from 1 to 4)

.....groups and activities outside school
.....activities associated with school
.....having a good time
.....a good reputation

37. Below is a list of items on which some parents have rules for their teen-age children, while others don't. Check each item that your parents have definite rules for.

^{1}☐ time for being in at night on weekends
^{2}☐ amount of dating
^{3}☐ against going steady
^{4}☐ time spent watching TV
^{5}☐ time spent on home work
^{6}☐ against going around with certain boys
^{7}☐ against going out with certain girls
^{8}☐ eating dinner with the family
^{9}☐ no rules for any of the above items

38. What fellows here in school do you go around with most often? ***(Give both first and last names.)***

....
....
....
....
....

38a. What do you and the fellows you go around with here at school have most in common—what are the things you do together?

....
....
....
....

38b. Among the popular places around here, which is the one you go to together most often?

....

39. What fellows from school do you go around with most often *when you're out with the girls*—say at a party or double dates?

....
....
....

40. Among the crowd you go around with, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular in the group?

(Check as many as apply)

- 1 ☐ be a good dancer
- 2 ☐ have sharp clothes
- 3 ☐ have a good reputation
- 4 ☐ stirring up a little excitement
- 5 ☐ have money
- 6 ☐ smoking
- 7 ☐ being up on cars
- 8 ☐ know what's going on in the world of popular singers and movie stars

40a. Among the crowd you go around with, what are the styles or things that are popular right now—that is, in your group?

Description of style

Clothing ....

Haircuts ....

Cars and accessories ....

Anything else? ....

40b. Of all the *boys in your grade*, which boy . . .

is the best athlete? ....

is the best student? ....

do girls go for most? ....

would you most like to be friends with? ....

41-43. Do you date?

- 3 ☐ no
- 4 ☐ yes, about once a month
- 5 ☐ yes, once every 2 or 3 weeks
- 6 ☐ yes, about once a week
- 7 ☐ yes, about twice a week
- 8 ☐ yes, about three or four times a week
- 9 ☐ yes, more than four times a week

If yes: Do you go steady with one girl?

- 1 ☐ yes
- 2 ☐ no

If yes: What is her name? ....

About how long have you been going steady with her?

- 3 ☐ less than a month
- 4 ☐ 1-3 months
- 5 ☐ 4-6 months
- 6 ☐ 6 months-1 year
- 7 ☐ 1 year-2 years
- 8 ☐ more than 2 years

If no: Who are the girls you date most often?

....

....

44. What girl in school would you most *like* to date?

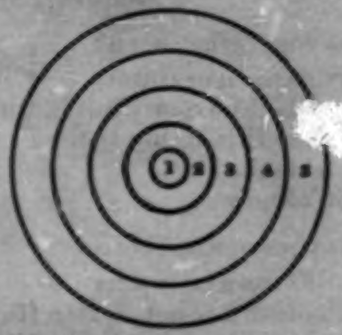
....

45. Thinking of *all the boys in this school*, who would you most want to *be* like?

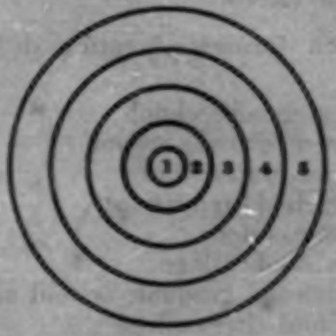
....

46. Suppose the circle below represented the activities that go on here at school. How far out from the center of things are you?

(Place a check where you think you are)



47. Now, in the circle below, place a check where you would *like* to be.



48. What does it take to get in with the leading crowd in this school?

....

....

....

....

....

49-50. Would you say you are a part of the leading crowd?

- 1 ☐ yes
- 2 ☐ no

If no: Would you like to be part of the leading crowd?

- 3 ☐ yes
- 4 ☐ no
- 5 ☐ don't care

51. If a fellow came here to school and wanted to get in with the leading crowd, what fellows should he get to be friends with?

....

....

....

....

52. Are you . . .
- ^{7}☐ an only child
- ^{8}☐ the oldest child in your family
- ^{9}☐ the youngest child in your family
- ^{0}☐ between the oldest and the youngest

53. Where were you born?
- ^{7}☐ in this town or county
- ^{8}☐ outside this county but in Illinois
- ^{9}☐ outside Illinois but in the U. S.
- ^{0}☐ outside the U. S.

53a. When were you born? ____________ 19____
Month Day

54. Where was your father born?
- ^{6}☐ in this town or county
- ^{7}☐ outside this county but in Illinois
- ^{8}☐ outside Illinois but in the U. S.
- ^{9}☐ outside the U. S.
- ^{0}☐ don't know

55. Where was your mother born?
- ^{6}☐ in this town or county
- ^{7}☐ outside this county but in Illinois
- ^{8}☐ outside Illinois but in the U. S.
- ^{9}☐ outside the U. S.
- ^{0}☐ don't know

56. How much formal education did your father have?
- ^{3}☐ some grade school
- ^{4}☐ finished grade school
- ^{5}☐ some high school
- ^{6}☐ finished high school
- ^{7}☐ some college
- ^{8}☐ finished college
- ^{9}☐ attended graduate school or professional school after college
- ^{0}☐ don't know

57. How much formal education did your mother have?
- ^{3}☐ some grade school
- ^{4}☐ finished grade school
- ^{5}☐ some high school
- ^{6}☐ finished high school
- ^{7}☐ some college
- ^{8}☐ finished college
- ^{9}☐ attended graduate school or professional school after college
- ^{0}☐ don't know

58. What is your father's occupation? What does he do? Be as specific as you can. (If he is dead, say what his occupation was.)

....

59. In what place, business, or organization does he work?

....

60. Does your mother have a job outside the home?
- ^{4}☐ yes, full-time
- ^{5}☐ yes, part-time
- ^{6}☐ no

61. Are your parents living?
- ^{7}☐ both living
- ^{8}☐ only mother living
- ^{9}☐ only father living
- ^{0}☐ neither living

62. Are your parents divorced or separated?
- ^{1}☐ yes
- ^{2}☐ no

63. Do you live with . . .
- ^{3}☐ mother and father
- ^{4}☐ mother and stepfather
- ^{5}☐ father and stepmother
- ^{6}☐ mother
- ^{7}☐ other (Write in: ____________________)

64. What is your religion?
- ^{1}☐ Protestant
- ^{2}☐ Catholic
- ^{3}☐ Jewish

65. How often do you attend church?
- ^{4}☐ every week
- ^{5}☐ 1 to 3 times a month
- ^{6}☐ less than once a month
- ^{7}☐ never

66. Do you earn any money by working outside the home? (Not counting summer work.)
- ^{1}☐ yes
- ^{2}☐ no

If yes: how many hours a week do you work? ______

What do you do? ____________________

67. Do you get any money from your parents?
- ^{3}☐ no
- ^{4}☐ I get money when I need some
- ^{5}☐ I get a regular allowance (How much per week? ____________)

68. If you could be any of these things you wanted, which would you most want to be?
(Check one)
- ^{7}☐ jet pilot
- ^{8}☐ nationally famous athlete
- ^{9}☐ missionary
- ^{0}☐ atomic scientist

69-73. Rank the following five occupations in terms of their desirability.
(Rank from 1 to 5)

____ writer or journalist
____ scientist
____ business executive
____ medical doctor
____ chemical engineer

74-77. Now rank the following four occupations in terms of their desirability.
(Rank from 1 to 4)

____ sales manager for a large business
____ trained machinist
____ proprietor of a small store
____ owner-operator of a printing shop

78. If you had a chance for two similar jobs, one in this town, and one in another town the same size but in another state, which would you take?
- ^{1}☐ the job in this town
- ^{2}☐ the job in another town

79. If one of the jobs were in this town and the other in a larger city, which would you take?
- ☐ the job in this town
- ☐ the job in a larger city

80. Thinking realistically, do you think you will probably live in this town when you are out of school and have a job?
- ☐ definitely yes
- ☐ probably yes
- ☐ don't know
- ☐ probably no
- ☐ definitely no

101. What kind of work do you plan to go into when you finish your schooling?

____

102. What do you plan to do about military service
- ☐ enlist after high school
- ☐ wait until drafted
- ☐ go after college
- ☐ get a deferment for reasons other than college
- ☐ don't know

103-7. Rank the five items below in terms of their importance to you on a job.
(Rank from 1 to 5)

____the security of steady work

____the opportunity for a rapid rise

____the enjoyment of the work itself

____friendly people to work with

____a high income

108. What is your favorite way of spending your leisure time?

____

____

____

____

109. When a new clothing style comes out, how soon do you change to the new style?
- ☐ I'm usually one of the first in my group to change.
- ☐ I change about the same time that most other people in my group change.
- ☐ I usually don't change until most of my friends have changed.
- ☐ I don't follow the change at all.
- ☐ Clothing styles don't matter to me.

110. Suppose you had money to buy a new sport jacket for a special dance. How would you decide what style or fashion to look for?
- ☐ I'd ask a friend my own age for advice.
- ☐ I'd ask a friend a little older than I am for advice.
- ☐ I'd ask one of the members of my family for advice.
- ☐ I'd find out what is in style from a magazine.
- ☐ I wouldn't consult anyone or anything.

111. What boy around here would be best able to keep you informed about what the latest style is?

____

112. If you had a hundred dollars, and you were completely free to do with it whatever you wanted, what would you do with it?
- ☐ spend it all
- ☐ spend most of it
- ☐ save most of it
- ☐ save it all

113. If you were going to college, and money were no problem, would you rather go away to college or to a college where you could live at home?
- ☐ away to college
- ☐ live at home

114. If you were going to a college, and had to choose between going to a good small college and a large college or university, which would you choose?
- ☐ small college
- ☐ large college or university

115. Are you planning to go to college after high school?
- ☐ yes
- ☐ undecided
- ☐ no

IF NO: SKIP TO QUESTION 127 AT TOP OF NEXT PAGE.

116. What college or colleges are you considering? (In order of preference.)

____

____

117-20. Looking forward to your years in college, how important do you think each of the following will be to you?
(Rank from 1 to 4)

____the stimulation of new ideas

____preparation for making a living

____campus activities and social life

____new friends who share my interests

121. What will you study in college?
- ☐ undecided
- ☐ a liberal arts program
- ☐ a science program
- ☐ a business program
- ☐ engineering
- ☐ agriculture
- ☐ pre-medicine, pre-dentistry, pre-law
- ☐ education

122. If you have already decided on a specific field within one of the above categories, what is it?

____

123-6. Rank the following colleges in terms of your preference, if you had to choose among them.
(Rank from 1 to 4)

____University of Illinois

____Princeton, Yale, Harvard

____M.I.T., Cal. Inst. of Technology

____Knox, Oberlin, or Carleton College

127. Check the category which comes closest to your feeling about yourself:

- ☐ I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely.
- ☐ There are many things I'd like to change, but not completely.
- ☐ I'd like to stay very much the same; there is very little I would change.

128. A situation like this might face anyone sooner or later. Suppose your parents planned a special trip to New York to celebrate their wedding anniversary, and they wanted to take the whole family along. But then it happens that this year your basketball team gets to the state tournament. The state finals are the very weekend that your family is going to New York. Your parents can't change their plans, and they leave it up to you: to go with them or to go to the tournament. Which do you think you would do?

- ☐ go with parents
- ☐ go to tournament

129. Suppose you had a chance to go out with either a cheerleader, or a girl who is the best student in class, or the best looking girl in class. Which one would you rather go out with?

- ☐ cheerleader
- ☐ best student
- ☐ best looking

130. A lot of times people make plans and then find that the plans cut into something else. Suppose your family had planned a trip to the West for a vacation in the summer. If you go along with them, it means you can't go camping with your friends, as you've been planning to do. What do you think you would do?

- ☐ go West with parents
- ☐ go camping with friends

131. If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would you want it to be?

- ☐ brilliant student
- ☐ athletic star
- ☐ most popular

132. When you read about sports, which of these three do you prefer to read about?

- ☐ a local athletic team
- ☐ a college professional team in Chicago or elsewhere in Illinois
- ☐ college or professional teams throughout the country

133. Suppose school was dismissed an hour early one day for a pep rally down at the athletic field, and the principal urged everyone to go to the rally, although it wasn't compulsory. On the way some of your friends asked you to go riding instead of to the pep rally. What do you think you would do?

- ☐ definitely go to the rally
- ☐ probably go to the rally
- ☐ probably go with friends
- ☐ definitely go with friends

134. Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and then finally you were asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think you would . . .

- ☐ definitely join anyway
- ☐ probably join
- ☐ probably not join
- ☐ definitely not join

135. What if your parents approved, but the teacher you like most disapproved of the group. Would you . . .

- ☐ definitely join anyway
- ☐ probably join
- ☐ probably not join
- ☐ definitely not join

136. But what if your parents and teachers approved of the group, but by joining the club you would break with your closest friend, who wasn't asked to join. Would you . . .

- ☐ definitely join anyway
- ☐ probably join
- ☐ probably not join
- ☐ definitely not join

137. Which one of these things would be hardest for you to take—your parents' disapproval, your teacher's disapproval, or breaking with your friend?

- ☐ parents' disapproval
- ☐ teacher's disapproval
- ☐ breaking with friend

138. Just suppose you were chosen to join the club which you most wanted to be in here at school.

What club would it be? ____________________

Do you already belong to this club?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

139. Do you belong to any clubs or groups *outside* of school, such as a neighborhood club, scouts, or a church young people's group?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

If yes, what are the names of the groups?

____

____

____

140. Which of the items below fit most of the *girls* here at school?

(Check as many as apply)

- ☐ friendly
- ☐ catty
- ☐ hard to get to know
- ☐ mad about clothes
- ☐ active around school
- ☐ boy-crazy
- ☐ studious
- ☐ out for a good time
- ☐ snobbish to girls outside their group

141. Which of the items below fit most of the *boys* here at school?

(Check as many as apply)

- 1 ☐ friendly
- 2 ☐ disinterested in school
- 3 ☐ hard to get to know
- 4 ☐ crazy about cars
- 5 ☐ active around school
- 6 ☐ girl-crazy
- 7 ☐ studious
- 8 ☐ out for a good time
- 9 ☐ sports-minded

142. Which of the items below fit most of the *teachers* here at school?

(Check as many as apply)

- 5 ☐ friendly
- 6 ☐ too strict
- 7 ☐ too easy with schoolwork
- 8 ☐ understand problems of teen-agers
- 9 ☐ not interested in teen-agers
- 0 ☐ willing to help out in activities

143-8. Among the items below, what does it take to get to be important and looked up to by the *other fellows* here at school?

(Rank from 1 to 6)

____ coming from the right family

____ leader in activities

____ having a nice car

____ high grades, honor roll

____ being an athletic star

____ being in the leading crowd

149-54. Which of these items is most important in making a fellow *popular with the girls* around here? That is, among the girls who *really rate*, which of these things count most?

(Rank from 1 to 6)

____ coming from the right family

____ leader in activities

____ having a nice car

____ high grades, honor roll

____ being an athletic star

____ being in the leading crowd

155-62. Do you agree or disagree that . . .

Agree	*Disagree*	
1 ☐	2 ☐	The real qualities of a person come out in the group.
3 ☐	4 ☐	If I could trade, I would be someone different from myself.
5 ☐	6 ☐	I enjoy social gatherings just to be with people.
7 ☐	8 ☐	I am often not able to keep up with the rest.
1 ☐	2 ☐	There are a few who control things in this school, and the rest of us are out in the cold.
3 ☐	4 ☐	I am not doing so well at school.
5 ☐	6 ☐	If a fellow wants to be part of the leading crowd around here, he sometimes has to go against his principles.
7 ☐	8 ☐	I often find myself day-dreaming.

163-66. Rank the following in terms of their attractiveness for you, if you could be any of these . . .

(Rank from 1 to 4)

____ an executive in a large national corporation.

____ a respected leader in civic and political affairs in your community.

____ a statesman in the affairs of the nation.

____ a successful businessman in your community.

167. Do you smoke?

- 1 ☐ yes, regularly
- 2 ☐ yes, occasionally
- 3 ☐ no

168. Do you drink beer?

- 4 ☐ yes, regularly
- 5 ☐ yes, occasionally
- 6 ☐ no

169. Do you drink liquor?

- 7 ☐ yes, regularly
- 8 ☐ yes, occasionally
- 9 ☐ no

170. If you had to register in the next election, how would you register?

- 4 ☐ Republican
- 5 ☐ Democrat
- 6 ☐ Independent

171. If independent, which party do you think you would prefer most often?

- 7 ☐ Republican
- 8 ☐ Democratic
- 9 ☐ don't know

172a. What make and year is your parents' car or cars?)

Make(s) ....

Year(s) ....

172b. Do you have a car of your own?

- 1 ☐ yes
- 2 ☐ no

If yes: What make and year is it?

Make.............................. Year..............

173. From the list below, check the things you have done to it.

- 3 ☐ nothing
- 4 ☐ duals or Hollywood muffler
- 5 ☐ modified engine
- 6 ☐ customized outside

174. If you could spend some money on making a car like you wanted it, would you modify the engine or customize the outside?

- 7 ☐ modify engine
- 8 ☐ customize outside
- 9 ☐ neither

175. What boy among the fellows here at school knows most about cars?

....

WHEN YOU ARE FINISHED PLEASE HAND YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESEARCH WORKER WHO WILL GIVE YOU A SHEET WITH SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES—*Supplementary Questionnaire*

Name ....

1-4. Put down the first thing that comes to your mind when you read the following words or phrases:

a. rock and roll: ....
b. studying: ....
c. intellectuals: ....
d. hotrods: ....

5. If you could get a brand new car, what one would you want among the three listed below?

^{1}☐ Ford
^{2}☐ Chevrolet
^{3}☐ Plymouth

6. Which one would you choose from the list below?

^{4}☐ De Soto
^{5}☐ Edsel
^{6}☐ Dodge
^{7}☐ Mercury
^{8}☐ Buick
^{9}☐ Oldsmobile
^{0}☐ Volkswagon

7. Can you use your parents' car?

^{7}☐ yes, when I want it
^{8}☐ yes, but only for special occasions
^{9}☐ parents don't have a car right now
^{0}☐ no

8-10. Complete the following sentences by checking one ending for each sentence.

a. A person who is alone is........

^{1}☐ bored or unhappy
^{2}☐ lonely
^{3}☐ afraid
^{4}☐ better off
^{5}☐ relaxed, thinking, or reading
^{6}☐ happy

b. When you have to decide between yourself and the group . . .

^{7}☐ I always go along with the group
^{8}☐ I usually go along with the group
^{9}☐ I usually decide for myself
^{0}☐ I always decide for myself

c. The years in high school have been . . .

^{6}☐ full of fun and excitement
^{7}☐ interesting and hard work
^{8}☐ fairly pleasant
^{9}☐ fairly dull
^{0}☐ unhappy

11-14. Complete the following sentences:

a. More than anything else, I'd like to..........
....

b. The best thing that could happen to me this year at school would be ....
....

c. The most important thing in life is..........
....

d. I worry most about..........
....

15-18. Put down the first thing that comes to your mind when you think about the following universities:

a. Purdue ....
b. Iowa ....
c. Cornell ....
d. U. of Chicago..

19. Pick any one of the four universities given above, and put down in some detail your impressions of that school:

....
....
....
....
....

20. Check any of the following drinks that are ever served in your home:

^{4}☐ martinis
^{5}☐ beer
^{6}☐ highballs
^{7}☐ whiskey
^{8}☐ table wine
^{9}☐ other alcoholic beverages
^{0}☐ none of these

21. What are your favorite TV programs? (List as many or as few as you like, in order of your preference.)

....
....

22. Do you read any magazines regularly or fairly regularly?

^{5}☐ yes
^{6}☐ no

If yes: which ones?..
....

23. When you buy new clothes, where do you usually buy them?

^{7}☐ a local store; which one?..........
^{8}☐ a store in downtown Chicago; which one?
....
^{9}☐ a store in another town.

24. How much do you spend on clothes per month, on the average?

^{5}☐ less than \$5
^{6}☐ between \$5 and \$10
^{7}☐ between \$10 and \$15
^{8}☐ between \$15 and \$25
^{9}☐ between \$25 and \$35
^{0}☐ \$35 or more

25. **In some schools, there seems to be one group that more or less runs things among the students. What about here? Is there one group that seems to be always in the middle of things, or are there several groups like that?**

^{7}☐ **one**
^{8}☐ **two**
^{9}☐ **more than two**

Who are the leading people in this group or groups? (Give first and last names.)

(first group) **(second group)**

(third group) **(fourth group)**

26-31. **At the left, below, are some descriptions which we have taken from the yearbook of "M...." high school, listing the activities in which three boys have taken part during their year in high school. Can you guess what these boys were like? On the line following *each* description put the number of the words which would fit each boy from those listed at the right.**

National Honor Society; Math. Club; Debating Society; Tennis. ____________

Football; Basketball; "M" Club; Homecoming Committee. ____________

Newspaper staff; Band; Student Council; Swimming ____________

1—a good example
2—a square
3—a scholar
4—a grind or bookworm
5—an active leader
6—a joiner
7—an all-round athlete
8—all brawn and no brains
9—popular with girls
10—an all-American boy

Now do the same thing for the following three girls:

Cheerleader; Pep Club; G.A.A.; Chorus. ____________

F.H.A.; Yearbook editor; Octet; Class Secretary; Prom Committee. ____________

National Honor Society; Spanish Club; Student Council; Dramatics Club. ____________

1—a good example
2—a square
3—a scholar
4—a grind or bookworm
5—an active leader
6—a joiner
7—prom queen
8—beautiful but dumb
9—popular with boys
10—ambitious

32. **In the first questionnaire you were asked quite a few questions about what it takes to be popular here. Now would you put down in *your own words* what you feel are the really important things that make a person popular here. In other words, what is it that makes this high school tick?** ***Use the remaining space below.***

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES

Conducted by

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

under a Grant from

THE UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION

GIRLS' ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

Name______________________________ **Age**__________

This questionnaire is something like the one you took last fall. There are no right and wrong answers—we want to learn the attitudes and interests of teen-agers. Try to get through the questionnaire quickly but without skipping.

***Answer exactly the way you feel,* for no one in this school will ever see the answers. When finished, hand the questionnaire to the research worker from the University of Chicago, who will take them directly to the University.**

Most of the questions can be answered by a check in a box (like this: ☑) or by numbers on short line (like this: 3). Disregard the small numbers on the left of the boxes. They are only to aid in tabulating your answers in the office.

If you come to a problem, raise your hand, and the research worker will come to your desk and answer your question.

(*You may start immediately*)

6. What school did you attend in 8th grade?

____

7. Thinking back to the 7th and 8th grades, did you enjoy them more than you are enjoying high school, or are you enjoying high school more?

7☐ 7th and 8th more
8☐ high school more
9☐ both same

8. If you had your choice of going to another school the size of this one, or to a smaller school, or to a larger one, which would you choose?

7☐ this size
8☐ smaller
9☐ larger

9. If school were not compulsory, and it were completely up to you, would you . . .

1☐ stay in school until graduation?
2☐ leave school before graduating?
3☐ don't know

List any clubs or activities in school in which you are *presently a member*. If you are an officer in any, list the office you hold in each.

Club or Activity	Office

10. Since you've been in high school have you won any honors or awards?

1☐ yes
2☐ no

If "yes," which ones?______________________________

What one honor or achievement would you most *like* to win in high school?

____

11. Is it easier for a girl to get to be important and well-known among the students in this school by making friends with a very popular girl or by dating a very popular boy?

1☐ making friends with a popular girl
2☐ dating a popular boy

12. Roughly, what proportion of home basketball games did you attend this year?

1☐ less than half of home games
2☐ about half of home games
3☐ more than half of home games
4☐ all the home games

13. Do you remember your basketball team's won-lost record during regular season play this year?

7☐ yes: ______games won; ______games lost
8☐ no, I don't remember

14. What subjects do you like best in school?
(Check only the ones you like best)

1☐ science courses (physics, biology, etc.)
2☐ mathematics courses (geometry, etc.)
3☐ social science (civics, history, etc.)
4☐ English (including speech)
5☐ home economics courses
6☐ physical education
7☐ foreign languages
8☐ music
9☐ art
0☐ other (What?______________________)

15. Of all the subjects you've studied here at school, are there any you would like to follow up in later life, just for pleasure?

1☐ yes
2☐ no

If "yes," which ones?______________________________

16. How much time, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school?

1☐ none, or almost none
2☐ less than ½ hour a day
3☐ about ½ hour a day
4☐ about 1 hour a day
5☐ about 1½ hours a day
6☐ about 2 hours a day
7☐ 3 or more hours a day

17. Suppose you had an extra hour in school and could either take some course of your own choosing, or use it for athletics or some other activity, or use it for study hall. How would you use it? *(Check one)*

1☐ course
2☐ athletics
3☐ club or activity
4☐ study hall, to study
5☐ study hall, to do something else

18-21. Different people strive for different things. Here are some things that you have probably thought about. Among the things you strive for during your high school days, just how important is each of these?
(Rank from 1 to 4: 1 for the highest in importance to you, 2 for the second highest, 3 for the third highest, and 4 for the lowest.)

....pleasing my parents
....learning as much as possible in school
....living up to my religious ideals
....being accepted and liked by other students

22-25. Now rank the following four items in terms of their importance for you:
(Rank from 1 to 4; 1 is highest, 4 is lowest)

....groups and activities outside school
....activities associated with school
....having a good time
....a good reputation

26. How many records have you bought in the last month? *(Circle the number of records bought)*

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

27. Who is your favorite recording artist?

....

28. Among the following singers, which one do you like best?
(Check one)

1☐ Pat Boone
2☐ Perry Como
3☐ Elvis Presley
4☐ Tommy Sands
5☐ Harry Belafonte
6☐ Frank Sinatra

29. What kind of music do you enjoy most? *(Check one)*

1☐ rock and roll
2☐ calypso
3☐ other popular music
4☐ jazz
5☐ classical
6☐ country and western

30. Do you belong to any fan clubs?

4☐ yes
5☐ no, but I used to belong to one
6☐ no, I have never belonged to one

31. How well do you know how to dance?

7☐ very well
8☐ fairly well
9☐ not very well
0☐ not at all

32. About how many evenings a week do you spend out with other girls?
(Circle the number of evenings)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

33. About how many evenings a week do you spend at home?
(Circle the number of evenings)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

34. Of the girls you go around with most often, are most of them . . .

6☐ in this school?
7☐ in another school?
8☐ graduated from high school?
9☐ dropped out of school?

What girls here in school do you go around with most often? (Give both first and last names.)

....
....
....
....
....

35. Among the crowd you go around with, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular in the group?
(Check as many as apply)

1☐ be a good dancer
2☐ have sharp clothes
3☐ have a good reputation
4☐ stirring up a little excitement
5☐ have money
6☐ smoking
7☐ know how to dress properly
8☐ know what's going on in the world of popular singers and movie stars

36. Most of my friends think TV is . . .
(Check one only)

1☐ fun
2☐ boring

Of all the girls in your grade, which girl . . .

is the best dressed?...
is the best student?...
do boys go for most?...
would you most like to be friends with?...

37. Do you date?
- 3☐ no
- 4☐ yes, about once a month
- 5☐ yes, about once every two or three weeks
- 6☐ yes, about once a week
- 7☐ yes, about twice a week
- 8☐ yes, about three or four times a week
- 9☐ yes, more than four times a week

38. Do you go steady with one boy?
- 1☐ yes: What is his name?________________
- 2☐ no: Who are the boys you date most often?

____

____

39. Is the boy (or boys) you mentioned above . . .
- 5☐ in this school?
- 6☐ in another high school?
- 7☐ graduated, and not in school?
- 8☐ graduated, and in college?
- 9☐ dropped out of school?

What boy *in school* would you most like to date?

____

Thinking of all the girls in this school, who would you most want to be like?

____

Of all the *teachers* you've had here at school, which teacher do you like best?

____

40. Would you say you are a part of the leading crowd?
- 1☐ yes
- 2☐ no

41. If no: Would you like to be part of the leading crowd?
- 3☐ yes
- 4☐ no
- 5☐ don't care

If a girl came here to school and wanted to get in with the leading crowd, what girls should she get to be friends with?

____

____

____

____

42. Suppose you had a chance to go out with either a star athlete, or a boy who is the best student in class, or the best looking boy in class. Which one would you rather go out with?
- 7☐ star athlete
- 8☐ best student
- 9☐ best looking

43. If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would you want it to be?
- 4☐ brilliant student
- 5☐ leader in activities
- 6☐ most popular

44. Which do you think is most important in school?
- 1☐ for the teachers to be fair in their judgment of you
- 2☐ for the other students to be fair in their judgment of you

45-50. For each of the kinds of people at the left, pick from the list on the right the first word that occurs to you when you think of the person at the left.
(Write in the number of the word on the line at the left)

___teacher	3. dull
___father	4. inspiring
___scientist	5. odd
___congressman	6. challenging
___musician	7. you can have it
___mother	8. good example
	9. frightening
	0. interesting

51. If you could be any of these things you wanted, which would you most want to be? *(Check one)*
- 7☐ actress or artist
- 8☐ nurse
- 9☐ model
- 0☐ school teacher

52-56. Rank the following five occupations in terms of their desirability for a man.
(Rank from 1 to 5; 1 is highest, 5 lowest)
- ___writer or journalist
- ___scientist
- ___business executive
- ___medical doctor
- ___chemical engineer

57-60. Now rank the following four occupations in terms of their desirability. *(Rank from 1 to 4)*
- ___secretary to a business executive
- ___journalist
- ___interior decorator
- ___airline hostess

61. If you had a chance for two similar jobs, one in this town, and one in another town the same size but in another state, which would you take?
- 1☐ the job in this town
- 2☐ the job in another town

62. If one of the jobs were in this town and the other in a larger city, which would you take?
- 3☐ the job in this town
- 4☐ the job in a larger city

63. Thinking realistically, do you think you will probably live in this town when you are out of school?
- 5☐ definitely yes
- 6☐ probably yes
- 7☐ don't know
- 8☐ probably no
- 9☐ definitely no

64. Here are three different jobs. If you had your choice, which would you pick? *(Check one)*
- 1☐ a job which pays a moderate income but which you were sure of keeping
- 2☐ a job which pays a good income but which you have a 50-50 chance of losing
- 3☐ a job which pays an extremely good income, if you make the grade, but in which you lose almost everything if you don't make it

65. Do you say prayers before you go to bed at night?

- 6☐ yes, every night
- 7☐ yes, usually
- 8☐ yes, sometimes
- 9☐ no, never

66. What is your religion?

- 1☐ Protestant
- 2☐ Catholic
- 3☐ Jewish

67. How often do you attend church?

- 4☐ every week
- 5☐ 1 to 3 times a month
- 6☐ less than once a month
- 7☐ never

What church do you go to? ______________________________

68. Do you earn any money by working outside the home? (Not counting summer work.)

- 1☐ yes
- 2☐ no

If "yes": how many hours a week do you work? ______

What do you do? ______________________________

69. If you had to register in the next election, how would you register?

- 4☐ Republican
- 5☐ Democrat
- 6☐ Independent

70. If independent, which party do you think you would prefer most often?

- 7☐ Republican
- 8☐ Democratic
- 9☐ don't know

71. Can you use your parents' car?

- 6☐ yes, when I want it
- 7☐ yes, but only for dates
- 8☐ parents have no car
- 9☐ no

72. Do you have a car of your own?

- 1☐ yes
- 2☐ no

If "yes": What make and year is it?

Make ____________________ **Year** __________

73. How much do you spend on clothes per month, on the average?

- 5☐ less than $5
- 6☐ between $5 and $10
- 7☐ between $10 and $15
- 8☐ between $15 and $25
- 9☐ between $25 and $35
- 0☐ $35 or more

What girl around here would be best able to keep you informed about what the latest style is?

____

74. In the last year, have you ever cut school?

- 7☐ yes
- 8☐ no

75. Do you smoke?

- 1☐ yes, regularly
- 2☐ yes, occasionally
- 3☐ no

76. Do you drink beer?

- 4☐ yes, regularly
- 5☐ yes, occasionally
- 6☐ no

77. Do you drink liquor?

- 7☐ yes, regularly
- 8☐ yes, occasionally
- 9☐ no

78. Do you agree or disagree that . . .

Agree	Disagree	
1☐	2☐	**The real qualities of a person come out in the group.**
3☐	4☐	**If I could trade, I would be someone different from myself.**
5☐	6☐	**I enjoy social gatherings just to be with people.**
7☐	8☐	**I am often not able to keep up with the rest.**

79.

1☐	2☐	**There are a few who control things in this school, and the rest of us are out in the cold.**
3☐	4☐	**I am not doing so well at school.**
5☐	6☐	**If a fellow wants to be part of the leading crowd around here, he sometimes has to go against his principles.**
7☐	8☐	**I often find myself day-dreaming.**

106. Check the category which comes closest to your feeling about yourself: *(Check one)*

- 7☐ I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely.
- 8☐ There are many things I'd like to change, but not completely.
- 9☐ I'd like to stay very much the same; there is very little I would change.

107. A person who is alone is . . . *(Check one)*

- 1☐ bored or unhappy
- 2☐ lonely
- 3☐ afraid
- 4☐ better off
- 5☐ relaxed, thinking, or reading
- 6☐ happy

108. I think TV is . . .

- 1☐ fun
- 2☐ boring

109. For each of these situations, check whether you think you would "go along with it" or "try to get out of it."

Go along with it	Try to get out of it	
1☐	2☐	**The school is sponsoring a big picnic.**
3☐	4☐	**Your family is planning a get-together.**
5☐	6☐	**You are asked to help decorate the school gym for a big dance.**
7☐	8☐	**Your parents want you to go with them to a movie.**

110. Ann was doing well in biology class, because she had a hobby of collecting and identifying insects. One day her biology teacher asked Ann if she would act as the assistant in the class. Ann didn't know whether this was an honor to be proud of or whether she would be the "teacher's pet." How would you feel—that it would be something to be proud of, or wouldn't it matter?

1☐ something to be proud of
0☐ something I wouldn't care for
8☐ I'd have mixed feelings

111. Now suppose you decided to agree to be the assistant in biology. What would your friends think when they found out about it?

6☐ they would envy me and look up to me
7☐ they would kid me about it, but would still envy me
8☐ they would look down on me
9☐ they wouldn't care one way or the other

112. If something like this happened to you, would it be something that would make your parents proud of you, or wouldn't they care?

5☐ both would be very proud of me
6☐ they might feel a little proud
7☐ mother would be proud, father wouldn't care
8☐ father would be proud, mother wouldn't care
9☐ they wouldn't care

113. What if a different situation occurred—you were chosen as a cheerleader, much to your surprise. Would that make your parents proud of you, or wouldn't they care?

5☐ both would be very proud of me
6☐ they might feel a little proud
7☐ mother would be proud, father wouldn't care
8☐ father would be proud, mother wouldn't care
9☐ they wouldn't care

114. Sue had always liked to sew and had even begun to design her own clothes. This meant that the home ec teacher singled Sue out as her special assistant for a fashion show. She didn't know what to do, since she had no use for girls who hung around the teacher. If you were in Sue's place what would you do?

1☐ I would agree to be assistant
0☐ I wouldn't agree to be assistant
8☐ I am not sure

115. If you did become the assistant in the sewing class, would your friends look up to you for it, or would they look down on you?

6☐ they would envy me and look up to me
7☐ they would kid me about it, but would still envy me
8☐ they would look down on me
9☐ they wouldn't care one way or the other

116. Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and then finally you were asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think you would . . .

7☐ definitely join anyway
8☐ probably join
9☐ probably not join
0☐ definitely not join

117. What if your parents approved of the group, but by joining the club you would break with your closest friend, who wasn't asked to join. Would you . . .

7☐ definitely join anyway
8☐ probably join
9☐ probably not join
0☐ definitely not join

118-123. For each of the colleges at the left, pick from the list on the right the first word that occurs to you when you think of that college.
(Write in the number of the word on the line at the left.)

___University of Illinois	0. don't know it
	1. athletic teams
___Vassar	2. expensive
___Stanford	3. lots of fun
	4. religious
___Carlton	5. nice location
___Illinois State Normal	6. snobbish
	7. intellectual
___Notre Dame	8. hard to get through
	9. free-thinking

124. If you were going to college, and money were no problem, would you rather go away to college or to a college where you could live at home?

5☐ away to college
6☐ live at home

125. If you were going to a college, and had to choose between going to a good small college and a large college or university, which would you choose?

7☐ small college
8☐ large college or university

126. Are you planning to go to college after high school?

9☐ yes
0☐ undecided
x☐ no

IF "YES" OR "UNDECIDED," GO ON WITH THE QUESTIONS BELOW. IF "NO," SKIP TO QUESTION 146.

127. What will you study in college?

1☐ undecided
2☐ a liberal arts program
3☐ a science program
4☐ a business program
5☐ nursing
6☐ home economics
7☐ pre-medicine, pre-dentistry, pre-law
8☐ education

128. If you have already decided on a specific field within one of the above categories, what is it?

____

In thinking about a college to attend, what colleges have you ever considered as possibilities for yourself?
(List all colleges that you've considered)

______________ ______________
______________ ______________
______________ ______________

129. How many of the catalogues of these colleges have you seen?

6☐ none
7☐ less than half
8☐ half or more
9☐ all

130. How many of the campuses of these colleges have you visited?

- 6☐ **none**
- 7☐ **less than half**
- 8☐ **half or more**
- 9☐ **all**

Now, considering all the colleges in the country, if you could completely have your way, what would be your ideal college? *(Name only one)*

____

What are the things that make this college an "ideal" school to you?

____

____

____

131. In thinking about college, which of the persons listed below have you talked to about it?
(Check those with whom you have talked about college)

- 1☐ **parents**
- 2☐ **friends here in school**
- 3☐ **friends or acquaintances attending college**
- 4☐ **social studies teacher**
- 5☐ **mathematics or science teacher**
- 6☐ **English teacher**
- 7☐ **athletic coach**
- 8☐ **guidance counselor**
- 9☐ **another teacher**
- 0☐ **college representative**

132. For each of the items below, check which ones you and your parents agree about, which ones you disagree about, and which ones you *haven't discussed* with your parents.

	Agree	Don't Agree	Haven't Discussed	
	1☐	2☐	3☐	**What course of study you should take**
	4☐	5☐	6☐	**Which college you should go to**
133.	1☐	2☐	3☐	**Whether you should live away from home**
	4☐	5☐	6☐	**How your college education will be paid for**

134. Considering living costs, tuition, and fees, about how much do you expect your first year in college to cost, including the amount covered by any scholarships?

- 1☐ **don't know**
- 2☐ **under $500**
- 3☐ **$500-$999**
- 4☐ **$1,000-$1,499**
- 5☐ **$1,500-$1,999**
- 6☐ **$2,000-$2,499**
- 7☐ **$2,500+**

135. About what percentage of your college education do you expect that your family or relatives will pay for?

- 5☐ **none**
- 6☐ **25%**
- 7☐ **50%**
- 8☐ **75%**
- 9☐ **100%**

136. About what percentage do you expect to pay from summer earning and part-time jobs?

- 5☐ **none**
- 6☐ **25%**
- 7☐ **50%**
- 8☐ **75%**
- 9☐ **100%**

ANSWER QUESTIONS BELOW IF YOU ARE A SENIOR PLANNING TO GO TO COLLEGE NEXT FALL. NON-SENIORS SKIP TO QUESTION 144.

What colleges have you applied to for admission? List the colleges on the lines to the left, *in the order of your preference.*

1.________________ 4.________________

2.________________ 5.________________

3.________________ 6.________________

Write in the names of the ones to which you've been admitted and the ones at which you've been rejected, in the appropriate space.

Admitted____________________________

Rejected____________________________

Write in the names of the ones to which you've applied for scholarships (if any) and the ones from which you've received a scholarship offer.

Applied for a scholarship____________________

Received scholarship________________________

137. Did you take the College Entrance Board Exams?

- 5☐ **yes**
- 6☐ **no**

138. Do you definitely know yet which college you will attend?

- 7☐ **yes** **Which one?**____________________
- 8☐ **no**

139. If "yes," how does this school compare to the others you were considering, in each of the following ways?

	Better	About Equal	Worse	Don't know	
	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	**offering the course of study you want**
	5☐	6☐	7☐	8☐	**general reputation of the school**
140.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	**location and campus**
	5☐	6☐	7☐	8☐	**athletic teams**
141.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	**campus activities and social life**

142. What were the most important considerations you had in mind when you were deciding which school to attend? *(Check all the things that were important for you)*

- 1☐ **tuition costs and living expenses**
- 2☐ **closeness to home**
- 3☐ **the high educational standards**
- 4☐ **course of study offered**
- 5☐ **chances of a scholarship**
- 6☐ **the religious character of the school**
- 7☐ **your chances of getting admitted**
- 8☐ **people you know who went to those schools**

143. During the time when you're actually going to school, about how much time, if any, do you expect to work per week at a paying job?

- 7☐ **none**
- 8☐ **less than 20 hours per week**
- 9☐ **20 hours or more per week**

SKIP TO QUESTION 151 ON THE NEXT PAGE.

NON-SENIORS WHO ARE PLANNING TO GO TO COLLEGE OR ARE UNDECIDED, ANSWER QUESTIONS 144 AND 145.

144. Now, regardless of where you would ideally like to go, do you have an idea what college you will probably attend?

1☐ yes, definitely } Which one? ____________
2☐ yes, probably }
3☐ no

145. What were the most important considerations for you in thinking about which college to attend? *(Check all the things that were most important for you)*

1☐ tuition costs and living expenses
2☐ closeness to home
3☐ high educational standards
4☐ course of study offered
5☐ chances of a scholarship
6☐ the religious character of the school
7☐ your chances of getting admitted
8☐ people you know who went to those schools

SKIP TO QUESTION 151 IN THE NEXT COLUMN.

IF YOU ARE *NOT* PLANNING TO GO TO COLLEGE AT ALL, ANSWER QUESTIONS BELOW.

146. Check the most important reasons why you are not going to college. *(Check as many as apply)*

1☐ I never considered going to college.
2☐ I couldn't afford it.
3☐ Most of my friends aren't going to college.
4☐ My grades aren't high enough.
5☐ I don't need a college education.
6☐ My parents haven't encouraged me.
7☐ I don't need a college education.
8☐ The school wouldn't give me a good recommendation.

147. Suppose you were to decide that you'd like to go to college. How would your family react to this?

7☐ They would feel happy and encourage me.
8☐ They would think I was doing the wrong thing and would discourage me.
9☐ They wouldn't care much one way or the other.

148. What do you plan to do after you're out of high school?

1☐ help at home
2☐ marry right away and not work
3☐ marry right away and also get a job
4☐ get a job
5☐ go to business school or other school
6☐ undecided

149. If you will get a job, will it be at a place where you've been working while you're in school, or somewhere else?

1☐ same place I've been working
2☐ somewhere else
3☐ don't know for sure

150. Do you know yet (or have an idea) what your job will be?

7☐ yes, definitely } What? ____________
8☐ yes, probably }
9☐ no

EVERYONE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BELOW.

151-157. For each of the situations listed on the left, pick the *one* item from the list on the right that comes closest to what you think you would feel like doing. Write the number of the activity you choose on the line: you may use the same number more than once if you like.

___When I'm bored . . .
___When I finish my homework on a weeknight . . .
___I've had a bad day at school . . .
___I've had an argument with my best friend . . .
___I've had an argument with one of my parents . . .
___Our basketball team has just won an important game . . .
___Our basketball team has just lost an imtant game . . .

1. go down to the drugstore
2. watch television
3. ride around with friends
4. stay home and read
5. go over to a friend's house
6. raid the icebox
7. listen to the radio by myself
8. listen to records with friends
9. go to a movie

158. How often do you go to the movies? *(Check one)*

5☐ never, or almost never
6☐ about once a month or less
7☐ about once every two or three weeks
8☐ about once a week
9☐ about twice a week
0☐ more than twice a week

159. With whom do you go *most often*? *(Check one)*

6☐ by myself
7☐ with a date
8☐ with other girls
9☐ with a group of boys and girls
0☐ with members of my family

160. About how much time, on the average, do you spend watching TV on a weekday?

4☐ none, or almost none
5☐ about ½ hour a day
6☐ about 1 hour a day
7☐ about 1½ hours a day
8☐ about 2 hours a day
9☐ about 3 hours a day
0☐ 4 or more hours a day

161. With whom do you watch most often? *(Check one)*

6☐ by myself
7☐ with a date
8☐ with other girls
9☐ with a group of boys and girls
0☐ with members of my family

162. Which of the following kinds of television programs do you enjoy watching?
(Check all those you enjoy watching)

1☐ variety shows (like Ed Sullivan)
2☐ popular music shows; popular singers
3☐ comedy shows
4☐ plays or other drama
5☐ detective, police, or mystery shows
6☐ westerns
7☐ quiz shows
8☐ sports broadcasts
9☐ movies

Turn to Page 8

163-166. **Rank the following four activities in the order that you best like doing them.** *(Rank from 1 to 4; 1 is highest, 4 is lowest.)*

- ......**watching TV**
- ......**going to movies**
- ......**listening to the radio or to records with friends**
- ......**listening to the radio or to records by yourself**

167. **Putting these four activities together, how much of your spare time do you spend on them? Put a check on the line where you think you fall.**

None of my spare time	All of my spare time

168. **Of just the time that you spend with your friends, how much of it do you spend doing any of the things listed above? Place a check somewhere along the line.**

None of it	All of it

169. **Which of the items below fit most of the *girls* here at school?** *(Check as many as apply)*

- 1☐ **friendly**
- 2☐ **catty**
- 3☐ **hard to get to know**
- 4☐ **mad about clothes**
- 5☐ **active around school**
- 6☐ **boy-crazy**
- 7☐ **studious**
- 8☐ **out for a good time**
- 9☐ **snobbish to girls outside their group**

170. **Which of the items below fit most of the *boys* here at school?** *(Check as many as apply)*

- 1☐ **friendly**
- 2☐ **disinterested in school**
- 3☐ **hard to get to know**
- 4☐ **crazy about cars**
- 5☐ **active around school**
- 6☐ **girl-crazy**
- 7☐ **studious**
- 8☐ **out for a good time**
- 9☐ **sports-minded**

171. **Which of the items below fit most of the *teachers* here at school?** *(Check as many as apply)*

- 5☐ **friendly**
- 6☐ **too strict**
- 7☐ **too easy with schoolwork**
- 8☐ **understand problems of teen-agers**
- 9☐ **not interested in teen-agers**
- 0☐ **willing to help out in activities**

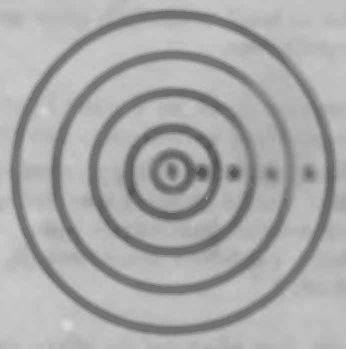
172. **If you had a hundred dollars, and you were completely free to do with it whatever you wanted, what would you do with it?** *(Check one)*

- 1☐ **spend it all**
- 2☐ **spend most of it**
- 3☐ **save most of it**
- 4☐ **save it all**

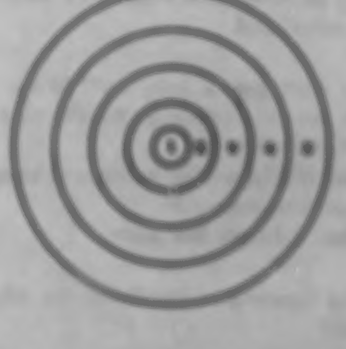
173. **If you could get a brand-new car, what one would you want among those listed below?** *(Check one)*

- 4☐ **De Soto**
- 5☐ **Edsel**
- 6☐ **Dodge**
- 7☐ **Mercury**
- 8☐ **Buick**
- 9☐ **Oldsmobile**
- 0☐ **Volkswagen**

174. **Suppose the circle below represented the activities that go on here at school. How far out from the center of things are you? (The center of the circle represents the center of things in school.)** *(Place a check where you think you are)*



175. **Now, in the circle below, place a check where you would like to be.**



WHEN YOU ARE FINISHED PLEASE HAND YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESEARCH WORKER, WHO WILL GIVE YOU A SHEET WITH SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES—*Supplementary Questionnaire A*

Name ______________________________

On this sheet we want you to write down a detailed account of how you spent your time after school yesterday (or, if today is Monday, after school last Thursday). Try to recall as much as you can. Write down what you did, whom you were with, where you were, and how you felt about what you were doing. Take your time with this and write down every incident that you can remember, no matter how trivial. There is plenty of space at the end, so write as much as you like.

What	Where	Whom	How you felt
From end of school till 4 o'clock:			
From 4 o'clock till 5 o'clock:			
From 5 o'clock till 6 o'clock:			
From 6 o'clock till 7 o'clock:			
From 7 o'clock till 8 o'clock:			

What	Where	Whom	How you felt
From 8 o'clock till 9 o'clock:			
From 9 o'clock till 10 o'clock:			
After 10 o'clock:			

WHEN YOU FINISH, HAND THIS SHEET TO THE RESEARCH WORKER.

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES—*Supplementary Questionnaire B*

Name..

The questionnaire you just filled out asked about things that we think are important. Now we want you to tell us about the things that are important to you. We want you to tell us about yourself. What do you want most out of life? What are the most important problems you see ahead of you? What do you want to be? These are the kinds of things we would like you to tell us about. Take plenty of time with the questions below so we can get an understanding of you just as you are. If you need more space on any question, there is room at the end.

1. First of all, what do you think is the most important change in yourself since you've been in high school?

2. What is your greatest regret, or what has been your greatest unhappiness since you've been in high school?

3. Now, in the years ahead, what one way would you most like to see yourself changed or different?

4. Everybody has lots of hopes and aims and ideals about what they would like to be or do. What hopes and aims for yourself are most important to you?

5. In thinking about the kind of person you'd like to be, what one person has been most of a challenge or an ideal for you that you could model yourself after? (We don't want his or her name, but rather something about who he is and how you know him.)

____

____

____

____

6. Now, of all the problems that are facing you, and the ones you'll be facing in the future, what are the most important problems you see?

____

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7. Everybody has an idea of how he'd like to see himself ten or fifteen years from now. Describe below just how you would like to see yourself in fifteen years - if everything worked out just the way you would like.

____

____

____

____

____

Use the space below for anything further you'd like to say about your ambitions, your hopes, and other things about yourself.

WHEN YOU FINISH, HAND THIS SHEET TO THE RESEARCH WORKER.

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES—*Supplementary Questionnaire C*

Name..

On this page are descriptions of many different kinds of activities. As you read each item:

Write an "X" if the item describes an activity or event that you would like, enjoy, or find more pleasant than unpleasant.

Write an "O" if the item describes an activity or event that you would dislike, reject, or find more unpleasant than pleasant.

1____Exerting myself to the utmost for something unusually important or enjoyable.
2____Setting difficult goals for myself.
3____Getting what is coming to me even if I have to fight for it.
4____Persuading a group to do something my way.
5____Toughening myself, going without an overcoat, seeing how long I can go without food or sleep, etc.
6____Listening to music that makes me feel very sad.
7____Watching a couple who are crazy about each other.
8____Spending most of my extra money on pleasure.
9____Having other people let me alone.
10____Doing what most people tell me to do, to the best of my ability.
11____Concentrating intently on a problem.
12____Staying up all night when I'm doing something that interests me.
13____Competing with others for a prize or goal.
14____Shocking narrow minded people by saying and doing things of which they disapprove.
15____Having other people depend on me for ideas or opinions.
16____Working until I'm exhausted to see how much I can take.
17____Having someone for a friend who is very emotional.
18____Talking about who is in love with whom.
19____Finishing some work even though it means missing a party or dance.
20____Going to the park or beach with a crowd.
21____Turning over the leadership of a group to someone who is better for the job than I.
22____Working crossword puzzles, figuring out moves in checkers or chess, playing anagrams or scrabble, etc.
23____Sleeping long hours every night in order to have lots of rest.
24____Taking examinations.
25____Doing something that might provoke criticism.
26____Getting away from my friends, to do what I want to do.
27____Thinking about what I could do that would make me famous.
28____Letting loose and having a good cry sometimes.
29____Seeing love stories in the movies.
30____Being with people who are always joking, laughing, and out for a good time.
31____Belonging to a social club.
32____Listening to older persons tell about how they did things when they were young.
33____Being a philosopher, scientist, or professor.
34____Having something to do every minute of the day.
35____Working on tasks so difficult I can hardly do them.
36____Teasing someone who is too conceited.
37____Organizing groups to vote in a certain way in elections.
38____Imagining situations in which I am a great hero.
39____Yelling with excitement at a ball game, horse race, or other public event.
40____Listening to my friends talk about their love-life.
41____Doing something serious with my leisure time instead of just playing around with the crowd.
42____Going on a vacation to a place where there are lots of people.
43____Disregarding a supervisor's directions when they seem foolish.
44____Losing myself in hard thought.
45____Giving all my energy to whatever I happen to be doing.
46____Sacrificing everything else in order to achieve something outstanding.
47____Annoying people I don't like, just to see what they will do.
48____Being able to hypnotize people.
49____Setting myself tasks to strengthen my mind, body, and will power.
50____Being with people who seem always to be calm, unstirred, or placid.
51____Reading about the love affairs of movie stars and other famous people.
52____Limiting my pleasures so that I can spend all of my time usefully.
53____Inviting a lot of people home for a snack or party.
54____Carrying out orders from others with snap and enthusiasm.
55____Following through in the development of a theory even though it has no practical applications.

On this page are activities which may describe your high school.

Write an "X" if your answer is YES, this generally describes the way things are at this high school.

Write an "O" if your answer is NO, this does not describe the way things are at this high school.

Remember, these answers should tell what the high school is like, not what you personally might prefer.

1____There is a lot of group spirit.
2____If a student gets into trouble he has to find his own way out of it.
3____Everyone has a lot of fun at this school.
4____There is lots of informal dating during the week after school, at a sweet shop, movies, etc.
5____Students here would never get hoarse from excitement at an athletic contest.
6____Students sometimes work or play to the point of exhaustion just to prove they can do it.
7____There is no recognized group of student leaders at this school.
8____Many people here seem to enjoy it when the wrong person gets blamed for something.
9____Doing the assigned work is not enough to win approval here.
10____The general atmosphere of this place is relaxed and unhurried.
11____Neither teachers nor students need to be afraid of expressing extreme or unpopular viewpoints in this school.
12____Most of the students form lasting friendships here.
13____Students are expected to work out the details of their own program in their own way.
14____The student who is mainly interested in social activities is likely to have a hard time here.
15____Most students here really enjoy dancing.
16____Discussions get quite heated here, with a lot of display of feeling.
17____Most students would regard mountain-climbing, rugged camping trips, or driving a car all night as pretty pointless.
18____Student elections generate a lot of intense campaigning and strong feeling.
19____Many students seem to feel that rules and regulations are made to be broken.
20____A great deal of emphasis is put upon making the honor roll.
21____Few students here would ever work or play to the point of exhaustion.
22____A well reasoned report can rate an A grade here even though its viewpoint is opposed to the teacher's.
23____Student social life tends to be organized around a number of small, exclusive groups.
24____Students don't have to agree with the teachers to get high grades here.
25____There are lots of dances, parties, and social activities.
26____A student who doesn't have a date on the week-end really feels out of things here.
27____The way people feel around here is always pretty evident.
28____There is little sympathy here for ambitious daydreams about the future.
29____The student who tries to dominate a class discussion or argument is soon put in his place by other students.
30____Personal hostilities are usually concealed or resolved as quickly as possible.
31____Standards set by the teachers are not particularly hard to achieve.
32____Most students get to bed fairly early around here.
33____Most teachers are liberal in interpreting regulations, and treat violations with understanding and tolerance.
34____A student can be pretty lonely here if he doesn't happen to hit the right social group.
35____The teachers go out of their way to help you.
36____The big events here at school draw a lot of student enthusiasm and support.
37____An inadvertent remark which has a double meaning or sexual connotation would cause embarrassment in most classes here.
38____Students here can be wildly happy one minute and hopelessly depressed the next.
39____One of the important things students get from this place is a sense of preparation for great future accomplishments.
40____Competition and personal rivalry are highly stressed.
41____It is not surprising here when students occasionally break out in some sort of escapade or rebellion.
42____Personality, pull, and bluff get students through many courses.
43____Students put a lot of energy into everything they do, in class and out.
44____Some of the teachers react to questions in class as if the students were criticizing them personally.
45____It's important socially here to be in the right club or group.
46____Considerable help is given to students in making job contacts and locating employment.
47____There is very little studying here over the week-end.
48____Some of the most popular students have a knack for making witty, subtle remarks with a slightly sexy tinge.
49____Very few things around here arouse much excitement or feeling.
50____Students spend a lot of time planning their careers.
51____The student leaders here have lots of special privileges.
52____Students are careful to seek approval before considering any deviation from common policies or practices.
53____The teachers are more concerned with students' personal and social problems than with their academic achievement.
54____Students get so absorbed in various activities that they often lose all sense of time or personal comfort.
55____The teachers tend to be suspicious of students' motives and often make the worst interpretations of even trivial incidents.
56____The energetic student who is always looking for something to do is likely to be told to calm down.
57____Most student conversations here are about dating and the opposite sex.

WHEN YOU FINISH, HAND THIS SHEET TO THE RESEARCH WORKER.

(Adapted from Stern, and Pace and Stern)

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES

conducted by

The University of Chicago

under a grant from

The United States Office of Education

Teachers' Questionnaire

Most of the questions can be answered by a check in a box (like this: ☑, or by numbers on short lines (like this: ..3..). Specific instructions are given where needed. Disregard the small numbers to the left of the boxes; they are only to aid in tabulating your answers in the office. If you would like to elaborate on any question, use the blank space on page 5.

5. Which of the categories below comes closest to the attitude of most of the students toward the teachers in this school?

(Check one)

- 1 ☐ They feel close to the teachers; will confide in them; and feel that the teachers understand them.
- 2 ☐ They feel that the teachers are trying to help them, but don't really understand their problems.
- 3 ☐ They feel that the teachers are fairly indifferent to their problems.
- 4 ☐ They are distrustful of the teachers, and suspicious of the teachers' intentions.

6-9. Thinking only of the following four things, just how important do you think they should be for a teen-ager?

(Rank the items from 1 to 4)

......pleasing their parents

......learning as much as possible in school

......living up to religious ideals

......being accepted and liked by other students

10. Some schools seem to have one group of students that more or less dominates student life around the school. What about this school? Is there one group that seems to be always in the middle of things or are there several groups like that?

- 7 ☐ one
- 8 ☐ two
- 9 ☐ more than two

11. Who are the leading students in this group or groups?

(first group)	(second group)
....	....
....	....
....	....
....	....

(third group)	(fourth group)
....	....
....	....
....	....
....	....

12. What does it take for a student to become part of the leading crowd in this school?

....

....

....

....

13. What is the best way to describe the *different* groups of students in this school according to the interests and behavior which characterize each group?

....

....

....

....

....

14. What is the best way to describe the group of students in this school which offers the greatest *problems* for a teacher or for the school?

....

....

....

....

(use page 5 if more space is necessary)

15. Which of the three things below do you think the majority of boys here at school would like most to be?

^{4}☐ **brilliant student**
^{5}☐ **athletic star**
^{6}☐ **most popular**

16. Which of the three things below do you think the majority of girls here at school would like most to be?

^{4}☐ **brilliant student**
^{5}☐ **leader in activities**
^{6}☐ **most popular**

17-18. If you could see any of three boys elected president of the senior class, which would you rather it would be?

^{7}☐ **brilliant student**
^{8}☐ **athletic star**
^{9}☐ **leader in extra-curricular activities**

Why? ....

....

....

19-24. Among the items below, what ones are most important in giving a boy prestige or making him looked up to by *other boys* here at school?

(Rank from 1 to 6)

......**coming from the right family**
......**leader in activities**
......**having a nice car**
......**high grades, honor roll**
......**being an athletic star**
......**being in the leading crowd**

25-30. Now, among the items below, what ones are most important in giving a girl prestige or making her looked up to by *other girls* here at school?

(Rank from 1 to 6)

......**coming from the right family**
......**leader in activities**
......**clothes**
......**high grades, honor roll**
......**being a cheerleader**
......**being in the leading crowd**

31. Suppose one of your students had a chance for two similar jobs; one was in this town, and one in another town the same size but in another state. Which do you think you would advise him to take?

^{1}☐ **the job in this town**
^{2}☐ **the job in another town**

32. If one of the jobs were in this town, and the other in a larger city, which would you advise him to take?

^{3}☐ **the job in this town**
^{4}☐ **the job in the larger city**

33. If he were going to college, and had the choice between going to a good small college and a good large college or university, which would you advise?

^{7}☐ **small college**
^{8}☐ **large college or university**

34-37. If you had a student who could go to any college he chose, which would you like to see him select from the groups below?

(Rank from 1 to 4)

......**University of Illinois**
......**Princeton, Yale, or Harvard**
......**M.I.T. or Cal. Tech.**
......**Knox, Oberlin, or Carleton**

38-41. There are many things young people can get from college. How important do you think each of the following *should be* for a student in his college experience?

(Rank from 1 to 4)

......**the stimulation of new ideas**
......**preparation for making a living**
......**campus activities and social life**
......**new friends who share his interests**

42-43. Do you agree or disagree that . . .

Agree	***Disagree***	
^{1}☐	^{2}☐	**There are a few students who control things among the student body in this school, and the rest are out in the cold.**
^{3}☐	^{4}☐	**If a student wants to be part of the leading crowd around here he sometimes has to go against his principles.**

44. In which of the following areas would you say there are problems of discipline with the students in this school?

(Check items which are problems)

^{1}☐ **stealing (small items of little value)**
^{2}☐ **stealing of serious nature (money, cars)**
^{3}☐ **destruction of school property**
^{4}☐ **sex offenses**
^{5}☐ **impertinence and discourtesy to teachers**
^{6}☐ **fighting**
^{7}☐ **truancy**
^{8}☐ **physical violence against teachers**
^{9}☐ **using profane or obscene language**
^{0}☐ **using narcotics**
☐ **drinking intoxicants**

45. Which of the categories below do you think come closest to fitting the majority of teachers in this school?

(Check as many as apply)

- 5 ☐ friendly with students
- 6 ☐ too strict
- 7 ☐ too easy with schoolwork
- 8 ☐ understand problems of teen-agers
- 9 ☐ not interested in teen-agers
- 0 ☐ willing to help out in activities

46. What seating arrangement do you use in your classes?

- 7 ☐ I assign them desks which they keep throughout the semester.
- 8 ☐ They choose their desks at the start of the semester, and keep them for the semester.
- 9 ☐ They choose the desks they like each day.

47. What is the average number of clock hours per week that you devote to your job? Include all time spent on activities which are required or definitely expected of you as part of your job whether you do the work at school, at home, or elsewhere.

- 1 ☐ under 30
- 2 ☐ 30-34
- 3 ☐ 35-39
- 4 ☐ 40-44
- 5 ☐ 45-49
- 6 ☐ 50-54
- 7 ☐ 55-59
- 8 ☐ 60-64
- 9 ☐ 65 or more

48-52. Would you rank the following five occupations in terms of their desirability?

(Rank from 1 to 5)

.....writer or journalist
.....scientist
.....business executive
.....medical doctor
.....chemical engineer

53. If "high school teacher" were ranked along with these according to its desirability, which rank would you assign to it?

(Circle the appropriate number)

1 2 3 4 5 6

54-57. Now rank the following four occupations in terms of their desirability.

(Rank from 1 to 4)

.....sales manager for a large business
.....trained machinist
.....proprietor of a small store
.....owner-operator of a printing shop

58. If "high school teacher" were ranked along with these according to its desirability, which rank would you assign to it?

(Circle the appropriate number)

1 2 3 4 5

59-62. Now rank the following four occupations in terms of their desirability *for a woman.*

(Rank from 1 to 4)

.....secretary to a business executive
.....journalist
.....interior decorator
.....airline hostess

63. If "high school teacher" were ranked along with these according to its desirability, which rank would you assign to it?

(Circle the appropriate number)

1 2 3 4 5

64. How close do you feel to the community in which you teach?

- 7 ☐ I feel that I belong here and that this is my home community.
- 8 ☐ I feel quite close to this community but do not consider it to be my home.
- 9 ☐ I do not feel very close to this community.
- 0 ☐ I feel like a complete stranger in this community.

65. Do you belong to any community organizations, like clubs, lodges, veterans', sports, or church groups?

- 1 ☐ fraternal organizations (Elks, etc.)
- 2 ☐ veterans' organizations (American Legion, V.F.W., etc.)
- 3 ☐ civic or service clubs (Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, etc.)
- 4 ☐ religious social groups (Knights of Columbus, etc.)
- 5 ☐ hobby or sports groups
- 6 ☐ youth organizations (YMCA, Scouts, etc.)
- 7 ☐ N.E.A.
- 8 ☐ country club (What one?.........................)
- 9 ☐ American Federation of Teachers
- 0 ☐ other (What ones?.........................)

66. How well do people in your community cooperate and work together?

- 7 ☐ work together very well
- 8 ☐ work together fairly well
- 9 ☐ usually don't work together
- 0 ☐ never work together

67. If you had it to do over again, would you enter teaching?

- 7 ☐ definitely yes
- 8 ☐ probably yes
- 9 ☐ probably no
- 0 ☐ definitely no

68. If you had it to do over again, would you . . .

- 5 ☐ rather teach at this high school
- 6 ☐ rather teach at another high school

69. If you were to teach in a different high school, would you prefer to teach in a . . .

- 7 ☐ high school in a smaller town
- 8 ☐ high school in a town about this size
- 9 ☐ high school in a large city

70. Counting the present year, what is the number of years of full-time teaching experience you have had in the school system where you are now teaching?

1 ☐ 1-2 years
2 ☐ 3-4 years
3 ☐ 5-9 years
4 ☐ 10-14 years
5 ☐ 15-19 years
6 ☐ 20-24 years
7 ☐ 25-34 years
8 ☐ 35-44 years
9 ☐ 45 or more years

71. Where did you go to high school?

6 ☐ this high school
7 ☐ another high school in this county
8 ☐ another high school not in this county but in Illinois
9 ☐ a high school outside Illinois

72. In what type of institution did you take the larger part of your years of college education?

5 ☐ public (tax supported) university or land-grant college
6 ☐ public teachers college or normal school
7 ☐ other public college
8 ☐ nonpublic (privately supported) university
9 ☐ nonpublic teachers college or normal school
0 ☐ other nonpublic college

73. What is the highest college degree you hold? If you hold a degree not listed, check the one that is most nearly equivalent to the one you hold. Do not report honorary degrees.

6 ☐ no degree
7 ☐ a degree based on less than four years' work
8 ☐ bachelor's degree
9 ☐ master's degree
0 ☐ doctor's degree

74. If you have at least a bachelor's degree, is it in . . .

7 ☐ education
8 ☐ liberal arts (What major?..............................)
9 ☐ science (What major?..............................)

75. How much formal education did your father have?

3 ☐ some grade school
4 ☐ finished grade school
5 ☐ some high school
6 ☐ finished high school
7 ☐ some college
8 ☐ finished college
9 ☐ M.A., Ph.D., or professional degree
0 ☐ don't know

76. What is your age?

1 ☐ under 21 years
2 ☐ 21-25 years
3 ☐ 26-30 years
4 ☐ 31-35 years
5 ☐ 36-40 years
6 ☐ 41-45 years
7 ☐ 46-55 years
8 ☐ 56-65 years
9 ☐ 66 or over

77. Marital status:

7 ☐ single, never married
8 ☐ married
9 ☐ widower
0 ☐ divorced or legally separated

78. Sex:

8 ☐ male
9 ☐ female

79-80. As you know, this a study of the values of the student body and the various groups within it as they affect a boy's or a girl's path through high school and beyond. The categorical questions above provide only a crude way of learning this. We would appreciate any further comments you might have about the school or its students which are relevant to our purpose. You may use the remaining space in the questionnaire, or, if necessary, an added sheet.

Name..

Address..

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATES

conducted by
The University of Chicago
under a grant from
The United States Office of Education

Parents' Questionnaire

Most of the questions can be answered by a check in a box (like this: ☑, or by numbers on short lines (like this: 3). Specific instructions are given where needed. Disregard the small numbers to the left of the boxes; they are only to aid in tabulating your answers in the office. If you want to elaborate on any question, use the blank space on page 5.

Certain questions are slightly different for parents of a boy in high school and for parents of a girl in high school. If you have no girls in high school, then do not answer the part of a question marked "Girls". If you have no boys in high school, then do not answer the part of a question marked "Boys".

1. What did you like best about school when you were a teen-ager?

(Check one)

¹☐ **courses in school**
²☐ **athletics**
³☐ **clubs and activities**
⁴☐ **friends you went around with**
⁵☐ **don't remember**

2. What did you hope to become when you left school or started work?

3. Thinking back to your own school days, what is the one thing that you would most want to change if you could live them over again?

4. How do you feel about the progress your child is making in his or her studies in high school?

(Check one)

¹☐ **very satisfied**
²☐ **fairly satisfied**
³☐ **not very satisfied**
⁴☐ **very unsatisfied**

5. How do you feel your child is getting along in other activities in high school?

(Check one)

¹☐ **very satisfied**
²☐ **fairly satisfied**
³☐ **not very satisfied**
⁴☐ **very unsatisfied**

6. How do you feel about the friends that your child has made in high school?

(Check one)

⁷☐ **very satisfied**
⁸☐ **fairly satisfied**
⁹☐ **not very satisfied**
⁰☐ **very unsatisfied**

7. What would you like most to see your child get from high school?

8. Would you rather see your son or daughter concentrate on . . .

(Check one)

⁷☐ **studies in school**
⁸☐ **other things in school**
⁹☐ **things outside school**

9. If you saw that your teen-ager was doing badly in high school, how far would you go in straightening out his or her difficulties? Indicate the most extreme action you would be willing or able to take.

(Check one)

⁵☐ **nothing**
⁶☐ **help him at home**
⁷☐ **talk with his teachers**
⁸☐ **arrange special instruction outside school**
⁹☐ **send him to a private school**
⁰☐ ***move to another town or school district***

10. Which of the categories below do you think come closest to fitting the majority of teachers in this school?

(Check as many as apply)

- ☐ friendly
- ☐ too strict
- ☐ too easy with school work
- ☐ understand problems of teen-agers
- ☐ not interested in teen-agers
- ☐ willing to help out in activities

11-14. Among the things teen-agers strive for during their high school days, just how important do you think each of these should be?

(Rank from 1 to 4)

……pleasing their parents

……learning as much as possible in school

……living up to religious ideals

……being accepted and liked by other students

15-18. Now rank the following four items according to how important you think each of them should be for a teen-ager.

(Rank from 1 to 4)

……groups and activities outside school

……activities associated with school

……having a good time

……a good reputation

13-14. If your son or daughter could be outstanding in high school in one of the three things listed below, which one would you want it to be?

(If you have a son in high school check below)

- ☐ brilliant student
- ☐ athletic star
- ☐ most popular

(If you have a daughter in high school check below)

- ☐ brilliant student
- ☐ leader in activities
- ☐ most popular

15-20. Do you agree or disagree that . . .

Agree	*Disagree*	
☐	☐	There are a few students who control things in the high school my child is in, and the rest are out in the cold.
☐	☐	If the leaders in this town favor something, you can be pretty sure it's all right.
☐	☐	If a teen-ager wants to [illegible] part of the leading crowd in high [illegible]ool, he sometimes has to go against his principles.
☐	☐	The real qualities of a person come out in the group.
☐	☐	In this community, there are a few who run things, and the rest of the people are left out.
☐	☐	Fluoridation of the water system of a town is a good thing.

21. Among the crowd that your son or daughter goes around with, what are the things which are important to do in order to be popular in the group?

(Check as many as apply)

- ☐ be a good dancer
- ☐ have sharp clothes
- ☐ have a good reputation
- ☐ stirring up a little excitement
- ☐ have money
- ☐ smoking
- ☐ know how to dress properly
- ☐ know what's going on in the world of popular singers and movie stars
- ☐ being up on cars

22. Are there any of these things that you wish they wouldn't emphasize so much? If so, please circle below the numbers referring to these items.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

23. Check below the rules which you make for your teen-age children.

- ☐ time for being in at night on weekends
- ☐ amount of dating
- ☐ against going steady
- ☐ time spent watching TV
- ☐ time spent on homework
- ☐ against going around with certain boys
- ☐ against going out with certain girls
- ☐ eating dinner with the family
- ☐ no rules for any of the above items

24-25. Of the five items below, what is the single most important thing you would like to see your child accomplish in his or her life?

Check one *Boy*	Check one *Girl*	
☐	☐	A healthy, financially secure, family life.
☐	☐	Be outstanding in his chosen field of work.
☐	☐	Be a respected citizen in his community.
☐	☐	Do what gives him the most personal satisfaction.
☐	☐	Reach a higher social standing.

26-30. Rank the following five occupations in terms of their desirability for a man.

(Rank from 1 to 5)

……writer or journalist

……scientist

……business executive

……medical doctor

……chemical engineer

31-34. Now rank the following four occupations in terms of their desirability for a man.

(Rank from 1 to 4)

……sales manager for a large business

……trained machinist

……proprietor of a small store

……owner-operator of a printing shop

35-38. Now rank the following four occupations in terms of their desirability for a woman.

(Rank from 1 to 4)

......secretary for a business executive

......journalist

......interior decorator

......airline hostess

39. If it were completely up to you, what kind of work would you like to see your son go into?

....

....

40. If it were completely up to you, would you prefer your son or daughter to . . .

☐ stay in school until graduation
☐ leave school before graduating
☐ don't know

41. If your son or daughter had a chance for two similar jobs, one in this town, and one in another town the same size, but in another state, which would you advise him to take?

☐ job in this town
☐ job in another town

42. If one of the jobs were in this town and the other one in a larger city, which would you advise him or her to take?

☐ job in this town
☐ job in the larger city

43. Thinking realistically, do you think he or she will live in this town when he is out of school and has a job?

☐ definitely yes
☐ probably yes
☐ don't know
☐ probably no
☐ definitely no

44. If you have a boy in high school, what would you like him to *do* about service?

☐ enlist after college
☐ wait until drafted
☐ go after college
☐ get a deferment for reasons other than college
☐ don't know

45. Do you want your son or daughter to go to college after high school?

☐ yes
☐ undecided
☐ no

IF NO: SKIP TO QUESTION 65, THAT IS, IF YOU DO NOT WANT YOUR SON OR DAUGHTER TO GO TO COLLEGE, SKIP TO THE TOP OF THE NEXT PAGE (PAGE 4).

46-47. If money were no problem, would you rather that he or she went away to college, or go to a college where he could live at home?

Check one *Boy*	Check one *Girl*	
☐	☐	away to college
☐	☐	live at home

48-49. If he had a choice between going to a good small college and a good large college or university, which would you prefer him to go to?

Boy	*Girl*	
☐	☐	small college
☐	☐	large college or university

50-51. What college would you like to see him or her go to?

Boy ....

Girl ....

52-59. Rank the following groups of colleges in terms of your preference for your son or daughter, if you had to choose between them.

(Rank from 1 to 4 if you have a boy in high school)

......University of Illinois

......Yale, Harvard, Princeton

......M.I.T., Cal. Inst. of Technology

......Oberlin, Knox, or Carleton College

(Rank from 1 to 4 if you have a girl in high school)

......University of Illinois

......Wellesley, Vassar, or Smith

......Oberlin, Knox, or Carleton College

......DeKalb Teachers College or Illinois State Normal U.

60-63. There are many things that young people can get from college. How important do you think each of the following should be for your son or daughter in college?

(Rank from 1 to 4)

......the stimulation of new ideas

......preparation for making a living

......campus activities and social life

......new friends who share his interests

64. What would you like to see your son or daughter study in college?

(Check one)

☐ undecided
☐ a liberal arts program
☐ a science program
☐ a business program
☐ nursing
☐ home economics
☐ pre-medicine, pre-dentistry, pre-law
☐ education
☐ engineering
☐ agriculture

65. **Does any adult in your family belong to any community organizations, like clubs, lodges, veterans', sports, or church groups?**

(Check as many as apply)

- 1 ☐ fraternal organizations (Elks, etc.)
- 2 ☐ veterans' organizations (American Legion, V.F.W., etc.)
- 3 ☐ civic or service clubs (Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, etc.)
- 4 ☐ religious social groups (Knights of Columbus, etc.)
- 5 ☐ hobby or sports groups
- 6 ☐ youth organizations (YMCA, Scouts, etc.)
- 7 ☐ P.T.A.
- 8 ☐ country club (what one? ....)
- 9 ☐ labor union
- 0 ☐ other (what ones?..................)

66. **How well do people in your community cooperate and work together?**

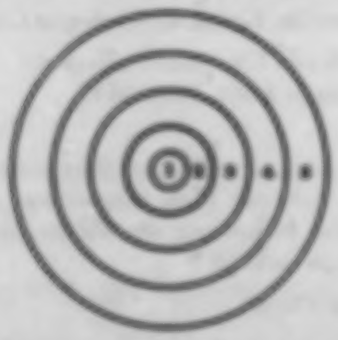
- 7 ☐ work together very well
- 8 ☐ work together fairly well
- 9 ☐ usually don't work together
- 0 ☐ never work together

67. **How close do you feel to this community?**

- 7 ☐ I feel that I belong here and that this is my home community.
- 8 ☐ I feel quite close to this community but do not consider it to be my home.
- 9 ☐ I do not feel very close to this community.
- 0 ☐ I feel like a complete stranger in this community.

68. **Suppose the circle below represented the activities that go on here in this community. How far out from the center of these activities are you?**

(Place a check where you think you are)



69. **How would you describe the facilities for and the programs of recreation for young people in your community?**

- 6 ☐ very good
- 7 ☐ good
- 8 ☐ fair
- 9 ☐ poor
- 0 ☐ don't know

70-73. **Rank the following in terms of their attractiveness for you, if you could be any of these . . .**

(Rank from 1 to 4)

- ......an executive in a large national corporation
- ......a respected leader in civic and political affairs in your community
- ......a statesman in the affairs of the nation
- ......a successful businessman in your community

74-78. **Rank the five items below in terms of their importance to you in a job.**

(Rank from 1 to 5)

- ......the security of steady work
- ......the opportunity for a rapid rise
- ......the enjoyment of the work itself
- ......friendly people to work with
- ......a high income

101. **If you could get a brand new car, which one would you want among the three listed below?**

- 4 ☐ De Soto
- 5 ☐ Edsel
- 6 ☐ Dodge
- 7 ☐ Mercury
- 8 ☐ Buick
- 9 ☐ Oldsmobile
- 0 ☐ Volkswagen

102-3. **About how much time on the average do you spend watching TV on a weekday?**

Husband	*Wife*	
4 ☐	4 ☐	none, or almost none
5 ☐	5 ☐	about ½ an hour a day
6 ☐	6 ☐	about 1 hour a day
7 ☐	7 ☐	about 1½ hours a day
8 ☐	8 ☐	about 2 hours a day
9 ☐	9 ☐	about 3 hours a day
0 ☐	0 ☐	4 or more hours a day

104. **If you had just won some money on a quiz show and you were completely free to do with it whatever you wanted, what would you do with it?**

- 1 ☐ spend it all
- 2 ☐ spend most of it
- 3 ☐ save most of it
- 4 ☐ save it all

105-6. **How many years have you been married?......**

107-8. **Where did you go to high school (or grade school if you did not attend high school)?**

Husband	*Wife*	
6 ☐	6 ☐	this high school
7 ☐	7 ☐	another school in this county
8 ☐	8 ☐	another school not in this county but in Illinois
9 ☐	9 ☐	a school outside Illinois but in the U.S.
0 ☐	0 ☐	a school outside the U.S.

ANSWER THE TWO QUESTIONS BELOW ONLY IF YOU WISH

109. **Check the group into which your family's total income falls.**

- 4 ☐ under $2000
- 5 ☐ between $2000 and $4000
- 6 ☐ between $4000 and $6000
- 7 ☐ between $6000 and $8000
- 8 ☐ between $8000 and $10,000
- 9 ☐ between $10,000 and $15,000
- 0 ☐ $15,000 and over

110. **What is your political party affiliation in national politics?**

- 7 ☐ Republican
- 8 ☐ Democratic
- 9 ☐ Independent

Be sure to turn to page 5

111. Do you live in a . . .

- 8 ☐ one family house
- 9 ☐ apartment or flat

112. Do you own the house in which you live?

- 7 ☐ yes
- 8 ☐ no

113. What is the occupation of the head of the family? What does he do? Be as specific as you can.

....

114. In what place, or business, or organization does he work?

....

115-118. How many children do you have . . .

. . . altogether?	***. . . in high school?***
...... **boys**	.... **boys**
.... **girls**	.... **girls**

119. This questionnaire was completed by . . .

- 7 ☐ father
- 8 ☐ mother
- 9 ☐ both together

120-1. Besides the things you have mentioned above, is there anything about this town or this school that has a particularly important effect on the development of teen-agers, including your own?

Mention either positive or negative things. *(Use the rest of this page for extended comments.)*